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THE

HARLEIAN MISCELLANY:

A

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OF

SCARCE, CURIOUS, AND ENTERTAINING

PAMPHLETS AND TRACTS,

AS WELL IN MANUSCRIPT AS IN PRINT.

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SECOND EARL OF OXFORD.

INTERSPERSED WITH

HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, AND CRITICAL ANNOTATIONS,

BY THE LATE

WILLIAM OLDYS, ESQ.

AND

SOME ADDITIONAL NOTES,

BY

THOMAS PARK, F.S.A.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR JOHN WHITE, AND JOHN MURRAY, FLEET-STREET; AND JOHN HARDING, ST. JAMES'S-STREET.

1809.

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Our settled plan of Publication was announced in an Advertisement prefixed to the former Volume of this work: and it has received the most satisfactory test of public approval---namely, public support. The Publishers take this opportunity of informing their subscribers, that A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE INTIRE CONTENTS OF THE WORK, DIVIDED INTO CLASSES, *will be given with the last Volume, in addition to the Index of reference.*

*** *The Third Volume will be published on the First of March.*

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Amare & sapere vix Diis conceditur.

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Facilius ducimur, quàm trahimur. Senec.

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With a Form of Prayer, and other Rites and Ceremonies to be used for their Recovery: strictly commanded to be used in all Cathedrals, Churches, Chapels, and Congregations, throughout his Majesty's three Kingdoms, of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Printed for V. V. in the Year 1647. 388

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Omnis fabula fundatur in veritate.
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The wicked Plots and perfidious Practices of the Spaniards, against the Seventeen Provinces of the Netherlands, before they took up Arms. Being gathered out of several Dutch Writers, by a Lover of Truth, and an unfeigned hater of Oppression and Tyranny, the Bane of Commonwealths. Printed about the Year 1642. 411

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Improbé facit qui in alieno libro ingeniosus est. Mart.
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Presented to King Henry the Eighth, in the twenty-ninth Year of his Reign, Anno Dom. 1538, eight Years before his Death; and now printed, verbatim, from a very old copy, only mending the Autho-graphy, for the Ease of the Reader, making the several Sections, and collecting the foregoing Contents. (Worth perusing by both Papist and Protestant, for the one to see how his Forefathers and he have been, and are, gulled; and the other to see how he is like to be eternally abused, if he either through Fear of Death, or otherwise, embrace Popery.) 538

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Loyalty; attended with great News from Drake's and Raleigh's Ghosts. Presenting the true Means, where-by Britain may be recovered from her Maladies, and obtain a lasting Happiness, Honour, and Renown. In an Heroick Poem.

Vicimus, O magnis tandem exaudita Piorum
Vota Deus, nunc alma Salus, nunc Secula curat
Omnipotens. ——— Barcl. Arg.

London, printed for the Author, in 1705. 557

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An Enquiry into the Physical and Literal Sense of that Scripture, (Jeremiah viii. 7.) 'The Stork in the Heaven knoweth her appointed Times; and the Turtle, and the Crane, and the Swallow 'observe the Time of their Coming;' &c.
Written by an eminent Professor for the Use of his Scholars, and now published at the earnest Desire of some of them. Printed by J. H. No Date. 578

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A late Voyage to Holland, with brief Relations of the Transactions at the Hague; also Remarks on the Manners and Customs, Nature and Comical Humours of the People; their Religion, Government, Ha-bitations, Way of Living, and Manner of treating Strangers, especially the English. Written by an En-glish Gentleman, attending the Court of the King of Great Britain. Printed in 1691. 590

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The Dutch Remonstrance concerning the Proceedings and Practices of John de Witt, Pensionary; and Ruwaert Van Putten, his Brother; with others of that Faction. Drawn up by a Person of Eminency there, and printed at the Hague. And translated out of Dutch, August the 30th, 1672. London, printed by S. and B. G. and are to be sold by R. C. over-against the Globe in Little-Britain..... 602

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Anno M.D.Liij. the Firste of August. 615

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THE

HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

Serjeant Thorpe, Judge of Assize for the Northern Circuit, his Charge; as it was delivered to the Grand Jury at York Assizes, the Twentieth of March, 1648; clearly epitomising the Statutes belonging to this Nation, which concern (and, as a golden Rule, ought to regulate) the several Estates and Conditions of Men; and, being duly observed, do really promote the Peace and Plenty of this Commonwealth.

Printed at London, by T. W. for Matthew Walbancke and Richard Best, at Gray's Inn Gate, in 1649.

[Quarto, containing thirty Pages.]

"GENTLEMEN, friends, and countrymen; I do not question, but that the style and title of our commissions, under which we are now to act, and execute the authority and power committed to our hands; being changed from *Carolus Rex Angliæ*, to *Custodes Libertatis Angliæ authoritate Parliamenti*; works divers effects upon the tempers and spirits of men, according as the spirits themselves are tempered and affected: and that some of those spirits (like the sun upon wax) it softens into obedience and compliance, and others of them, again (like the same sun upon clay) it hardens into stiffness and opposition. Proud, ambitious, and malignant spirits, finding themselves frustrated and defeated hereby of their designed hopes, and hopeful designs, for obtaining their desired ends; and, being filled with prejudice to others, and self-love to their own opinions, and therefore having turned themselves aside from the use of their own reason, and from all overtures and arguments of satisfaction; and having given up their understanding to blind affections,—it startles and confounds with passions and amazements, heightened into choler and disdain; because, looking through the false glass of their own self-interest, they find nothing therein, but imaginary shakings of foundations, overturning of laws, and confused heaps of ruins and distractions. But to these, if any such be present, (especially, if they have been formerly engaged in open war against the public interest of the nation, and so are cast, by God's justice, for their transgressions into a mean and low condition,) as I shall say (with the poor comfort of calamity, pity,) is this, that, if they have not already tasted enough of the cup of God's wrath, for their misdoings, let them take heed they engage not again; for fear that, hereafter, they be enforced to drink the dregs of

his displeasure. Other silly spirits there are, who standing unbottomed upon any solid principles of their own, find themselves tossed to and fro with the wind which blows from others mouths; one while listening to the prophet, who bids them to go up to Ramoth-Gilead, and prosper; and by-and-by again yielding to him that bids them not to go up, for fear of perishing; and so they are carried into cross and oblique opinions, and actions, tending to, and endangering, their utter ruin and destruction. And, to these men, all I shall say and advise, is this, that they will forthwith repair to the school of reason, and suffer themselves to be guided and led by impartial and wholesome lessons, and instructions, to a better information of their judgments; whereby they may be settled upon undeniable grounds in the knowledge of themselves and the truth, and of their own right, interest, and concernment. But another sort of men there are, who are willing to let their eyes stand in the place where nature set them, and to make use of that reason and judgment which God hath given them, and, with erected minds, to apprehend the sense of their own future happiness, and to hearken to the voice which calls them to the flourishing actions of a reformed commonwealth; and therefore do entertain this change with suitable opinions and compliance from these grounds, which they thus propound and argue with themselves.

1. That all power and authority is originally and primarily in God, and comes from God; and this they rest upon, as being a scripture-truth.

2. That God, out of his wisdom and providence, hath dispensed and transmitted so much of this authority and power to men, as is necessary for their use. First, as in relation to the inferior creatures, to rule and govern them, as lord and king. And, as in relation to one another, from a principle of nature *(conservatio sui-ipsius,)* to seek and endeavour their own preservation and security, which principle draws them to this conclusion, *(salus populi suprema lex)* the safety of the people is the supreme law, both of nature and nations. And from this natural principle and supreme law of nature, however all men, in their original creation, are all of one and the same substance, mould, and stamp; yet, for preservation's sake, they find a fitness in subordinations and degrees among them, for the better ordering of their affairs; and so they appoint rulers, and authorize governors over them, as trustees for themselves. They also elect government, create rules, orders, and laws, by which they will have their rulers and governors to guide and steer their actions in the course of their government, to which they will conform their obedience; and this truth is ascertained from hence, that there were people before there were either rulers or governors of people, and that therefore these rulers and governors were but made by the people, and for the people, with this reserve, that whensoever the people should perceive, that their trustees and governors did turn *potestatem* into *potentiam*, the power and authority of government, by rule and law formerly agreed upon, and consented unto by the people, into an armed force; and that they did alter the people's *rem publicam*, into the governor's *rem privatam*, and that their government, ceasing to be free, was made to hang over the people's heads, as a lordly scourge to their destruction; then, and from thenceforth, and that with good comeliness of reason, the people betake themselves to thoughts of reformation; and finding cause to dislike their former choice, being not tied by any scripture-rule to any one form of government, they choose again, and take some other form, differing from that before, whereby they will avoid the evils they suffered under their former choice, and enjoy the good of a more beneficial preservation; for, like mariners and men in a ship at sea, they will no longer trust an unskilful or perfidious steersman, lest they should be found guilty of their own ensuing shipwreck and destruction.

And this brings me to the next assertion and position, which I own as a most certain truth and positive assurance, that the people (under God) is the original of all just power; and that, let the government run out into what form it will, monarchy, aristocracy, or democracy; yet still the original fountain thereof is from the consent and agreement of the people. And from this assertion and position, I am led on further, by plain reason, to

understand, that rulers, and governors, are accountable to the people for their misgovernment; namely, when they transgress the rules and laws, by which the people did agree they would be governed. But, let me not be mistaken, for when I say, accountable to the people; I do not mean to the diffused humours and fancies of particular men in their singular and natural capacities; but to the people, in their politic constitution, lawfully assembled by their representative.

Touching the government of this nation, it hath anciently been monarchical, in the frame and constitution of it; but yet it never was a pure monarchy, for a pure monarchy is a clear tyranny. But it was a political monarchy, or monarchy governed by laws, taking in thereto all the goods, and avoiding all the ills, both of aristocracy and democracy; and so I may truly say, that look upon the frame and constitution of it alone, and, as it were, upon the theoretical and contemplative part of it; and, supposing it possible that the practice would answer the theory, no man can deny, but that it was a frame of most excellent order and beauty. For, first, it had a king, the chief officer, one single person; and therefore, avoiding the proud factions and contentions, usually happening in aristocracy, as likewise, the disordered confusions, common in single democracy; but yet a king bounded and compassed with laws above him, being the rules already made and given him to rule by; and, with a necessity of concurrence and compliance, with lords and commons below him, for future legislative power and authority; and so avoiding the danger of tyranny usually incident to monarchies, which commonly makes the monarch's will the law, and so establishing the government upon this foundation,

Voluntas lex imperatoris esto.

But alas! when I have shewed you the frame and constitution of the late government, I have shewed you all the beauty of it; for, when you come to examine the practical part, you shall find nothing less than excellency or perfection in it. Look into your own stories, and you shall always find the king and great lords, *comites suos,* as they were called; incroaching upon the people's liberties and rights, and incroaching to themselves superlative prerogatives and dominion over them. On the other side, you shall find again the people struggling to preserve themselves and their own interests; labouring still to avoid the miseries, and to free themselves from the mischiefs of their sufferings.

The times and transactions, before the Norman William got the crown, and which passed among the Britons, Romans, Danes, and Saxons, being dark and obscure, I pass by; and, therefore, I shall only speak something of the times and transactions since.

First, The tyrannical domination of that first William and his son the second William, gave the people to see their ensuing miseries; for, though they made choice of the second William, who was but a second son, and rejected Robert, his elder brother; yet they soon found their kindness was suddenly forgotten, when once the crown was obtained; and, therefore, they refused, when he was dead, to choose again, till, by new engagements, oaths, and royal promises of better government, they were cheated into a second election of Henry the First, who was a younger brother likewise. But it was not long after before monarchy played *rex,* and pleasure and will ruled, and the whole kingdom almost was turned into forests; and the laws, which the people were brought to live under and obey, were the cruel and insupportable laws of the Forest, which were made rather to preserve the beasts, than the people within the bounds of forests. Then the people finding no other remedy, betook themselves to thoughts of reformation; as I told you at the first. And in the time of King John, at Renymeed, they demanded restitution of St. Edward's laws, for so they called that Saxon Edward, who was dead many years before, but without any heir or successor of that kind, (for we never read of any St. King since him:) and by those laws they say they will be governed, and to those laws they will conform. Hereupon a new compact is made; the articles of Renymeed, containing most of St. Edward's laws, are confirmed and established, by consent, in parliament; and so the people are for that time satisfied, and think themselves very safe, as they well might think so, under the security

of an act of parliament. But yet this act proved no security; for, in a short time after, all was let loose again, and the same mischiefs and oppressions upon the people were still continued as before, and many more additions made thereto, to the utter enslaving of the English nation.

Hereupon the people stand up, once more, for their liberties and native rights in the ancient laws of the land, and demand, the second time, to have them confirmed, and to be kept from violation; and so, in the ninth year of King Henry the Third, was the great charter of the liberties of England (being but a declaration of the ancient common laws of the land, and little differing from the articles of Renymeed, together with the charter of the forest) framed and consented to in full parliament, and are the first acts of parliament now extant in print. And so the people sat down again under the protection of this second security; but, how weak a security it proved, let the practice of the next king, and all succeeding kings, tell you, though it had been confirmed and allowed by themselves two-and-thirty times: for in the two next kings' time, you shall find the good men of the land discountenanced, and vain, loose, and wanton persons to be the men in the highest esteem; nay, murderers and robbers, and the like cherished and maintained, and, if brought to public justice, and condemned for their misdoings, yet pardoned again, and set at liberty; and though (by the fundamental law) parliaments (the usual salve for the people's sores) were to be called and held twice a year, yet were they laid aside, and rarely made use of; and then, when they were called, it was but to serve the king's turn, for granting subsidies, or the like. And therefore this when the people perceived, in the time of King Edward the Second, they thought fit to question his misgovernment, by articles of impeachment in parliament against him, and then to depose his misgovernment, by articles of impeachment in parliament against him, and then to depose him from his kingly office, and to make his son, during his father's life-time, warden of the kingdom, and shortly after they made him king (while his father lived) by the name of Edward the Third. And now are acts of parliament made against the former mischiefs: First, against the king's granting pardons to robbers and murderers; and four acts of parliament are made at the neck of one another, and pursuing one before, telling the king plainly, that he may not, he must not grant pardons; but where he may do it by his oath, namely, in case of homicide by misfortune, and homicide in his own defence. Secondly, for more frequent holding of parliaments, namely, that they should be held one a year, and oftener, if need be. But little effect did these produce; for the mischiefs have continued, and the people have still suffered, by the breach of those laws, even until these very times, the very same mischiefs as before.

In the time of King Richard the Second the disorders of the court and oppressions upon the people from thence, were so great and unsupportable, that the people articled against that king,, and likewise deposed him; and so they afterward did in like manner depose King Henry the Sixth, and King Edward the Fourth, by consent in parliament. Thus you see how the exercise of kingly office, within this nation, hath been made use of to the damages of the people, and how the people again have put in use their authority over their kings, to call them to account for their misgovernments. Touching the last king, much hath been said, and too much hath been felt by this country, in relation to the last war. But pardon me, if I tell you so, it was a just punishment of God upon us of this country; for, I may truly say, the waters had its rise and beginning here, here in this country, nay, here in this court, for this was the first place in England, where any grand juries of the county charged themselves and their countrymen with any tax to raise a war against the public interest of the people, as they did here when, at the summer assizes in the year 1642, they charged the county with a tax of eight thousand six hundred pounds, to maintain a thousand dragoons, upon pretence to keep the country in peace. But, alas! the dragoons were no sooner raised, but they were made use of for another service; namely, to attend the king's standard at Nottingham; and from thence were carried to fight at Edge-hill against the parliament forces, for better keeping the peace in Yorkshire; and though it be true,

that this tax of eight thousand six hundred pounds was never levied, yet our own great lords and gentlemen made it the foundation and rise of another tax of thirty thousand pounds, which they laid and levied upon the county in October after, for bringing in the Earl of Newcastle and his forces.

But (as I said before) God's punishment is just upon us; for, as the war began here, so it hath ever since continued among us, and even at this day, when all the rest of the kingdom is in peace and quietness, only we are now upon sieging, at our own charge, of your cursed castle at Pontefract[1], which began at first, and continues to be the last of our enemies' hold and garrisons within this nation.

But to return to the point of the king's encroachments upon the people's liberties; and therein I will clearly tell you my own thoughts in one particular, and instance in that one; but it is, to my apprehension, *unum magnum*, and *instar omnium;* it is as the lion said of her whelp when the fox upbraided her, "That she was not so fruitful in procreation as the fox, but brought forth only one lion at once;" "It is true, (saith the lion,) but that one is a lion:" and so I may say by the king's negative voice in parliament. For admit but this one piece of prerogative to be just, and consonant to the constitution of the government, and I dare affirm, that the people of England were in a possibility, by that constitution of government, to be as arrant slaves and vassals, as were in Turkey, or among the Moors in the galleys. For let the king put what oppression he will upon the people, let their grievances and burthens be never so great, and let him, at the people's desire, call parliaments for redresses thereof never so often, and let never so good bills be prepared and presented to him for reformation; yet still he shall put them off with this royal compliment, *Le Roy, s'advisera*, signifying, *quoad* the practice, in plain English, 'I will not help you, nor release the unjust burthens and oppressions I have laid upon you.'

But add to this, that other incroachment of the lords' negative voice upon the people, which they also have with much lordliness practised in answer to the commons' bills, though of the highest concernment for their weal, however they express that negative in court-language and good words, 'We will send an answer by messengers of our own;' as if the people should expect they meant to return some concurrence with them, when (God knows) nothing is less thought upon, or meant by them.

And now let the people see their own condition, now let them consider how they have been abused by good words and phrases, which if they had clearly and universally understood the meaning of, or if these negatives had been clearly expressed, in downright language, 'We will not help you;' or, 'we will not ease you of your burthens or oppressions that lie so heavy upon you;' truly then I presume the people would long since have been stirred up to help themselves, and to have endeavoured as well to take away the mischief, as to avoid the misery of such a government. For my own part, I speak it freely from my heart, that as I am a free-man, both by birth and education, and am inheritable to the laws and free-customs of England; so I do naturally desire the security of government, and I do willingly submit to the justice of known laws: but I have ever abhorred all arbitrary powers, or to be subject to the wills or passions of men; and therefore I have always thought, (since I could think any thing upon the grounds of judgment or reason) that so long as the forementioned negatives remained upon these two people, there could be no security or freedom in the government held over them; and there was no one thing that hath so firmly fixed me in the way I have gone, and wherein I now am, and to oppose the other; as the mischiefs I understood to be in the two negative voices of the king and the lords. Adding to this the two fundamental court-errors, and destructive positions, maintained and held forth to the people by flattering royalists, and proud and ambitious prelates, viz. 'That the king had an original right to rule:' and, secondly, 'That the king was accountable to none but God for his misgovernment.' For, lay but these two together with

[1] [Where Richard the Second was inhumanly slaughtered by Sir Piers Exton and eight other conspirators.]

the negative voice, and let any man judge what they may and must necessarily produce, in point of tyranny and oppression over the people.

And thus I have shewed you the true original of all just power and authority, and from whence it is that the exercise of authority and power is practised among men over one another. I have shewed you all the justice which lies in this; 'That kings, rulers, and 'governors, and particularly the king of this nation should be accountable to the people 'for their misgovernments;' and how destructive a tenet it is to say, 'that a king hath 'right to rule over men upon earth, and that yet God hath not given a power to earthly 'men to call him to account for misgovernment:' unless you will suppose that kings at first did fall from heaven, and were sent down from above to exercise their wills, and act their lusts below.

And having said thus much upon this subject, only to give a hint, from whence you may observe (till the parliament's own declaration be published, which, I hope, will fully and clearly set them out) what the grounds and reasons were, that the parliament had found the kingly office, within this nation, to be useless and dangerous; and why, therefore, they will no more trust the crown upon the head of any one person, nor transfer the custody of the liberties of England, and Englishmen, into the power of another, who may abuse them; and therefore, why, likewise, they resolve to keep the crown within its proper place, the cabinet of the law, and to allow the law only to *king* it among the people; and that the people themselves (by their representatives) shall be the only keepers of their own liberties, by authority derived from their own supreme and sovereign power, established in law and common surety: which brings me now to the style of our commissioners, *Custodes libertatis Angliæ authoritate parliamenti.*

And, touching the King of England's right to rule or title of law, by inheritance and descent, to the crown of England, thus much may be safely and truly said: That, if it be an ancient and original inheritance, fixed in any one family, it was gained at first by the power of the sword, and by conquest; which title, in law, is but a disseisin, and an unlawful title, and therefore may be again as justly regained, as it was gained at first by force, and by the stronger arm and sharper sword. And, as it was so gained at first, so it hath been ever since, either by the like pure force, or else by consent of parliament, upon particular cases, kept and continued; and so you will find, if you look, how every king since the Norman William (called the Conqueror) came to the crown. For, of all those five-and-twenty kings and queens, which have since that time kinged it among us, there are but seven of them, who could pretend legally to succeed their former predecessors, either by lineal, or collateral title. I have not leisure to repeat the particulars; and this, I have said, may serve to give you occasion (if you be so minded) to look further into it, and to satisfy your judgment herein, and, by consequence, to keep you from engaging against yourselves, and the nation, for a name, or for a thing, which is not truth.

And now I come to that, which is our true business, our work of the first magnitude, *Opus dei in die suo*, the articles of your charge; which I intend (for the better helping of your memories) to deliver to you in writing, with the laws and the punishments; and briefly to run over the rehearsal of the facts only, without further mention concerning them; yet with such necessary expositions and explanations of particulars, as shall be needful in my passage through them: adding only this for an animadversion to you, That you and I are trusted, at this time, with the administration of justice in our own country, amidst all the temptations, which our several relations of friends, kindred, or acquaintance, can offer unto us; which shews, that they who do so trust us, have great assurance and confidence in us; and then we must conclude, that this confidence puts a greater obligation upon us to fidelity and integrity in the discharge and performance of that trust committed to us. Add to this that *vinculum animæ*, the bond of the soul, the obligation of an oath, and I doubt not but it will be found, that though love, fear, and particular interest

be the usual cords which halter justice; yet, at this time, they will be found to be, among us, but sorry and unmasculine pieces of rhetoric, either to affright us from, or soften us in our duties.

The matter of your charge will be to enquire into, and find out the several offences, which have been committed and done against the politic body of the commonwealth, as so many several diseases and infirmities in the several parts of the natural body of a man which distemper and endanger the health of the whole; and they are of four sorts.

First, Such as are against the peace of the commonwealth, or whereby public peace is disturbed; and those I call diseases endangering the heart of this politic body.

Secondly, Such as are against the justice of the commonwealth, or whereby public justice is perverted; and those I call diseases endangering the head of this politic body.

Thirdly, Such as are against the plenty of the commonwealth, or whereby public plenty is diminished; and those I call diseases offending the stomach of this politic body.

Fourthly, Such as are against the beauty and good complexion of the commonwealth, or whereby this beauty and good complexion is discoloured and defaced, contained under the name and title of *common nuisances;* and those I call diseases offending the outward senses of this politic body.

Touching those against peace, they are of five sorts:

1. Treasons; which, again, are either high-treason, or petty-treason.
2. Felonies; which, again, are done either against the public, or against the particular person, or possession, of another.
3. Premunire.
4. Misprisions.
5. Trespasses.

High-Treasons are these:

1. If any levy war against the supreme authority of the nation, or adhere to the enemies thereof. And, when I do so express it, 'supreme authority,' I give you the meaning of the Stat. 25 E. III. 2. which mentions it thus: 'If any levy war against the king, or adhere to the king's enemies within the realm.' For the name and word King (*quatenus* the chief officer is trusted with the government in the administration of that government) is frequently used to set forth the public interest of the people; so we call it 'the king's peace, the king's coin, the king's highway,' and the like: all which, in truth, are the public concernments of the people, being for their public use and benefit; and are therefore expressed and exhibited unto us, under the notion of the king's name, because he is their public officer, and trusted for them. So that to levy war against the king, or to adhere to the king's enemies, is to levy war against the kingdom, and the government of it, and the supreme power and authority of it; or (which is more plain in the expression) to levy war without lawful warrant and authority so to do. And yet this, I believe, was that which has misled (and, perhaps, may still mislead) many of our countrymen: that, because they had the person of the king with them (betwixt whom and whom there were mutual and reciprocal deceivings,) and they (never remembering, that when in person he deserted the parliament, he left the king and kingly authority behind him, because he left the kingly office, and the power thereof, and public government behind him,) they catched at the shadow, and let go the substance; and so, under colour of fighting for the king, they fought against him. Yet, because *omnis non capit hoc*, every man did not understand this distinction betwixt the politic and natural body of the king, therefore see how mercifully and favourably the parliament hath dealt with these men, that they have not pressed the rigour of the law upon the offenders of this kind; whose offences being high-treason by the fundamental justice of this nation, and so their lives and whole estates, lands and goods, being forfeited by the law for the same, yet this forfeiture hath not been exacted upon them; but, in hope they will at last see

their errors, and repent for their misdoings, the parliament hath been pleased to carry a more tender hand, and, by way of commutation, to pass over their offences with the punishment of a small fine for such misdoings; yet with this silent admonition, like that to the woman in the Gospel, 'Go thy way, and sin no more, lest a worse thing happen 'unto thee.'

2. If any counterfeit the great seal, privy seal, or privy signet.

3. If any counterfeit the coin of the nation, or otherwise clip, or diminish it.

4. If any kill a judge, or justice of oyer and terminer, in his place, doing his office.

5. If any Jesuit, or seminary priest, born in England, and ordained and professed beyond sea, by authority derived from the see of Rome, do come into, or abide within this realm.

6. If any the second time extol, defend, or maintain, within this realm, the usurped jurisdiction or authority of the Pope, or any other foreign prince.

7. If any bring over and put in ure, or receive from beyond sea any bull, or instrument of absolution or reconciliation, to absolve the people of this nation from their allegiance here to the see of Rome; or endeavour the second time to withdraw the people to the obedience of the see of Rome; or, if any be absolved, reconciled, or withdrawn. And here you must understand, that in treasons, actors and consenters are principals, and there are no accessaries at all in treason.

Petty-Treasons are these:

If a servant kill his or her master or mistress.

If a wife kill her husband.

Premunire.

Touching Premunire, it is, properly, a writ or process of summons, awarded against such as brought in bulls or citations from the court of Rome, to obtain ecclesiastical benefices, by way of provision, before they fell void; for, of old time, divers acts of parliament were made, viz. in the times of King Edward the Third, King Richard the Second, and King Henry the Fourth, against the Pope's exercise of jurisdiction within this nation, and against those subjects that did appeal, from the courts of justice here, to the court of Rome; and who obtained provisions there, to have abbeys and priories or benefices with cure, here; which proceedings tended (say those statutes) to the destruction of the realm and of religion. Therefore, these being held to be great offences, and so tending to the disherison of the rights belonging to the crown and the people of England, and to the destruction of the common law, are made to be grievously punishable, viz. to be imprisoned during life, to forfeit lands and goods, and to be put out of the protection of the law. Afterward other later laws were made, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, against other offences of like nature, wherewith we have now to do; namely,

If any send over, or contribute money or relief, for maintenance of any Jesuit or seminary priest, or college beyond sea.

If any extol, defend, or maintain the jurisdiction or authority of the Pope (or of any other foreign prince) within this nation.

If any bring over any Agnus Dei, crosses, pictures, or beads, hallowed (as they call it) at Rome, to disperse among the people; or if any person receive any such, or know of this offence, and conceal it three days.

If any do aid, or assist those, who put in ure any Pope's bulls, or instruments of absolution brought from Rome.

Misprisions of Treason are these:

If any know another to be guilty of high-treason, and do conceal it.

If any forge or counterfeit foreign coin, not current here.

If any utter counterfeit coin, knowing it to be such.

If any strike, or draw a sword, to strike a justice, sitting in place of judgment.

Felonies against the Person of Another are these:

If any commit homicide, viz. kill or slay another.

If out of precedent malice, expressed or implied, it is murder.

If upon a sudden falling out, it is manslaughter.

If in doing a lawful action, it is called chance-medley, misadventure or misfortune.

If in his own defence, it is so styled, homicide *se defendendum;* and so also poisoning, stabbing, and bewitching to death, are homicides.

If any commit a rape, viz. have the carnal knowledge of a woman against her will, or with her will, if she be under ten years old.

If any take away, or consent, or assist to take away any maid, widow, or wife, against her will, she being then interested in lands or goods.

If any marry a second husband, or wife, the first being alive.

If any commit buggery, or sodomy, a crime '*inter Christianos non nominandum,*' says the indictment.

If a gypsey, or counterfeit Egyptian, have continued a month within this nation.

If any person, appointed by law to abjure, refuse it, or return after abjuration.

If any do wilfully and maliciously cut out the tongue, or put out the eyes of another.

If any receive, or relieve, or maintain any Jesuit, or other seminary priest, knowing him to be such.

If any incorrigible rogue, judged dangerous, and banished, return again.

If any dangerous rogue, branded in the shoulder, return again to a roguish life.

If any person, infected with the plague, wilfully go abroad, and converse among company.

Felonies against the Possession are these:

If any break a dwelling-house in the night, with intent to do any felonious act there.

If any rob another by the highway, or take any thing privately from his person.

If any take the goods of another in his absence, with intent to steal them.

If any servant go away with his master's goods (delivered to him), with intent to steal them, being of the value of forty shillings, or above.

If any rob a church.

If any maliciously burn the house, or stack of corn, or barn of corn, of another.

If any take up a hawk, and do not carry her to the sheriff, to be proclaimed.

If any do, the second time, forge any deed, evidence, or writing, and publish it to be a good deed.

If any acknowledge a fine, or judgment, or deed, to be inrolled in the name of another, and not being the true person.

If any rase, embezzle, or withdraw any record of the court.

If any use the art of multiplication of gold or silver.

If any hunt by night in parks or warrens, with painted faces, or other disguises, and deny it upon examination.

If any persons, above twelve in number, raise any tumults or unlawful assemblies.

If above forty persons shall assemble together, to do any unlawful act, and shall continue together three hours after proclamation for their departure.

If any depart out of this nation, to serve a foreign prince, without leave, and before bond entered, and oath taken according to the statute.

If any soldier or mariner, who hath received press-wages, according to the statute, do afterward depart from their service, without license.

If any such soldier or mariner do wander and beg, without a pass, or if they counterfeit their pass.

If any person having the custody of public stores of victuals or ammunition, embezzle or purloin any of it, to the value of twenty shillings or above.

If any do the second time transport sheep beyond sea.

If any persuade another to commit any felony, or receive and assist any felon, after the felony committed, these are accessaries to the felony.

If any rescue a felon from prison.

If any felon break prison, and escape, or be suffered to escape, and be rescued.

Misprision of Felony is this:

If any know another to have committed felony, and do not reveal it.

Trespasses and Offences against the Peace, finable, are these:

If any menace, assault, beat, or wound another.

If any make unlawful entry upon other men's lands, or unlawfully take away other men's goods.

If any make unlawful assemblies, routs, or riots.

If any chide, brawl, or draw a weapon to strike, or do strike in a church, or church-yard.

If any keep a fair or market, in a church, or church-yard.

If any say, or hear mass.

If Papists be absent from church a month together.

If any keep a recusant school-master, or other recusant servant in his house.

If any shall voluntarily disturb the preacher in his sermon.

If any affirm, that the eating of fish, or forbearing flesh at set times, are necessary for our salvation, or for other purpose, than as a politic constitution.

If any frame, make, or publish any false, scandalous, or libellous writing, or picture, against another; or to the disgrace of others, or whereby to move contention amongst the people.

And, touching this devilish invention of libelling and defaming others, in these days, more frequent than ever, by false and horrible lyes, and slanders, and pamphlets published even against the parliament itself, and every member of it, and every man that wishes well to it; yourselves can testify how frequent it is, and hath been of late, and therefore I beseech you be careful to find out some of those, who have been offenders in it.

And thus you have here mention of the offences against public peace, which are as so many diseases in the heart of the politic body of the commonwealth.

Next come the Offences against public Justice, which are also to be found out by us; and these are either against Justice in the general, or are Offences by Officers trusted in particular Administrations, or by Artificers, and Labourers, and Masters, and Servants.

Offences against Justice in general.

If any be a common stirrer, and procurer of law-suits, or a common brabbler or quarreller, among his neighbours; this is barratry.

If any buy or contract, for a pretended right or title to land, or other thing in controversy of suit; this is unlawful buying of titles.

If any maintain the law-suit of another, to have part of the thing in demand, or otherwise; this is maintenance or champerty.

If any get goods of another into his hands, by false tokens and messages; this is a deceit punishable.

If any counterfeit any deed or writing, and publish it as true; this is forgery.

If any corrupt a jury-man, by bribery or menace, to divert him from giving a just verdict; this is imbracery.

If any corrupt any of you of the grand jury, by bribes, or otherwise, to make favourable presentments.

If any informer, upon penal laws, do not duly pursue his information, or if he sue our a process, before the information be exhibited, or compound before the defendant hath answered, or after an answer without license.

If any wilfully and corruptly swear falsely, in evidence to a jury, it is perjury; and to procure another so to do, is subornation of perjury.

If any take more interest upon loan of money, than after eight pounds *per cent.* for a year, this is unlawful usury and extortion.

Touching public Officers, trusted in the Administration of Justice, and failing in their Duty.

First, the Sheriff.

This is a great officer, and is much trusted in the service of the people, and, by the statute of *articulum super chartas*, is to be chosen yearly by the people, that they might the better be assured of those they trusted. But this privilege of election (among others) the people have lost, and the court, of later times, did learn how to make profit, both by electing sheriffs, as also by keeping them off from being elected.

In his office you find him a judge, and a minister of justice. He is a judge in his court, called the Turn, and sits as judge, and hath the profits in the court, called, 'the county court.'

Touching the Turn.

If the sheriff, or his deputy, do not send indictments, found in his turn, to the next sessions.

If the sheriff, or bailiffs, arrest any person upon an indictment in his turn, or levy the fines, or amerciaments, imposed in his turn, without warrant indented from the sessions.

Touching the County Court.

If the sheriff, or his bailiffs, enter plaints in his county court, in the absence of the plaintiff, or of some other known person, authorized by him.

If the sheriff, or his bailiffs, enter more plaints than one, in his county court, upon one cause of action.

If the sheriff, or his bailiffs, fail to summon the defendant to appear, at the county court.

If the sheriff, or his bailiffs, levy the amerciaments, set in the county court, upon the defendants for not appearing, called 'the sheriff's amerciaments,' without an indented estreat between him and two justices of the peace.

As a Minister of Justice.

If the sheriff let his county or bailiwick to farm.

If the sheriff or his bailiffs, collect the green-wax estreats of the exchequer, without shewing the estreats under seal.

If the sheriff's officer, or jailer, for any cause, but court fees, detain any prisoner in jail, after the court hath discharged him.

If any sheriff make out any warrant to make an arrest, not having the process then in his custody.

If the sheriff, or his deputy, take for breaking-up a common law mean process, and making an arrest, above two shillings and four-pence, viz. twenty-pence the warrant, four-

pence the arrest, and four-pence the bond, if the defendant be bound, or four-pence the jailer, if the defendant come to the jail.

If the sheriff, or his deputy, take above one shilling a pound for doing an execution, under one-hundred pounds, and sixpence a pound for every hundred pounds more, and this after the execution is levied.

If the sheriff, or his bailiff, take any money, or other reward, for sparing an arrest, or for letting to bail persons not bailable, or for shewing him any other favour.

If the sheriffs refuse to let to bail persons arrested upon mean process, who are bailable by law.

If the sheriff, or his deputy, take a bond, for appearance of any other form, than that directed by the statute.

If the sheriff return any jurors, without their true addition.

If the sheriff, or his deputy, take any thing, for making and returning pannels of juries, or take above four-pence for the copy of one pannel.

If the sheriff or jailer deny to receive, without fee, felons sent to the jail.

If the bailiff of any liberty do not perform the same duties as are enjoined to sheriffs, in executing warrants and processes directed to them.

Touching the Constable.

This is an officer of justice, and an officer of peace, and is of great trust, and good use, if he perform his duty; and therefore, by the way let me say, that care must be taken by the justices of peace, and stewards in leets, that able and honest persons, and fit for the service, be put into this employment.

If he does not endeavour to preserve the peace and prevent the breach of it.

If he does not arrest night-walkers, and suspected persons.

If he does not hastily pursue hue-and-cry after murderers and robbers.

If he does not cause watch by night and ward by day, to be kept within his office, from Ascension-day to Michaelmas-day, and ward by day, the rest of the year.

If he does not truly execute and return all warrants sent to him, from justices of the peace.

If he does not appoint in Easter-week overseers of highways.

If he does not apprehend beggars, rogues, and vagabonds, that are wandering or begging within his office, and if any have hindered him from doing his duty therein.

If he does not punish, by the stocks, such as refuse to labour in hay and harvest time.

If he does not inventory felons' good happening within his office.

If he does not, once a month, search alehouses, maltmakers' houses, and houses of gaming and bawdery.

If he does not present at the sessions, or to the next justices, the disorders in alehouses, defects in highways, recusants' absence from church; and such as keep dogs, guns, nets, and the like, for the unlawful taking of wild fowls and hares.

If he does not drive the commons within his office for infected and unlawful cattle, once (at least) in summer.

Coroner.

If he fail to perform his duty upon summons, as well where the fact is by misadventures, as by man's hand.

If he take any fee where the fact is by misadventure.

If he take any fee, above thirteen shillings and four-pence where the fact is by man's hand, and that of the goods of the manslayer, if he be in custody; or, if he escape, then of the town, where the fact was done.

Clerk of the Market.

If he take any common fine for dispensing with faults in weights and measures.

If he take any fee for marking weights and measures, but those allowed, viz. One penny for a bushel and hundred-weight; half a penny for half a bushel, and half a hundred weight; a farthing for every less weight or measure.

Clerk of the Peace.

If he take any fee for his office-doing, but those allowed, viz. For an alehouse recognisance, one shilling.

For a badger's or drover's license, two shillings.

For enrolling presentments for recusants, 0.

For enrolling of a recognisance of a rogue, taken into service, one shilling.

For enrolling a deed of bargain, and sale of land, being under forty shillings *per annum* value, one shilling.

And if it exceed forty shillings *per annum* value, two shillings and sixpence.

Ordinary.

So formerly called, as having had *jurisdictionem ordinariam in jure proprio.* But that name and thing fell away with the bishops: and the officer, who now officiates in that service of proving the last wills, and granting the administration of the goods of dead men, in the southern province, doth it now by the mediate authority and power of the parliament, by virtue of an ordinance for that purpose. But, in these northern parts, the old authority is both boldly and unlawfully exercised, and continued without any warrant at all. But touching the fees, taken, upon these occasions, thus much is to your present purpose.

If he take any fee, but those allowed for proving of a will, or granting an administration, viz.

Where the inventory exceeds forty pounds; five shillings.

Where it is under forty pounds, and above five pounds; three shillings and sixpence.

Where but five pounds, or under; sixpence.

Or a penny for every ten lines, ten inches long; which rate is also allowed for their copies.

And what is taken more than those, is extortion.

If any minister take any mortuary, but where the custom of the place allows it; where it is allowed, if he take any mortuary for an infant, feme-covert, or traveller; or if he take any thing, where the inventory is under ten marks; or if he take above three shillings and four-pence, where the inventory is above ten marks, and under thirty pounds; or if he take above six shillings and eight-pence, where the inventory is above thirty pounds and under forty pounds; or if he take above ten shillings, where the inventory is above forty pounds.

Searchers and Sealers of Leather.

If they be not appointed by the owner of the market, in market-towns.

If they (being appointed) refuse the office.

If they do not, in convenient time, perform their duty and office upon particular occasions, when leather is brought to them to view.

If they be not furnished with a register-book and a seal.

If they fail to set down all bargains of tanned and unwrought leather.

If they allow such as is insufficient, or disallow such as is sufficient.

If they take any fee, save such as is allowed; viz. for every ten hides, two-pence; and for every six dozen of calves-skins, two-pence.

If triers of tanned-leather, seized for insufficient, be not appointed by the owners and rulers of fairs or markets.

If the triers refuse to perform their duty.

Toll-gatherers.

If owners or rulers of fairs and markets have not appointed some certain place for sale of horses there, and a toll-gatherer to attend.

If the toll-gatherer do not sit in an open place, in markets and fairs, where horses and cattle are sold; and continue there from ten of the clock in the morning till sun-set.

If he do not keep a register-book, and therein set down the bargains brought before him, and have the parties and vouchers present which he knows.

If he take any fee or reward save that allowed, viz. a penny for one bargain entering.

If any person, coming in as a voucher, take upon him the knowledge of the seller, and do not in truth know him.

If the toll-gatherer refuse to deliver a copy of his entry, or take above two-pence for it.

Overseers of the Poor.

If they refuse to execute their office, being appointed thereto by the justices of peace.

If they do not provide a common stock, and take care to keep the poor at work, upon the common stock of the parish.

If they do not meet once a month particularly to confer about the performance of their duty.

If they do not raise a weekly taxation for the maintenance of the impotent poor.

If they suffer their parishioners to wander and beg out of their parish, or in their parish, without license.

Overseers of Highways.

If they refuse to execute the office, being chosen thereto by the constable and neighbourhood.

If they do not, upon the next Sunday after Easter, appoint publicly in the church six days betwixt that and Midsummer, for the neighbours to meet for mending the highways in the parish.

If they do not attend at the days appointed to direct the works.

If they do not present to the next justice of the peace, or at the next sessions, the defaults of absent parishioners.

If they do not present to the two next justices of peace, the defects of highways, and of not scouring the ditches that should lead and avoid the water from standing in highways.

Touching Artificers, Labourers, Masters, and Servants.

If artificers, labourers, or servants, conspire what wages to take, and not to work under those rates.

If artificers or labourers undertake work, and depart before it be finished.

If they do not continue from five of the clock in the morning till seven at night in the summer, and from seven till five in winter.

If labourers or servants take any more wages than the rates allowed by the justices.

If any servant assault master or mistress.

If a tradesman retain a journeyman for less time than a year.

If for every three apprentices they do not keep one journeyman; and for every apprentice above three, one journeyman more.

If they refuse to labour in hay-time or harvest.

If a servant depart from one parish to another, without a testimonial from his master.

If any master hire any such servants wanting such a testimonial.

If any servant depart within his term, or at the end of his term, without a quarter's warning; unless the cause be allowed before two justices of the peace.

If any master put away his servant within his term, or at the end of his term, without a quarter's warning; unless the cause be allowed before two justices of peace.

Braziers and Pewterers.

If any brazier or pewterer buy or exchange any metal belonging to his trade, but in open shop, or fair, or market.

If they sell their wares of metal not of the ally of London.

If they use any deceitful weights or false beams.

Cordwainers; viz. a Tanner, Currier, Shoe-maker, and Butcher, dealing with the Hide.

Tanner.

If he set his fats in tan-hills.

If he over-lime his hides.

If he tan any leather in warm ouse.

If he do not work the lime well out of the leather.

If he use any stuff but malt, meal, tap-wort, hen-dung, culver-dung, ash-bark, and oak-bark.

If he use any deceitful mixture for raising his hides.

If he suffer his hides to be frozen with winter-frost, or to be parched with summer-sun, or to be dried by the fire.

If he tan any rotten hides.

If he do not renew his ouse so often as need requires.

If he do not keep his soal-leather twelve months, and upper-leather nine months in the ouse.

If he sell any tanned leather, which is insufficiently tanned.

If he sell any tanned leather out of a market.

If he sell any tanned leather, before it be searched and sealed.

If any tanner be a currier or a shoe-maker, or use any other trade which cuts leather, or *è contra.*

Currier.

If he dwell out of a market-town, or exercise his trade in a shoe-maker's house.

If he curry any leather but such as is sufficiently tanned.

If he use any other stuff in currying outer-soal-leather, but good hard tallow, and no less thereof than the leather will receive.

If he gash or scald any hide, or shave any leather too thin.

If he refuse to curry leather brought to him with stuff to work it; or if he keep it in summer above eight days, and in winter above sixteen days.

If he be a tanner or shoe-maker, while he is a currier.

Shoe-maker.

If he do not make his wares of good leather, soal and upper leather well tanned, and well sewed with thread well waxed and twisted, and hard drawn with hand-leathers.

If he mix his wares, part neats-leather, part calf, horse, or bull hide.

If he sell any wares upon Sundays.

Butcher.

If he gash, slaughter, or cut any hide in fleaing.

If he water any hide, save in June, July, or August.

If he sell any corrupt or rotten hides.

If he sell any hide but in open market.
If he use the trade of a tanner.

Tanned Leather.

If any buy tanned leather, red and unwrought, and do not make it into made wares.
If any but tanners buy rough hides.
If any buy tanned leather out of a market.
If any buy tanned leather before it be searched and sealed.
If any refuse and resist the searchers to make search.
If any engross oak-bark.

Cloth-makers.

If any use raking of linen cloth, or use lime or other undue mixtures in whitening linen cloth.

Cooper.

If he make his ware of unseasoned wood.
If he do not make it of due assize, viz. The barrel thirty-six gallons of beer, and of ale or soap thirty-two.
The kilderkins after the same proportion.
The firkins after the same proportion.
If he do not set his mark upon it.

Tile-maker.

If he do not dig his earth before the first of November, and turn it over before the first of February, and turn it again before the first of March, and then try and tew it from stones.

If he make his tile of less assize than ten inches and an half long, and six inches and a quarter broad; and gutter-tile ten inches long, and ridge-tile fourteen inches long, and half an inch and a quarter thick.

And so I have done with the offences of this kind, which are against public justice; and now I come to those which are against the public plenty of the stores of food and provision for the people, and are therefore in these hard and dear times to be most carefully prevented, if it may be, at least by such ways as the law directs.

Touching the Plenty of the Country, and the Disordersby Victuallers.

In general, whatsoever tends to enhance the price of victuals for unlawful increasing particular men's profits by it, this is an offence against the plenty of it; and therefore,

If any do buy any sort of victuals as it is coming to a market or fair, either by water or land; it is fore-stalling.

If any buy victuals in a market, and sell it again within four miles; it is regrating.

If any buy any dead victuals, or corn growing upon the ground, with intent to sell it again; it is engrossing.

If any victuallers conspire to sell their victuals at unreasonable prices.

If any victuallers sell any unwholesome victuals.

If any buy corn, having sufficient for his house-provision for a year, and do not the same day bring so much other corn to the market to be sold.

If any drover or other buy cattle, and sell them again alive, within five weeks.

If any person take upon him to be a badger of corn, not being lawfully licensed by four justices of peace.

If any buy butter or cheese in gross, and sell it again in gross, or by retail out of an open shop.

If any forbear to rear calves yearly, viz. one calf for every two kine, or every three-score sheep he keeps; or do not keep a milched cow for every three-score sheep.

If any transport sheep, corn, butter, or cheese, beyond sea.

If any keep above two thousand sheep at once.

If any destroy wild-fowls' eggs, or take wild-fowl between the last of May and the last of August.

If any hawk in standing corn.

If any, not qualified, keep dogs, ferrets, nets, or engines, to take hares, conies, pheasants, or partridges.

If any trace hares in the snow.

If any take or kill pheasants or partridges with engines, nets, or snares, or by shooting in guns.

If any shoot hail-shot in guns.

If any do unlawfully hunt or kill deer, or conies, in a park or warren.

If any sell pheasants, partridges, or hares.

Alehouse-keepers.

If any alehouse-keeper keep an ale-house, not being licensed thereunto.

If they sell less than a quart a penny the best, and two quarts a penny of the worse sort.

If they suffer unlawful tippling or drinking, games, tables, cards, or dice in their houses.

If inn-keepers do not sell their hay and oats at reasonable prices.

If tavern-keepers suffer people to sit tippling in their houses.

If any person continue tippling and drinking in taverns, inns, or alehouses.

If any person be drunk.

Bakers.

If any baker sell his bread of less weight than the due assize, viz. proportionable to the price of corn in the market, as it is regulated by a printed assize-book, set out to that purpose.

If they do not set their proper mark upon their bread.

If they give above thirteen to the dozen.

If any but bakers bake horse-bread to sell.

Butchers.

If any butcher kill and sell calves under five weeks old, or any weaning under two years old.

If they sell any measled hogs, or beast that died of the murrain, or other corrupt or unwholesome meat.

Fish.

If any destroy the fry of fish, or fish with nets less than two inches and an half wide in the mash.

If any kill any salmon under sixteen inches long, or pickerils under ten inches long, or trouts under eight inches long, or barbels under twelve inches long.

If dried barrel-fish (brought in by strangers) be not of due assize, viz. in barrels of herrings thirty-two gallons, in barrels of eels thirteen gallons, in a butt of salmon four-score and four gallons.

If any bring any cod or ling from beyond sea, in barrels to be sold, or otherwise than loose in bulk.

If any set a tax, or toll, or restraint upon fish, brought into this nation to be sold.

If any cut out or destroy heads or dams of ponds, moats, or stews of fish, in any man's several fishings.

Malt-Makers.

If any malt-maker do not make his malt of good and sweet barley, not mow-burnt or spired barley.

If they do not rub it and dress it well, and fan half a peck of dust out of every quarter.
If it be less time than three weeks in the fat, floor, and drying.

Millers.

If any miller take excessive toll for grinding corn, viz. above a twentieth part, or twenty-fourth part, according to the strength of the water.

Wine.

If any bring in wine in foreign bottoms.
If any bring in wine in vessels, not of due assize, viz. the butt one-hundred twenty-six gallons, hogshead sixty-three gallons, pipe one-hundred twenty-six gallons, terce eighty-four gallons, tun two-hundred fifty-two gallons.
If any sell wine, above the price proclaimed in chancery.
And thus you see how the public plenty of the country is diminished for a few men's particular gains, and you see also how the abuses may be reformed, to a general advantage of all the people.

Lastly, Common Nuisances are to be inquired after.

Touching common nuisances, or offences done against the general easements of the people; as, against the health, beauty, and good complexion of the body politick, are these.
If any erect a cottage, and do not lay four acres of ground to it, to be occupied with it.
If any continue such unlawful cottage.
If any keep an inmate, or undersitter, in a cottage.
If any common bridge be out of repair.
If highways to market-towns be not enlarged and cleansed of wood, two-hundred feet at least.
If any common highway be out of repair, or if any ditches be unscoured, or undressed, which should convey and avoid the water from standing in highways.
If the parishioners have not met at the day appointed, to mend the highways, as the law directs.
If any keep common gaming-houses, bowling-alleys, or the like.
If any common vagabonds and beggars, or wandering rogues, or dangerous rogues, do pass, or be suffered to pass, from place to place; or be relieved, in places where they come.
If any keep, or use, unlawful weights and measures, not according to the standard of the exchequer: or if weights and measures, of the standard assize, be not kept in every market town.
If any use any weights or measures, unsearched or unsealed.
If any profane the Lord's day, viz. by travelling that day, or by using sports, and unlawful exercises that day.
If any profanely swear or curse.
If any keep a stoned horse in any common ground, not being fourteen hands high.
And thus you see how the wisdom of the common laws of this nation, and of the parliaments, from time to time, hath provided for the security and ease of the people; and hath furnished us with a salve for every sore, and gives us rules and instructions, how to govern ourselves, that we may be helpful and useful to one another; and from whence it is, that we may well conclude, 'If we keep the law, the law will keep us;' and that, 'if we place the law in the throne, the law will preserve and protect us in safety and security.' Touching the offences, which are committed by disobedient and lawless persons; you that are culled out from all parts of the country, and chosen to be the chief agents, and first movers (as I may speak) in this work of justice, which is the subject of this day's service, and are the

country's trustees for that purpose; I do not question, but your public spirits are such, and common love to your country such (taking in even your own interests and particular profits and concernments), that you will be more than ordinary carefully to cleanse the country of these weeds, and darnel, and cockle, that grow up among the corn; those wicked and unreasonable men, which are as pricks and goads in the sides of others, and live idly, loosely, and wickedly, among the people, and are, as so many plague-sores, spread over the body of the country: and the way to cleanse the country of them, is to execute justice upon them; for the execution of justice is the work of God himself, the end of the law, the command of the parliament, the magistrate's honour, the offender's terror, and the expectation of all honest men. And therefore (as once it was spoken in another case) let it not seem a small thing to you, who are to begin this work of justice, that you are separated from the congregation, and brought near to the God of heaven, to do the service of the tabernacle, and to stand before the people, and to minister unto them. And, having said thus much, I leave what remains to your diligence. All our service begins in you; it is your *Ignoramus,* or *Billa vera,* "which opens and shuts, which shuts and no man opens."

A Representation of the present State of Religion, with regard to the late excessive Growth of Infidelity, Heresy, and Profaneness: Drawn up by the Upper House of Convocation, of the Province of Canterbury, and transmitted to the Lower House for their Approbation. Printed in 1711.

[Folio, containing Five Pages.]

May it please your Majesty;

WE, the archbishop, the bishops, and the clergy of the province of Canterbury, in convocation assembled, are deeply sensible of the many blessings and advantages of your gracious and prosperous reign. Amongst which, there is none that more affects us, than the tender care and concern shewn by your majesty for the flourishing state of religion, and the godly zeal you have expressed against the wickedness of those, who by loose and profane principles and practices, have endeavoured to undermine and destroy it.

We are thankful to Almighty God, who hath put it into your royal heart to repress these impious and daring attempts; and for that end, among others, to order your clergy to be called together, that they might, in synod, humbly offer their counsel and assistance.

It is, on many accounts, our duty, to do the utmost that in us lies, towards promoting so excellent a work. We have, therefore, applied ourselves, with diligence, to consider the matters to us referred; and do now, in obedience to your royal commands, humbly lay before your majesty,

A Representation of the present State of Religion among us, with regard to the late excessive Growth of Infidelity, Heresy, and Profaneness.

IT is with the greatest affliction and concern, that we enter upon a work so unpleasant in all respects, were it not for the hopes it gives us of seeing these evils, in some measure, removed; and, therefore, we shall not give your majesty the uneasiness of a particular relation, either of the blasphemous passages that have been published from the press, or the great impieties that have been committed. But, in discharge of the trust reposed in us, by your majesty, we think ourselves obliged to lay before you such an account of the progress of infidelity, heresy, and profaneness amongst us, as may let your majesty see the causes and occasions which have given the greatest rise to them, and the sad consequences with which they are attended.

It is hard to come to the beginning of these great evils, which all times have complained of; and, therefore, to confine our own inquiries, and lessen your majesty's trouble, as much as we can, we shall look no farther back for the source of them, than that long unnatural rebellion[1], which loosened all the bonds of discipline and order, and overturned the goodly frame of our ecclesiastical and civil constitution.

The hypocrisy, enthusiasm, and variety of wild and monstrous errors which abounded, during those confusions; begat in the minds of many men, too easily carried into extremes, a disregard for the very forms of religion, and proved the occasion of great libertinism and profaneness, which hath ever since too much prevailed amongst us; the seeds of infidelity and heresy, which were then sown, did soon after appear, and the tares have sprung up in great abundance.

The authority of the present canon of Scripture hath been represented, as standing upon a very precarious foundation; and the inspiration of the whole hath been called in question.

The miracles, recorded in Scripture, have been disputed and compared to the fabulous relations of those that occur in Heathen writers.

All mysteries in religion have been exploded as absurd and useless speculations, and several fundamental articles of our most holy faith have not only been called in question, but rejected.

The Arian and Socinian heresies have been propagated with great boldness; the doctrine of a Trinity of Persons in the Unity of the Godhead, hath been denied and scoffed at; the satisfaction made for the sins of mankind, by the precious blood of Christ, hath been either directly renounced, or very ungratefully lessened; the established creeds of the church have been represented as unwarrantable impositions.

Even at this time, when we are thus met by your majesty's writ, and exhorted by your gracious letter, to consult of methods for repressing pernicious errors and impieties, a book hath been printed, wherein the Arian doctrine (of which we cannot but declare our utter abhorrence) is avowed and maintained; and the truth of it is threatened to be shewn by large and elaborate proofs, in other treatises from the same hand, which are soon to follow. To this book, the author hath prefixed his name, and hath not been afraid to dedicate it to the archbishop, bishops, and clergy of this province, in convocation assembled, with invitation to all, to encourage his design by their subscriptions to it, and not without laying the imputation of Antichristianism upon all those who shall not approve it.

The natural immorality of the soul hath, upon different schemes and views, been opposed, as a vulgar error; and the necessity of all human thoughts and actions hath been asserted, to the overturning the foundations of all religion, whether natural or instituted, and to

[1] Against King Charles the First.

the rendering all notions of good and evil, of rewards and punishments, whether in this life, or the next, groundless and vain.

Others have endeavoured to root out of men's minds all notions of a Church, as a society instituted by Christ, with peculiar powers and privileges, and proper officers to administer the word and sacraments; and so to blend and confound the spiritual society with the temporal, as to make every thing in religion, its divine truths, and most sacred ordinances, dependent on the will of the civil magistrate; as deriving solely from him their sanction and authority. Nay, these religious ordinances themselves, even the chief of them, baptism and the supper of the Lord, have been spoken of with such a degree of ungodly mockery and scorn, as to fill the hearts of good Christians with horror and astonishment.

The frauds of Pagan and Popish priests have been displayed, in order to represent all priests as imposers upon the credulity of mankind, and draw infamy upon the priesthood in general; and to render the order itself, in what religion soever it was found, equally the object of public aversion and contempt.

The books containing the errors and impieties abovementioned, have been the more easily published and dispersed, since the expiration of the act for restraining the press; and, through the greater liberty of printing, which thereon ensued, have the vicious and profane had more opportunities to scatter their papers, for corrupting the manners of men.

Not only several pieces formerly written on the side of infidelity, which might have been forgotten without such a revival, have been collected into volumes, and published again; but mock catechisms, framed in a light manner, have been cried in the streets, to depreciate the excellent summaries of our Christian faith; and, as far as possible, to root out of men's minds the sense of those great truths that are contained in them.

This profaneness hath been much increased by the licentiousness of the stage, where the worst examples have been placed in the best lights, and recommended to imitation: and the various images thus painted to the life, and set out with all manner of advantage, have made such impressions upon the minds of the young and unwary, as are not easy to be effaced: where the bond of wedlock hath been generally treated as a ridiculous and burthensome yoke, to the great prejudice of society and virtue, and every thing sacred hath been exposed: where the office of the priesthood hath been made a matter of scorn and reproach: and where, at the opening of a new theatre[2], the building of churches was impiously derided, as a vain and useless work, the effect only of superstition and ignorance.

It is indeed for the purpose of the irreligious to discourage the building of churches where they are so much wanted, and where the want of them is, in all appearance, one great occasion of the irreligion of many. For, by this means, vast numbers of souls have, in and about these two populous cities, been excluded from a possibility of attending the public worship of God, and from all the benefits of Christian instruction. And the natural consequence of this hath been a gradual defection from piety and virtue to irreligious ignorance, and all manner of loose and licentious living.

And as the want of churches here, so the want of competent maintenance for the service of many that are in the country, where two or three cures do not often afford enough to support a minister, is, though not a late, yet a like occasion of profaneness and igno-

[2] [An intelligent friend informs me, that this 'new theatre' was built by Sir John Vanbrugh, in the Haymarket, and opened on the 9th of April, 1705, when an occasional prologue was contributed by Dr. Garth, which contained the following lines, that are here censured for their impiety:

"In the good days of ghostly ignorance,
"How did cathedrals rise, and zeal advance!
"The merry monks said orisons at ease,
"Large were their meals, and light their penances;
"Pardons for sins were purchas'd with estates,
"And none but rogues in rags died reprobates:
"But now, that pious pageantry's no more,
"And stages thrive as churches did before."]

rance there; for, by this means, many parishes have no minister residing among them, and are several Sundays in the year without any service at all; and the ministers, by having so much duty upon them, cannot discharge it as they ought, nor have time for catechising young persons, which is so necessary a part of Christian instruction.

And to the increase of this mischief, both in city and country, have they also contributed, who have taken occasion from the relaxation of those laws which made absence from the established church penal, to withdraw themselves entirely from all religious assemblies, although the very act of exemption, which gave liberty in one respect, equally restrained it in the other.

From these several occasions hath ensued a great neglect of the religious observance of the Lord's day, too great a part of which is spent, by many, in public-houses, and other diversions, wholly unsuitable to the time set apart for the more immediate service of God; though we have reason to think, that through the care of magistrates and others, some reformation hath been made of this matter.

But whatever share any of the causes and occasions abovementioned may have had in that growth of infidelity, heresy, and profaneness, amongst us, we cannot but bewail the effect; considering the dishonour it brings on our holy faith, our church, and nation; and the hurt it has done to your majesty's people, many of whom have been made worse men and worse subjects by the means of it.

It is lamentable to reflect how many souls have been lost by imbibing wicked doctrines from those books which have been scattered for several years through this kingdom; how many more are endangered by too near approaches to infidelity (though they have not as yet actually arrived to it) from a spirit of indifference and neutrality in religion, which hath been infused into their minds by those means.

But what we have farther to apprehend from our impieties is, that they have made us obnoxious to the displeasure of Almighty God, who may justly, on their account, be provoked to visit us with his judgments; by stopping the continued current of success with which he has hitherto blessed our affairs, and delivering us into the hands of our enemies; by withdrawing the pure light of his Gospel from us, and letting in the abomination of popery among us.

For the emissaries from Rome have been all along very watchful to lay hold of these opportunities for the advancement of their cause; to which nothing is so serviceable as scepticism and looseness of life. These, therefore, as well as the errors and divisions amongst us, they have always encouraged to the best of their power, and improved to their own advantage; representing in several books, as well as in their common conversation, the great uncertainty of the Christian religion upon Protestant principles, and filling men's minds with infinite doubts, the better to make them submit to an infallible guide. They have swarmed in our streets of late years, as they do more particularly at this time, and are very busy in making converts; nor do we doubt but that divers of your majesty's subjects, either from the scandal taken at the infidelity, heresy, and profaneness they see, or from sharing the contagion of it, have, by their arts, been perverted.

But, notwithstanding that we have these things to complain of, so much hath been done already toward taking off the causes and effects of these evils, and to prevent the further consequences of them, as to give us great hopes, that, through the blessing of God upon your majesty's authority and example, and the endeavours of your subjects in their several stations, we shall escape the danger we have so much reason to fear.

For, as books have been published in favour of heresy and downright infidelity; so others have been written from time to time, as occasion required, in defence of the fundamental truths, whether of natural or revealed religion, with great clearness and strength of argument. The vain pleas of the several advocates for infidelity have been particularly considered and refuted; to the silencing, if not the conviction, of some of the principal of them.

A lecture was founded, not many years since, by Mr. Boyle[3], in defence of the Christian religion against all the adversaries of it; and many excellent and useful sermons have been preached and published upon that ocasion.

Societies have been formed for the reformation of manners; funds of charity have been raised for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, and of Christian knowledge at home, and for the pious education of poor children; great variety of plain and useful discourses have been distributed among the meaner sort for their more easy improvement; and parochial libraries have been set up for the use of ministers in the country, that they might be better provided for the instruction of those committed to their charge.

Authority hath often interposed for the countenancing these excellent designs, and for withstanding the bold attempts that have been made upon our common faith; and for preventing the increase of irreligion and profaneness, royal injunctions and proclamations have issued, acts of parliament have passed, prosecutions at law have been ordered, gracious speeches from the throne have been made, and from thence such bright patterns of piety and virtue have shone forth, as have, no doubt, prevailed upon many, though the influence of them hath not extended so far as might have been expected.

But then the infidelity of some hath been attended with this good consequence in others, that the zeal of devout persons hath thereby been excited to do every thing that in them lay towards resisting and stemming the increase of this great evil; nor have their endeavours been altogether fruitless; our eyes daily see the happy effects of them; divine service and sacraments have of late been celebrated, and better frequented than formerly; the catechising of youth hath been more generally practised, and with greater success; vast sums have been furnished by private contributions to sustain the charge of educating poor children in the pious manner above mentioned; and many other new and noble institutions of charity have been set on foot.

Many churches have been repaired and adorned at the expense of the several parishioners and other benefactors; and many chapels opened in the larger parishes, though not sufficient to answer the wants of the inhabitants. Great sums of money have been by public authority provided and applied for the building, supporting, and adorning other churches; and your majesty has been graciously pleased, upon our humble address, to recommend to your parliament to find out means for the building of such as are still wanting; of which, from the great satisfaction with which your message was received, and the great progress made upon it, we hope to see the blessed effect; when all, who are religiously disposed, will have the opportunity of giving public testimony of it, and the careless be left without excuse.

In the mean time, other methods of redressing these mischiefs may, we humbly conceive, be successfully tried; such as your majesty's great wisdom and piety, and the foregoing observations, will suggest to you.

We entertain not the least doubt of your majesty's first resolution to render the laws and proclamations set forth for the suppression of immorality and profaneness useful to that purpose, by an impartial and vigorous execution of them; and to reform the coruptions[4] of the stage, which have been so instrumental in vitiating young and innocent minds, and have given so just offence to all serious and devout Christians.

We are entirely persuaded, that your majesty will, in the most effectual manner, discountenance all such persons as are profligate in their lives, or the known abettors and spreaders of impious opinions; and the repeated assurances which your majesty (whom God long preserve!) hath been pleased to give your people of your care to transmit the

[3] [To be preached at Bow Church, in Cheap-side, London.]

[4] [These corruptions received a more effectual check from the indignant animadversions of the learned Jeremy Collier than any royal proclamation could probably have produced. 'The wise and the pious,' says Dr. Johnson, 'caught the alarm; and the nation wondered why it had so long suffered irreligion and licentiousness to be 'openly taught at the public charge.' Life of Dryden.]

succession of the crown in the Protestant line, as established by law; give us great hopes, that our enemies of the Romish communion will, at last, be effectually discouraged from attempting the ruin of that excellent church, of which (under Christ) your majesty is the chief governor and glorious defender.

From the application of these several means, which we do not doubt but your majesty will use, we promise ourselves very great and durable effects; but that for which we at present in most earnest and most humble manner address ourselves to your majesty is, that by your royal interposition an act may be obtained, for restraining the present excessive and scandalous liberty of printing wicked books at home, and importing the like from abroad; in such manner as to the wisdom of your majesty and your parliament shall seem most expedient. For as we take this liberty to have been one chief source and cause of those evils whereof we have spoken; so we question not but the restraint of it would go a great way in the cure of them.

There is another pernicious custom that has very much prevailed amongst us under the false notion of honour, which we beg leave to mention in this place; and that is the practice of fighting duels, which has so far obtained, that your majesty hath had many occasions, and some very lately, to see the dismal effects of it.

We do therefore, in all humble duty, beg your majesty to take the most effectual methods to extinguish those false notions, so contrary to the laws of God, and so destructive of all society; and to put a stop to this wicked and unchristian practice, by such means as your majesty, in your great wisdom, shall think most proper.

We have also good hope, that all, employed in authority under your majesty, will, as we pray, 'truly and indifferently minister justice to the punishment of wickedness and 'vice, and to the maintenance of true religion and virtue;' and wish that some way may be found for the recovery and improvement of Christian knowledge and piety in families, which, we fear, is too much neglected.

We likewise hope, that especial care will be taken of the education of young people at the universities, by providing that tutors make it their business to teach their pupils the principles of the Christian religion in the course of their other studies; and endeavour to make them serious in it, with a particular eye to such as are designed for holy orders.

And for ourselves, who are called to this holy function, we beg leave to assure your majesty, that he will take all possible care of the discharge of our own duty, and do all that in us lies, that the canons of our church may be strictly observed both by ourselves and those commited to our charge,

We have those parts of our discipline which your majesty hath, in your great goodness, thought fit to recommend to us for farther improvement, under our most serious consideration; and hope, in some measure, to answer the wants of the church, and your majesty's expectations in referring them to us; as we shall at all times hereafter, as often as your majesty shall be pleased to require our attendance for these purposes, endeavour to make our synodical meetings subservient to the good order and establishment of this church, the interest and advantage of the Christian religion, the satisfaction of your majesty, and the honour of God.

And our daily and fervent prayer to God shall be, that your majesty may be the happy instrument of these and many other blessings to this church and state; that you may be as prosperous in your designs against infidelity and vice here at home, as you have been in all your undertakings against the common enemy abroad; and may, by that means, add, what alone is wanting to complete the glory, and crown the successes of your ever memorable reign!

The Bloody Parliament, in the Reign of an unhappy Prince.

Printed at London in the Year of much Blood-shed, 1643.

[Quarto, containing Seven Pages.]

THIS present occasion serving so opportunely fit, I though it a labour well worthy the observation, to lay down a true narration of that memorable parliament, begun in the tenth year of Richard the Second; both for the great wonders that it wrought, in the subversion of malignants, who were near unto the king, and had distilled much pernicious counsel into his sacred ears; as also, that every good and careful reader might learn thereby to avoid diversities of miseries, and the fear and danger of a cruel death. I will therefore give a true and short narration of that which hath lain hid a long time in the shadow of forgetfulness, concerning men of great and eminent authority in this kingdom, who have been led away in the deceitful path of covetousness, and have come to an untimely and ignominious end; being famous examples to deter all men in authority, or whom favour shall raise near unto the king, from practising those, or the like courses.

When Richard, the second of that name, about the prime of his youth, swayed the imperial sceptre of our realm, there flourished in his court certain peers, viz. Alexander Nevill, Archbishop of York, a man more favoured by fortune, than by the honour of his descent; Robert Vere, Duke of Ireland; Michael de la Poole, Earl of Suffolk, and then Lord Chancellor; Robert Trissilian, Lord Chief-Justice of England; and Nicholas Brambre, a man, though low in parentage, yet some time Lord Mayor of London. These men being raised by the special favour of the king, and advanced to the degree of privy-counsellors, were the men, who had the only rule of the common-wealth, which they, for a little while, governed, under the king, with great care and diligence, meriting thereby deserved commendations; but this not long did continue, for, overcome either with ambition, or with covetousness, or with the pleasures of the court, they despised the authority of their too easy king, and (neglecting the commodity of the realm) in a short time, the revenues of the crown began to waste, the treasure was exhausted, and the commons murmured at the multiplicity of levies, and subsidies, and new ways of taxations; the peers repined to see themselves disgraced; and, in one word, the whole kingdom endured an universal misery. The nobility, seeing the miserable estate wherein themselves and the kingdom was involved, urged the king to summon a parliament, which was done shortly after; in which amongst many other acts, Michael de la Poole was dismissed of his chancellorship, and, being accused of many crimes of injustice, as bribery, extortion, and the like, he was committed to Windsor castle, and all his lands confiscated to the king. Neither did the parliament here give over, but provided for the whole state, by a mutual consent betwixt his majesty and the prelates, the barons, and the commons; and, with an unanimous consent, they chose a committee of the lords spiritual and temporal, to repress all civil dissensions, and to appease the grudgings of the people. Of the spirituality were chosen the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Ely, the Bishop of Winchester, &c. Of the laity were elected, by the Duke of York, the Earl of Arundel, the Lord Cobham, the Lord Scroope, &c. These, as men eminent in virtue, where chosen by general suffrage, and (the parliament being then to be dissolved) were sworn to carry themselves as dutiful and obedient subjects in all their actions. Soon after the aforenamed chancellor, Michael de la Poole, buzzed in the king's ears (being moved with implacable fury against the parliament) that the statutes, then enacted, were prejudicial to the crown, and much derogatory to his princely prerogative; insomuch that he should not have the power in his own hands to

preserve a servant, or to bestow a largess, &c. By these, and other the like impious instigations, (with which the devil did continually supply them,) they practised to annihilate these out of the parliament, or whatsoever might seem, by the liberty of the subject, to reflect on the royal prerogative of the prince. And first, by their serpentine tongues, and ambitious projects, they so bewitched the noble instigation of the king, that they induced him to believe, that all the ill they did was a general good; and so wrought upon him, that he began to distaste and abhor the passed acts of his parliaments, as treacherous plots and wicked devices. Next, they studied to ingross the riches of the kingdom into their own coffers, and, to the same end, dealt so cunningly, yet pleasingly, with the king, that to some he gave ransoms of royal captives, taken in the late wars in France; to some towns, to some cities, to some lands, to others money, amounting to the sum of a 100,000 marks; to the great impoverishment both of king and kingdom. Thirdly, contrary to their allegiance, they vilified the dignity of the king; they caused him to swear, that with all his power, during his life, he should maintain and defend them from all their enemies, whether foreign or domestic. Fourthly, whereas it was enacted, that the king should sit with his parliament at Westminster, to consult of the public affairs; through the persuasion of the aforesaid conspirators, he was drawn into the most remote parts of his realm, to the great disparagement of his great council, and the general dissatisfaction of the kingdom. And when any of his great council came to make relation of the state of the realm unto his majesty, they could not be granted access, unless they related the business in the presence of the conspirators, who were always ready to upbraid them, if the uttered any thing that displeased them; and though they seemed to advance it, they did as much as in them lay, to hinder the king from exercising his royal prerogative. But though there were so many plots, conspiracies, and treasons against our state, our ever-merciful God inspired into the hearts of the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, the spirit of valour and magnanimity; and every man, according to his ability, levied a power for the preservation of the king and kingdom; all which forces, being united, amounted to the number of 20,000. And though the conspirators, by virtue of a certain spiritual commission, proclaimed throughout the city of London, 'that no man, upon the pain of the 'loss of his goods, should sell any victuals, or ammunition, to the army of the Earl of 'Arundel;' they could not debar them from it: wherefore, they counselled the king to absent himself from parliament, and not consult of the affairs of the kingdom, unless an oath were taken, that they (the said conspirators) should have no accusation urged against them. And they caused it to be proclaimed throughout London, 'that none, under 'pain of confiscation of all their goods, should speak any upbraiding speeches concerning 'the king, or the conspirators;' which was a thing impossible to hinder. In the mean time, the three noblemen, the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, having mustered their troops, sent an accusation in writing to the king, against the said conspirators, the Archbishop of York, the Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolk, Robert Trissilian[1], and Nicholas Brambre, wherein they accused them of high treason; for proclaiming throughout all the shires where the king journeyed, that all barons, knights, and esquires, with the greatest of the commonalty, able to bear arms, should speedily repair to the king, for his defence against the power of the commission. As also, that contrary to the said acts, they caused the Duke of Ireland to be created Chief Justice of Chester, hereby selling justice as they listed, and for giving pardons, under the broad seal, to felons, murderers, and such like: As also, they taught Ireland to look back to her pristine estate of having a king; for they plotted to have the Duke created king of Ireland; and, for to have the confirmation of this design, they allured the king to send his letters to the Pope.

[1] [Tresilian was hanged and Brembar was beheaded. A metrical legend in the Mirror for Magistrates recounts "the fall of Robert Tresilian, Chief Justice of England, and other his fellows, for misconstruing the laws and expounding them to serve the prince's (Rich. II.) affections."]

When these things came to the king's ears, he sent unto them, requiring to know "What their demands were?" Answer was returned, "They desired, that the traitors, who daily committed insufferable crimes, and filled his ears with false reports; to avoid the effusion of more blood, might receive that reward their crimes deserved, and that they mighthave free liberty of going and coming to his grace." This the king gave consent unto; and, sitting in his throne, at the great hall in Westminster, the poor appellants, with humble reverence, bowed three times low before his majesty on their knees, and again accused the aforesaid conspirators, guilty of high-treason: whereupon, not long after, the Duke of Ireland withdrew himself; and, marching into Cheshire, Lancashire, and Wales, raised a power of 6000 men, in the king's name, to overthrow and confound the appellants; and, marching towards London, when he found the army of the appellants was marching down the mountains, near Whitney, like a hive of bees; such a violent and cold palsy cowed them, that they flung down their arms, and yielded themselves to the mercy of the appellants; the Duke of Ireland himself, putting spurs to his horse, took the river, where he hardly escaped drowning. The conspirators, hearing of this, struck with fear, under the cover of the night, did fly by water to the Tower, and seduced the king to go along with them.

Not long after, there was a conference in the Tower, betwixt the king and the said appellants; at the end of which the king did swear to adhere to their counsels, so far as the true law of reason and equity did require; and, because the harvest was now ripe, presently divers of the officers of the king's household were excluded; as John Beauchamp, Peter Bourtoey, knights, and many others; and of the clergy, John Blake, dean of the chapel; John Lincolne, chancellor of the exchequer; John Clifford, clerk of the chapel; were kept under arrest. And thus the hideous brood of monsters, so often shaken, was quite overthrown.

On the second of February the king came to his parliament, and after him appeared the five noblemen, appellants; who leading one another hand in hand, with submissive gestures reverenced the king, and, by the mouth of Robert Pleasington, their speaker, they thus declared, "That the Duke of Gloucester, and themselves, came to purge themselves of the treasons laid to their charge, by their conspirators." To whom the lord chancellor, by the command of the king, answered, "That the king conceived honourably of them all, especially of his cousin the Duke of Gloucester, who being of affinity to him in a collateral line, could never (he said) be induced to attempt any treason against his majesty." On this, after thanks humbly given to the king, the appellants requested the king, that sentence of condemnation might be given against the conspirators; but the king, (being moved in conscience and in charity,) perceiving that in every work they are to remember the end, desired, that the process might cease; but the peers again importuned him, that no business might be debated, until this treason were adjudged; to which the king, at length, graciously granted his assent: and, when nothing could be produced by the conspirators to justify themselves, they were adjudged this heavy doom, That the Archbishop of York, the Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolk, Tressilian, and Brambre, should be drawn from the Tower to Tyburn, and there to be hanged upon a gibbet, until they were dead; and all their lands and goods to be confiscated, that none of their posterity might by them be any way enriched. After this many more of their accomplices were taken, and indicted of high-treason, whose names here follow underwritten.

The Names of such as were charged and condemned of High-Treason in the aforementioned memorable Parliament:

Alexander Nevill, Archbishop of York; Robert de Vere, Duke of Ireland, who being banished into France, was killed with a wild boar; Michael de la Poole, Earl of Oxford, Lord High Chancellor; Robert Tressilian, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench; Sir Nicholas Brambre, some time Lord Mayor of London, made a privy-counsellor; John Blake, Serjeant at Arms; Thomas Uske, an intelligencer of Tressilian's. All these, except the Duke of Ireland, were hanged and drawn at the Elms, now called Tyburn.

Robert Belknap, John Holt, Roger Falthorp, William Burleigh, John Locton, and John Carey, were judges; and, although condemned, yet their lives were saved at the intercession of the lords spiritual and temporal, and were afterwards banished into Ireland; Sir Simon Burleigh, who was condemned and beheaded; Sir John Beauchamp, steward of the household to the king; Sir James Beversous.

There were also condemned and detected of the aforesaid treason, the Bishop of Chichester, the king's confessor; Sir Thomas Trinit, knight; Sir William Ellington, knight; Sir Nicholas Neyworth, John Slake, and John Lincoln, which last were three of the clergy, Behold these men, who feared not God, nor regarded men, but, having the laws in their own hands, wrested them now this way, and now that way, as pleased best their appetites, wresting them, at their pleasures for their own commodities, were at the last brought down to the depth of misery, from whence they were never able to free themselves.

Richard, son of the valiant and victorious Edward the Black Prince, was born at Bourdeaux, and grand-child to King Edward the Third: being eleven years old, he began his reign, the twenty-first day of June, in the year of our Lord 1377, and was crowned king at Westminster, the sixteenth day of July; in bounty, beauty, and liberality, he far surpassed all his progenitors, but was overmuch given to ease and quietness, little regarding the feats of arms; and, being young, was ruled most by young council, regarding little the counsel of the sage men of the realm; which thing turned this land to great trouble, and himself to extreme misery. For being first disgraced by his cousin Henry of Bullingbrooke, Duke of Hereford, son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster; he was, at length, by the general consent of parliament, deposed from his crown and kingdom, the twenty-ninth of September, 1399, and committed to prison, and afterwards wickedly murdered; for, being sent to Pomfret castle to be safely kept, and princely maintained, he was shortly after, by King Henry's direction and command, (who feared lest his estate might be shaken while King Richard lived,) wickedly assaulted in his lodging, by Sir Peres Exton, and eight other armed men; from one of whom with a princely courage he wrested a broom-bill, therewith slew four of them, and fought with all the rest; until, coming by his own chair, in which the base cowardly knight stood for his own safety, he was by him struck with a pole-axe in the hinder part of his head, so that presently he fell down and died[2]; when he had reigned twenty-two years, seventeen weeks, and two days.

[2] [The metrical history of Richard II. in the Mirror for Magistrates, thus terminates the unhappy life of that weak monarch; and so does Fabian. But Walsingham makes him his own destroyer: while Mr. Andrews seems to opine with Stowe, in believing his death was caused by hunger.]

Strange News from Plymouth: or, a wonderful and tragical Relation of a Voyage from the Indies; where, by extraordinary Hardships, and Extremities of the late great Frosts, several of the Seamen, and others, miserably perished; and for Want of Provision, cast Lots for their Lives, and were forced to eat one another: and how a Dutch Merchant eat Part of his own Children, and then murdered himself, because he would not kill his Wife. With the miraculous Preservation of George Carpinger, an English Seaman; and the Dutch Merchant's Wife, now a-shore at Plymouth. In a Letter to Mr. D. B. of London, Merchant.

Printed at London, for J. Conyers, at the Black Raven in Duck-lane, 1684.

[Quarto, containing Eight Pages.]

SIR,

ACCORDING to promise in my last, I have inquired into the particulars of that so tragical a relation therein mentioned; the which, without any prologue, I shall lay down in its naked truth, as I had the same from the mouth of the survivors who are now at my house; which, if you please, take as follow:—A gentleman called the Heer van Essell, native of the Low Countries, having had the education of a merchant at home, was resolved to improve his patrimony in some foreign parts: to which end, being thereunto the more encouraged by the promise of a strict correspondence with several of his countrymen, he undertook a voyage to the Indies, whither he arrived about the year 1670. And, by the industrious management of his affairs increased his estate so considerably, that few men in those parts lived in greater splendour. Being thus settled, about seven years afterwards, he came acquainted with the daughter of a Dutch merchant of great fortune, a gentlewoman of many worthy accomplishments, and exceeding beautiful. Our merchant, being much taken with her port and beauty, made his addresses to her, and, resolving to change his condition, found her not altogether averse to his happiness; which, by degrees, he raised to consent, and obtained her for his wife, with whom he lived very happily for several years, till he had increased his estate to such a portion, as made him think to return to his own country, where he first drew breath, and had left his relations: communicating which design to his lady, she readily assented to the voyage, and accordingly he made preparation to gather his estate into a bottom, and take leave of the Indies, which in a short time he effected; and being supplied with a vessel that had discharged herself at the said port, he hired the same for Rotterdam, and therein embarked himself, his wife, two children, and one servant, with all his estate; which amounted to a very considerable cargo, and, in August last, took shipping. The flattering sea, which too often beguiles us to our undoing, promised him for the first two months a very happy voyage, and filled his heart with hopes of touching the shore, the long absence of his friends rendered very desirable to him; and buoyed up with the expectation of a happiness cruel fate had designed to deprive him of, was on a sudden becalmed; insomuch that, for several weeks, they could scarce tell whether they were forwarded a league's space; in which time, of the sixteen seamen and master that was on board, by a disease that increased amongst them, several died; and, by degrees their provision growing short, they were forced to deal the same more

sparingly about, hoping, by their care, they might have enough to serve them through their voyage, and make the best way they could to their desired port. Yet, such was their misfortune, that they failed of their expectation, and came to see the last of what they had spent, and for four days lived without any sustenance: and, the wind being cross, they could not make land, where they might revictual, but were forced to keep on their voyage. Their extremity was such, that the two children, not so well able to bear the hardships as others, both died; on whose bodies, notwithstanding the tears and entreaties of the merchant and his wife, they were forced to feed; which being in a short time consumed, it came to be considered, having no sight nor hope of any shore, that they must either all of them submit to the fate that threatened them, or contrive some other method to save themselves, which at present they had not the least prospect of; unless, in the common calamity, they consented by lot, or otherwise, to destroy some one in the number to save the rest; which unwillingly they were at length enforced to, and jointly agreed, that, according to the number then on board, they should number so many lots, and on whom number One fell, he should be slain, and number Two should be his executioner. But here a dispute arose, whether the merchant's wife, whose two children had to her great grief been already eaten, in favour to her sex, should not be exempted from the fatal lot; some were of opinion she ought, and particularly one George Carpinger, a stout English seamen, used his endeavours to work the company to assent thereunto; but as nothing is so voracious or cruel as the jaws of hunger, on the one hand, or so estimable as life on the other, he could not effect his design; so that, the majority having over-ruled his arguments, they drew in common, and such was their misfortune, that the lot fell on the woman for death, and on her husband for executioner. Miserable was the lamentation of the husband and wife, that so fatal a mischance should for ever part them; yet tears and entreaties were ineffectual, so that nothing but submission was left, though the merchant's servant and Carpinger stood resolutely against the rest, and resolved to spare them; which the merchant perceiving, and knowing their force was too little to accomplish their wishes, with a settled countenance spoke to them to the following purport: "Honest friends, (for such you have approved yourselves to me,) you have seen the hardship of my fate; and, since it is drove to this point, I am resolved never to be her executioner, who hath been so loving and just a wife to me; but in her stead am resolved myself to be the sacrifice; and therefore what I have to say to you is, that you stand her friends, when I am dead: what is in this vessel does, as you know, belong to me; spare nothing of it to serve her, and with these notes, if ever that you arrive at Rotterdam, though all in this cargo be lost, you shall be plentifully rewarded." Which after he had said, and they with tears had heard, being about to answer him, he drew a pistol from his pocket, which he so unexpectedly discharged, they had not time to prevent it, and shot himself in the head, of which wound he immediately died.

The cry they made at his fall, and the noise of the pistol, were quickly heard by the rest of the ship's crew, which soon called them thither; nor was his wife long absent, who, poor lady! had been preparing herself for her end, which, by this less pleasing disaster she saw prevented. The tears she shed and extravagancies she acted at so dismal a tragedy, were but needless to recount, since none are so hard-hearted but may in some measure judge; she sounded[1] and almost died with grief, and begged to be her own executioner, but she was too narrowly watched by her servant and Carpinger, to effect so cruel a purpose: their eyes never left her, and their cares were more for her preservation than their own; but in vain was all their watchfulness against the enemy from without, when she harboured in her own breast a foe sufficient to destroy a greater strength than grief had left her; for no entreaties could persuade her to feed on that dear corpse she had so often cherished, but what share thereof the hardships of her fate allowed her for her food, she embalmed with her tears, and by renewed vows promised to share fortunes with it, and be buried in

[1] [i. e. swooned.]

the same unwonted grave in which that flesh was distributed, she once so much admired; which she had near accomplished, having had no food in that time but two rats, which were fortunately taken and presented to her by Carpinger, at such time as the fatal lot was to take its second round, in which she was resolved to share, notwithstanding all the entreaties of Carpinger and her servant; and, in short, she had her wish, and drew again a second time her own sentence, which she welcomed more than a bridal day; and, being just ready to yield her throat to the executioner's knife, she had certainly fell, had not Carpinger, with two more, whom he hired, stepped in, and resolutely withstood the execution; upon which quarrel they drew their faulchions, and four persons were slain, amongst whom the faithful servant was one. This was a sufficient morsel for the present, and staid the bloody hunger of the survivors, who were now reduced to five or six persons besides the lady: with the bodies of the slain they were then fed more plentiously than for some months preceding; but such was the rigour of their fate, that, by the unusual diet, most of their men were dead, just as they got sight of the Land's-end of England; and, having but very few hands to work their vessel, they found that, from the dangers they had been so long in, a second threatened them from the severity of the late season; for, the ice being there in very great flakes, they found themselves drove amidst the same towards the shore, from whence they could not disengage the ship; in which time, Carpinger, being a person of a voluble tongue, (and formerly well bred at Stepney, near London, where his father, Captain Carpinger, had long lived,) used all the consolation he could by words or device, to comfort the disparing lady; till at length, she was prevailed to hearken to him, and give her promise to spare all violence on herself, and wait her better fortune: in this case they lay for six days, till all but two persons, besides themselves, were dead, and these so miserably weak, they could not leave their cabins, so that, being froze in, they could not stir. Carpinger with the lady resolved to venture on the ice, and set forward towards the shore; which she the rather undertook, for that she hoped hereby to find a grave in those waves on which she had lost what she loved above her own preservation; with this resolution, Carpinger, taking charge of the lady, got a plank and a long pole in his hand, and with these left the ship, and, with great danger and difficulty, in six hours got safe to shore, having opportunity only of saving a casket of jewels, which he brought off with him, where, at my own house, the said parties now remain, in reasonable health; and, considering the care and kindness of Carpinger, the lady seems much to favour him, and, when the time of mourning is over, will, undoubtedly, make him happy in her embraces.

SIR,

YOU may, according to the credit I have with you, communicate this to the publick, if you think fit: after Easter I intend to see you at London, and, in the mean time, I am

Your Servant,

Plymouth, Feb. 3, 1683. J. G.

POSTSCRIPT.

I SHOULD have given you some account of the ship, called the De Ruyter, of Rotterdam, which we see at a distance; but as yet the frost is so hard we cannot get to her, but have small hopes of preserving her.

J. G.

This relation is justified for truth, by us,

John Cross,
William Atkins, } Seamen.

The Quack's Academy: or, The Dunce's Directory. A new Art to cross the old Proverb, and make a Man a Fool and Physician both at a time. Discovering the several Methods whereby so many ignorant Pretenders obtain Repute and Practice[1].

—— Cur ludere nobis
Non liceat, licuit cùm jugulare tibi? MART.

With Allowance.

Printed at London, for A. B. in MDCLXXVIII.

[Quarto, containing Six Pages.]

BEFORE we enter upon the subject matter of this sheet, be must declare, that we do except out of our design all those learned and worthy persons, whose experience and labour, in the arts of medicine may any way contribute to the common good of mankind; intending only to reflect on those illiterate pretenders to physick, whose practices are as well shameful as dangerous to the place they live in; of which latter sort we are about to speak.

Having observed the prodigious success of modern quackery, and that the practice of it is lately become a last shift; more common and thriving too, than selling of ale, or setting up a coffee-house: and finding still abundance of indigent idle people, that could never make their untoward handicrafts fadge to purpose, who would be glad to exchange them for so genteel and advantageous an employ, had they but the secret knack, whereby other bankrupts, with small pains and less parts, have in an instant raised themselves from beggary to competent estates: out of our great respect to such hearty well-willers, to secure so gainful a science, we have thought fit to unfold the whole mystery, as it is this day practised with so much profit and applause. Draw near then with attention, all you decayed ragamuffins of the town; you by whose dulness no mechanic mystery but scorns to be mastered, whom neither sea nor gibbet will accept; we will put you in a way of feeding yourselves and the worms too. Honest, no doubt, because common and safe; for why, your miscarriages shall never be heard for the din of knells you shall occasion.——— But to deliver our documents in order.

First, To pass for current, you have no more to do but to call yourselves *Doctors:* Pliny hath affirmed it before; and, though I neither expect nor desire you should understand Latin; yet, because a scrap may do you a kindness, one time or other, to swagger with, I will give it you in his own language:

Hâc solâ artium evenit, quòd cuilibet se medicum dicenti facilè credatur; cùm sit periculum in nullo mendacio majus.

'In this art alone it comes to pass, that any one, but professing himself a physician, is 'presently believed; though in no case the belief of a lie be more dangerous.'

I have Englished this for the benefit of those that do not understand Latin; and I have no quarrel at all against those that do.

However, in the second place, to support this title, there are several things covenient; of which some are external accoutrements, others internal quallfications.

[1] [This very humourous exposure of medical empiricism, may have been the prototype of Swift's Mock-Advice to Servants, and Williamson's Directions to Officers of the British Army.]

Your outward requisites are a decent black suit; and, if your credit will stretch so far in Long-lane, a plush jacket: not a pin the worse, though threadbare as a taylor's cloke; it shews the more reverend antiquity.

Secondly, Like Mercury, you must always carry a caduceus or conjuring japan in your hand, capped with a civet-box; with which you must walk with Spanish gravity, as in deep contemplation upon an arbitrament between life and death.

Thirdly, A convenient lodging, not forgetting a hatch at the door; a chamber hung either with Dutch pictures or looking glasses, belittered with urinals or empty gally-pots; and phials filled with tap-droppings, or fair water, coloured with saunders[1]. Any sexton will furnish your window with a skull, in hope of your custom; over which hang up the skeleton of a monkey, to proclaim your skill in anatomy.

Fourthly, Let your table be never without some old musty Greek or Arabic author, and the fourth book of Cornelius Agrippa's Occult Philosophy, wide open, to amuse the spectators; with half a dozen of gilt shillings, as so many guineas received that morning for fees.

Fifthly, Fail not to oblige neighbouring ale-houses, to recommend you to inquirers; and hold correspondence with all the nurses and midwives near you, to applaud your skill at gossipings.

Now to your necessary qualifications, they are in general two, viz. loquacity or talkativeness, and impudence.

As for the first, It is a mighty setter-off among the vulgar; be sure, therefore, you learn to pronounce oppilation and obstruction of the spleen, and scirrhus of the liver, with a full mouth; at least speak hard words, though never so wretchedly misapplied, and obscure common ordinary things in terms of art, (for all the use you are to make of such terms, is the same jugglers do of *hictius doctius* and *presto;* to amuse people's brains, while you pick their pockets), if you can but get so far as to call the fit of an ague, a paroxysm; fits of the mother, hysterical passions; thunder out sympathetical and antipathetical cures; prate of the mechanism of nature, though you know no more of it than a ploughman does of clock-work; tell them of appeasing the irritated, archaical, microcosmical monarch; increasing the radical moisture, and relieving all the powers, vital, natural, and animal: the admiring patient shall certainly cry you up for a great *schollard,* provided always your nonsense be fluent, and mixed with a disparagement of the college, graduated doctors, and book-learned physicians; against whom you must ever bring in your high and mighty word *Experience.*

But since every man is not endued with the gift of tattling, and that it is fit you should learn, like a Dutchman, to sail with every wind; if niggardly nature, or more penurious education, have not afforded you a tongue well hung, make a virtue of necessity; look grave and big; decline all discourse, especially if ingenious men be by; tell them diseases are not to be frighted away with words; that you do not come to talk, but to cure, &c. This will at once conceal your ignorance from the judicious, and increase your esteem for a notable reserved pretty fellow with others. If any ask the cause of their distempers, or reason of your prescriptions; satisfy them both by producing a list of your mighty cures; wherein, if one half be false and the other hired, there is no great danger; for he must be a strange inquisitive infidel, that will not rather believe them, than give himself the trouble of disproving them——Which brings me to the second property, viz.

A convenient audacity.—There is nothing more necessary, nothing more advantageous. Make people believe that no pitched field ever slew or wounded half so many as you have recovered; that you have made death retreat, where nature was more fiercely beleaguered than ever was Stetin, and dissappointed him of more bits, than civil or foreign wars have

[1] [Or *santalum:* a medicinal wood brought from the East Indies, of which there are three sorts, red, yellow, and green.]

furnished him with these forty years; that you have even beckoned souls back again, that have been some leagues onwards their journey from their bodies; boast the wonders you have done at Leyden and Hamburgh, the Lazaretto at Venice, and the Maison de Dieu at Paris; that your closets are immortality-offices, and that you can let leases of lives of a larger date than popish indulgences; pretend to the cure of all diseases, especially such as are incurable; and, to know which are most in season, consult the bills of mortality, and next week vary your bill accordingly.

In particular, since the whole art of physic consists in the diagnostics, prognostics, and therapeutics; for the first two, you must either pretend to be waterologers, or (which is more abstruse and modish) ass-trologers, or p-ss-prophets, or star-wizards; either way will do well enough, and (to speak truth) are much of a certainty; in both there is necessary a previous pumping, by apt and wary questions, and their answers, handsomely turned into other words, will extremely gratify the patient or querent. If you practise by the urinal, though it is as like to discover the colour of a sick man's clothes as his infirmities; yet a thousand to one, but with discreet handling, you may shake it into the scurvy, the pox, or the consumption. Nay, you may venture to tell what trade your patient is of, by his working-day's water; and, if you see his Sunday's water, what religion he is of. But, if you proceed by the scheme, there is nothing so probable as to say, "He is bewitched under an ill tongue; that he has a take upon him, or is planet-struck; and the Lord of the Seventh shews you to be the only doctor in the world that can help him." Only here beware that you never pronounce a common-council-man with child, or a constable sick of the mother; and in other cases, if your judgment chance not to hit the nail on the head, it is but having recourse to necessary prudence, called by the superstitious, 'the Art of Lying;' as to tell them their stomach is fallen out of the place, but you doubt not but to fetch it up again; that they have straws in their lungs as big as beams, and their lives are wasted with venery and drinking. Then as for therapeutics, if your medicines be galenical, though never so common, disguise them with strange names; call sena a specific, mithridate an elixir, extractum ruddii an arcanum, and add a nostrum to album græcum. But if you would rather betake yourself to chemical devices, and want nonsense to cant their virtues; there are pamphlets enough abroad to furnish you. The tincture of the sun's beard, the powder of the moon's horns; or a quintessence extracted from the souls of the heathen gods; will go off rarely for an universal medicine; and bubble the simple out of their money first, and their lives afterwards,

But to deal ingenuously, I will teach you a far more ready and curious way, both of finding out and curing all diseases, than has yet been discovered; which is thus:—Take two large sheets of paper, on the one write down (or get the book-learned scribe that writes your bills to do it for you) the names of all ordinary distempers; on the other all celebrated medicines, whether cathartics, diuretics, diaphoretics, or emetics. Then, when any patient comes or sends, and you have heard the story; retire a while, telling them a true physician must first study and then prescribe. In the mean time, by yourself, on the roll of infirmities, fling a dye; and, as many as the chance is, so many diseases, you may assure them, the party has; but principally that whereon the dye falls: then the same on the paper of remedies, and prescribe or administer that which the dye lights on, to be taken so many times as there are spots on the chance. And, if the sick be pained in the head, you may easily discourse them into a persuasion that the disease, or at least the cause, is in their hand or toe: by which safe and ingenious course, you shall honestly refer it to fortune, to discover both the disease and medicine; whereas others, through a conceited knowledge, or unhappy ignorance, render themselves more than accessary to the death of many.

There are several other directions fit to acquaint you with, which we shall reserve for the second part of this most useful directory. In the mean time (as your predecessors have done before you) practise these and give thanks

To your old Friend, MISO-AGYRTES.

A Question, Whether there be Nothing New? Being one of those Questions handled in the Weekly Conferences of Monsieur Renaudot's Bureau d'Addresses, at Paris. Translated into English, Anno 1640.

London: Printed by R. B. for Jasper Emery, at the Eagle and Child, in St. Paul's Church-yard, near St. Augustine's Gate.

[Quarto, containing Six Pages.]

THE desire to learn is natural, and no less pleasing to the mind of man, than his desire of getting; and, indeed, it is one kind of getting. And as men receive more contentment, in one new purchase, than in often thinking on all those, which they had made before; so our understanding takes a great deal more pleasure, in feeding upon new nourishment, than in chewing the cud upon that, which it had already: yea, and among those new repasts, if it light upon any, which it never tasted before, it receives it, as our palate is wont to do, with so much the more pleasure. For Nature is more pleased with the change, than with the continuation of the use of any thing: the reason is, because, seeking the supreme good, and not finding it in any of those things, which he hath yet made trial of, she always hopes to find it elsewhere. This sweetness is that which allays the bitterness of learning to children, who are ravished with the pleasure of learning all those histories, and pedantical conceits, which we can so hardly endure, when we are grown to more age. It may be, it makes old men so melancholic, because you can hardly tell them any thing, that they know not; and, therefore men's talk is tedious to them; whereas ignorant youth admires and takes pleasure in every thing. And we are so delighted with novelty, that there is no beast so ill-favoured, which seems not pretty, when it is young; witness the ass's foal; nor no plant of so little delight, as that novelty cannot commend it; as we see in the hop, and the primrose. But,

I distinguish novelty into physical, or natural, moral, and artificial. The first of these is in new productions, whether of substances, or accidents, or of diseases unknown to the ancients. The second, of new and unusual actions. The third, of inventions.

According to which distinction, we may state this question, and that, in my opinion, must be done thus: 'There are no new substantial productions;' Nature having displayed all her forces, almost these six thousand years (according to the true account; and much more, if we believe the Egyptians and Chinese), and having run through all imaginable varieties of species, by the divers combinations of all her matters; and, also, through all mixtures of qualities, and other accidents; which makes it impossible to shew any disease, that is new and unknown to the foregoing ages. But, for actions, it is another case; their number cannot be determined, because they depend upon the liberty of man; which could be no longer liberty, if our will were not free to pass some set number. Much less can inventions be said to be determinate, and reducible to a certain number; because they depend, in their productions, upon the wit of man, which is infinite in its duration, and in its conceptions, which cannot be bounded, no not by that vacuum, which some have imagined on the further side of the heavens; of which all our inventions are proofs sufficient.

The second said, That this exception is unnecessary, there being nothing at all new, in any of those fore-named classes, according to the testimony of him, that was best able to judge, as being the wisest, and who had made the most experiments; I mean Solomon,

who boldly pronounces of his own times, that there was not then, nor should ever be, any new thing. How much more then is it true in our time, being so many years after him? For, to begin with the *formæ substantiales*, as they call them, there is not one of that sort new, not only in its species, but even in its individual qualities, which, indeed, appear new to our senses, but yet are not so, for all that; as the shape of a marble statue was in the stone not only in possibility, but also in act, before the graver made it appear to our eyes, by taking away that, which was superfluous, and hindered us from seeing it. And if we believe that we have so good a horse, that his like was never found; it is not, because it is so, but, because it seems so; other horses, as good, or better than that, never coming to our hands. Much less likely is it, that new diseases should be produced, as some have believed, imagining that the ancients were not curious enough to describe all those of their times, or their successors, diligent enough to examine their writings, to find them there. As for human actions, do we see any now-a-days, that have not been practised in times past, whether good or bad, valiant or cowardly, in counsel or in execution? And that, which they call invention, is, for the most part, nothing but a simple imitation in deeds, or words. Thus, printing and guns, which, we believe, were invented within these two or three hundred years, are found to have been in use, among the Chinese, above twelve hundred years[1]. So saith Terence of speech, *Nihil est jam dictum, quod non dictum sit prius.* Our very thoughts, though they be innumerable, yet, if they were registered, would be all found ancient.

The third said, That Nature is so much pleased with diversity, which is nothing else but a kind of novelty, that she hath imprinted a desire of it in all things here below, and, it may be, in things above also; for they are pleased in their work, and the supreme and universal causes produce us these novelties. Thus, the different periods of the heavens make new aspects, and new influences, not only every year, but also every month, every day, yea, every moment. The moon, every quarter, shews a several sort of face; and particularly, when she sends all her light towards the sun, she is called new. The sun, at his rising, is new, and so he appears incessantly to some country or other in the world; in each of which he makes new seasons; and amongst the rest, spring, because it is the most pleasant time, is commonly called, in France, *le renouveau*, because it renews all things; the air decking itself with a more cheerful light, the trees clothing themselves with leaves, the earth with greenness, the meadows being enamelled and embroidered with new flowers. The young man, that feels the down upon his chin, acknowledgeth his mossy beard to be new; upon his wedding-day, he is a new married man; it is a pretty new case to his bride, to find herself made a woman; her great belly and lying-in are also novelties to her; the little infant then born, is a new fruit; his first sucking is new; his teeth, at first coming, are new. And so are all other conditions of clerkship, and priesthood and widowhood, and almost infinite others. Yea, many things that seem not at all to be new, yet are so, as a river seems very ancient, and yet it renews itself every moment; so that the water, that now runs under the bridge, is not that which was there yesterday, but still keeps the same name, though it be altogether other indeed. We ourselves are renewed from time to time, by our nourishment's continual restoration of our wasted triple substance. Nor can any man doubt, but there are new diseases, seeing nothing is written of them, in the books of the ancients, nor of the remedies to cure them; and that the various mixtures of the qualities which produce them, may be in a manner innumerable; and that both sorts of pox were unknown to the ancients. But this novelty appears yet better in men's actions, and divers events in them, which are, therefore, particularly called news. Such are the relations of battles, sieges, takings of towns, and other accidents of life; so much the more considerable, by how much they are ordinarily less regarded. It were also too much in-

[1] [Printing is said to have been invented in China about the year 930, in Germany about 1440; and guns were brought into use upon the Continent about 1380.]

justice to go about to deprive all inventors of the honour due to them; maintaining, that they have taught us no new thing. Do not the sectaries and heresiarchs make new religions? Moreover, who will make any question, whether we have not reason to ask, what new things Africa affords now-a-days, it having been so fertile in monsters, which are bodies entirely new, as being produced against the laws of nature? And, when the king calls down money, changeth the price of it, determines its weight, is not this a new ordinance? In short, this is to go about to pervert, not only the signification of words, but also common sense, in maintaining, that there is nothing new; and it had not been amiss, if the regent, who printed such paradoxes in a youthful humour, had never been served with new-laid eggs, nor changed his old clothes, and, if he had complained, answer might have been made, that 'there is nothing new.'

The fourth said, That there are no new substances, and, by consequence, no new substantial forms, but only accidental ones; seeing nothing is made of nothing, or returns to nothing; and, in all the other classes of things, there are no new species, but only new individuals, to which monsters are to be referred. Yea, the mysteries of our salvation were always *in intellectu Divino:* which made our Saviour say, that 'Abraham had seen him.' And, as for arts and inventions, they flourished in one estate, whilst they were unknown in another, where they should appear afterward in their time. And this is the sense, wherein it is true, that there is nothing new.

Vindex Anglicus: or, The Perfections of the English Language defended and asserted[1].

Printed Anno Dom. MDCXLIV.

[Quarto, containing Six Pages.]

AMONGST all things requisite to noble actions, I never saw fear recounted; neither can I acknowledge it due from so excelling a creature as man to any but the eternal Majesty of his Creator. Which consideration makes me adventure the hazard of many censures, resolving to account those slender scars they shall be able to inflict upon me in this attempt, as characters of honour, deciphering to every ingenuous eye my love to my country. Whatever ensue, it will suffice me with content enough, if my honest endeavours serve as an incitement to some more able pen, to handle such a worthy, though almost neglected subject, as is the patronage of our truly excellent language.

I seek not to compass any such miracle as to convince the prepossessed judgments of foreigners, but shall think to retreat with victory enough, if I can but foil those unnatural domestics, who degenerately do either with a certain fond affected idolatry adore the language of other nations, contemning their own; or else imperiously (as if censors in this particular) do add, detect, mangle, and transform her, according to their weak fancies; vainly spoiling the best of vulgar languages. I will not stick to avouch it a language, though that very affirmation be a received paradox; nor will I blush to parallel it with the best of the minor languages.

[1] [In Adams's "Pronunciation of the English Language *vindicated* from imputed anomaly and caprice," 1799, many ingenious remarks on languages and dialects will be found, though the style of the writer is characterized by much whimsical eccentricity.]

And, to make it good, I will not deduce it from Babel's confusion, for truly I believe it had a nobler beginning; neither will I traffic with Scaliger so far for it as Persia or Chersonesus: seeing I look upon such deductions, as learned fancies conducing little to prove our antiquity, neither needful; since we together with our language are extracted from the Germans, whose title is so glorious in that kind, that the rest of Europe gives place unto them. There are two main objections which seem to exclude us from the title of a language, our mutability and mixture, happy faults; and so universal, that I presume the best of our opponents are hardly free from: though (it may be) not equally guilty of, for I confess our mutability to be more frequent, yet choicer than theirs; and our composed mixture consisting of greater variety, yet accompanied with more purity and felicity. The Italian is compounded of Latin, barbarous Greek, and Gothish: the French, of Latin, Dutch, and the old Gallic: the Spanish, of Latin, Gothish, and Morisco: Germany hath a taste of the Roman empire, and her bordering neighbours: if I be not deceived, in us you may discover all these with advantage; yet their purest expressions fitly seated, and separated from their barbarisms, which by others are swallowed together with the rest. All of them are so mutable, that our frequency is excusable; nay, mixture and mutability are things so natural to language that none but the Hebrew (if that) are free from them.

What is become of the ancient Latin, used in the reigns of Latium and Carmenta; or in the times of the Tarquinii, or Decemviri; nay, or under the very consuls or emperors, if books did not conserve it? The same question may we make unto the French, Spanish, the latter Italians, and Germans also: though Becanus would make us believe wonders of their antiquity, immutability, and the hidden cabala or mysteries contained in their language, like as, in the Hebrew; to which, by his account, it is not inferior in age, he deriving it even from the days of Adam: which perfection, supposed true, we also might partly lay hold of, as a branch of the same tree. But,

—— *Credat Judæus Apella, non ego:*

'Let him that please, believe the same,
'For I the fable quite disclaim.'

For my part, I believe that what the learned physicians pronounce of human bodies, that they are by time often renewed; (excretions, cold, heat, sickness, wounds, and sweat consuming the present, and giving place to new substance;) may be said of languages, altered by every age; and as antiquity hath given place to us, so we shall yield to our posterity, not only in our lives and fortunes, but our language also.

By this time, I hope you will grant us the name of a language, and stay us no more upon the simple term of speech; wherefore now will I direct myself against those admirers of foreign tongues, slighting their own, inferior to none of them in true excellency. None, I presume, will deny the perfection of a language to consist in facility, copiousness, sweetness, and significance; in all which, if I can make good that our language is equal, if not superior to the rest, I hope he must be very far transported with passion, and deeply factious, that will not assent unto me.

The great facility of our language is evident by a double demonstration, the ease wherewith others commit ours to memory, and the singular help which it affords us to the attaining of others. Our monosyllables, and the exemption we have from flexions (whereunto most others are incident) do greatly facilitate ours; which, though some may reckon as a defect, I will esteem a blessing, accounting that multiplicity of cases, genders, moods and tenses, (which puts us to school to learn our mother-tongue) the emblems of Babel's curse, and confusion. For our facility in learning others, let us renew but the old observation: Turn an ingenious Englishman into what country soever, and quickly you shall for the most part see him profit so well, that his speech will little or nothing differ from

the genuine dialect, of what language soever is there used by the natives; no common privilege.

Our copiousness, I need not use much art to demonstrate; for, besides the treasures of the ancient Dutch, which we retain in our Saxon monosyllables, the choicer wits of our nation have fetched hither the very quintessence of those other languages, and by their excellent industry so happily improved our English soil, that I dare safely affirm many of those foreign scions bear better, and more plentifully than in their former climate. The Latin and French are defective in the expression of many words, which we utter with ease, and they have none, whereunto our ability extendeth not: our abundance ends not here. We have court and country English, Northern and Southern dialects, which differ not only in pronunciation, but also in words and terms. There is no language can deliver a matter with more variety than ours, plainly by synonymas, or by circumlocution with metaphors; which any mean judgment will instance with sundry examples. We almost equalize the Greeks, and even exceed the Latins, in a peculiar grace of compounding many words together, which is one of the greatest beauties can be in a language.

Our significancy and abilities in expression, in the several parts, both letters, words, and phrases, is very eminent; in number and use of letters we exceed both Greeks, Latins, French, and Italians. Our words are incomparably significant, insomuch that many of them have four or five several significations. Our interjections are so fit for the expression of our passions, that they seem to be derived from the very nature of our several affections; when many of those of other tongues are almost ridiculous. What variety doth any other nation brag of, that we have not almost with equal felicity made our own? The Italian courtier, the French Salust, the Spanish Guzman, the Latin Naso, and the Greek Polybius; who would read that matchless Essay of Mr. Sandys, upon the Æneids, and, would not think it writ by the peerless Maro himself? How properly hath the renowned Lord Bacon taught us to speak the terms of art, in our own language! We judged it impossible, till we saw it performed; which difficulty when I see overcome, makes me despair of nothing. What matchless and incomparable pieces of eloquence hath this time of civil war afforded! Came there ever from a prince's pen such exact pieces as are his majesty's declarations? Were there ever speeches uttered in better language, or sweeter expressions, than those of the noble and learned Lord Digby[2], and some other worthy personages? Did ever nation expose choicer, more honourable or eloquent discourses, than ours hath done in our sovereign's behalf, since these unhappy divisions? There is no sort of verse, either ancient or modern, which we are not able to equal by imitation; we have our English Virgil, Ovid, Seneca, Lucan, Juvenal, Martial, and Catullus; in the Earl of Surrey, Daniel, Johnson[3], Spencer, Don[4], Shakespear, and, the glory of the rest, Sandys and Sydney. We have eminent advantages of all other vulgar languages in poetry. The Italian is so full of vowels, that he is ever cumbered with elisions; the Dutch with consonants, that his verse is sick of the sciatica; the French cannot afford you four words, whose accents are in the antepenultima, and therefore unfit for dactyls, which the accent and metre do so naturally square with us, that in both we deservedly bear the prize from all the rest. The Spanish and Italian want our *cæsura* in the midst of the verses; the Italian cannot afford you a masculine rhyme; nor the French make metre of the antepenultima; and yet there is no any of the three syllables, whereunto our ability extendeth not.

The sweetness of our language I doubt not to compare with any vulgar whatsoever; let us put it to the trial and compare it with others. The Italian I confess is an excellent, princely, and pleasant language, upon which the best judgments look with great respect;

[2] [John Lord Digby, afterwards Earl of Bristol, published some of his speeches.]
[3] [Ben Jonson, the dramatic poet.]
[4] [Dr. Donne, dean of St. Paul's; two of whose satires have been modernized by Pope.]

yet it wants sinews, and passes as a silent water. The French are truly delicate, but too affected and effeminate. The Spanish majestical, but terrible and boisterous. The Dutch manly, but very harsh. Now we, in borrowing from each of them, give the strength of consonants to the Italian, the full sound of syllables to the French, the variety of termination with milder accents to the Spaniard, and dissolve with more facility the Dutch vowels; like bees, gathering their perfections, leave their dross to themselves. So, when substance combineth with delight, plenty with delicacy, beauty with majesty, and expedition with gravity, what can want to the perfection of such a language?

——*Omitte mirari beatæ*
Fumum, et opes, strepitumque Romæ.

'Admire not then the smoaky fume,
'The wealth and train of mighty Rome.'

For one of our great wits (who understood most languages in Europe) affirms, 'That in 'uttering sweetly and properly the conceit of the mind, which is the end of speech, we 'parallel any other tongue in the world; and that our language is such, that foreigners, 'looking upon it now, may deservedly say,

Ipsa, suis pollens opibus, nihil indiga nostri.

'She now abounds in proper store,
'And stands in need of us no more.'

Certainly the mixture of our extractions from others, joined with our own monosyllables, make up such a perfect harmony; that so you may frame your speech majestical, pleasant, delicate, or manly, according to your subject; and exactly represent, in ours, whatsoever grace any other language carrieth. Yet let none think that I stand in any competition with the sacred Hebrew, learned Greeks, or fluent Latins, or claim a superiority over the rest; my ambition extends not so high, though you see I want not pretence for it. Let us look upon our own as a language, equal to the best of vulgar; and, for my own part,

'Let others retain their ancient dignity and esteem.'

Upon fair terms I have ended the controversy, and must now begin a fiercer combat against a second enemy.

Moths and cankers, who, with their shallow inventions and silly fancies, must still be engrafting new coined words in our English nursery, without either art or judgment. I seek not to discredit their worthy and immortal labours, who, with unmatchable industry, have fetched hither the best inhabitants of other climates, and made them denizens in our colonies. These who with a skilful felicity have bought, brought, or borrowed the richest ornaments of other languages, to make ours abound with plenty and variety; but those I disclaim, who, when the work is excellently performed already, must still be fingering; and, when the quintessence and life of other tongues are ours already, must now traffic for the dregs, to the end they may be said to have done somewhat.

Languages, as all other mortal things, have their infancy and age; their wax and wane; the states where they are used, are the load-stars,

Ad cujus numen motumque moveri.

'At whose motion or command,
'They climb, decline, or make a stand.'

With their prosperity and adversity they for the most part rise and fall, which the best of languages can largely testify; who, had they not, even miraculously by Providence, been hitherto conserved in books, had long since perished, and been buried in the dust of oblivion; they being now as strange to their own birth-places as to us. Our language hath long been in the ascendant together with our monarchy, and at last, by excellent artists, is even brought to the height, which already our over-diligent and intruding spirits, with their botching, seek to bring to the wane.

God grant it prognosticate no greater ruin; it is an evil symptom of further detriment.

Notwithstanding, I hope it is no inevitable destiny, but that our language and empire shall yet enjoy a far long noon, and not so soon post towards the west; let these busy creatures be checked and restrained from such presuming liberties, and no doubt but it will be a sovereign antidote, to maintain the splendour of the English language in the meridian of purity a long time, which these active persons stain and obscure.

How ridiculous, if well considered, is the merchandise they seek to sell for current.

Let me afford you a few examples, and I am deceived if they will not move both your anger and laughter: read and censure. Adpugne, Algale, Adstupiate, Daffe, Defust, Depex, Brochity, Bulbitate, Extorque, Ebriolate, Caprious, Contrast, Catillate, Fraxate, Froyce, Imporcate, Incenabe, Incasse, Gingreate, Glabretall, Halitate, Ligurition, Lurcate, Kemand, Mephitick, Mirminodized, Obsalutate, Orbation, Nixious, Naustible, Plumative, Prodigity, Puellation, Raption, Rerest, Rumatize, Sudate, Solestick, Sracone, Subgrund, Tridiculate, Tristful, Wadshaw, Xantical, Yexate, Vitulate, Undosous, Vambrash, Zoografe.

A thousand other so unnatural phrases, that they cause a loathing in a curious and judicious eye. These and such as these, that set up mints for such base coin, would I have the arts to persecute and not suffer them to mix their counterfeit stuff amongst our purer ingredients, so to canonize them for current. Our language is copious enough already, we need traffic no more to enrich it[5]; at least, not so oft; for yet I will not deny, but some pearl or other may be left behind uncheapened by our former factors, which is worth the buying, yet would I have it naturalized here with judgment and authority.

Let us improve what grain we have already, and we shall find it full as much as is needful, or at least as much as our soil is well able to bear. Let us not therefore, with a base and busy avarice, abuse our language with the dregs of others, being possessed with the perfections of them all already; for by enfranchising, refining, and implanting strange, old, and new words, it is happily become even the prince of all the vulgar; from the dignity of which nothing hath so much detracted, as our own vain affecting, admiring, and applauding foreign tongues above measure: which makes strangers judge our own contemptible. Our separation from the continent world doth make our language insular, which is one chief reason of its want of esteem amongst foreigners, they scarce having use of it; few of them frequenting our climate, and we swarming into theirs: though some of the wisest of them now acknowledge the worth of it, and with envy look upon the perfection of our language, as well as upon the excellency of our country.

Though in this conclusion I here strike sail, and vail to the learned languages; let that

[5] [Dryden was of a different opinion, and by acting upon that opinion, added to the copiousness of our vocabularies. "I trade (says he) both with the living and the dead, for the enrichment of our native language. We have enough in England to supply our necessity; but if we will have things of magnificence and splendour, we must get them by commerce." Disc. on Epic Poetry. To the same purport inquires the author of a tract just cited: "Are we ashamed to have enriched our isle with foreign plants, our cities and towns with foreign commodities, our persons and minds with foreign improvements? No: nor our language with foreign help. We are grateful for the adventitious help of foreign countries: it is the triumph of literary commerce." Adams's English Language vindicated.]

not detract from the worth of ours, which is parallel, if not superior to the best remaining; it is as courteous as the Spanish, and court-like as the French, as amorous as the Italian, and as fluent as any; wherefore think me not overweighed with affection, if I believe the most renowned of other nations, to have laid the very elixir of their tongue's perfection in trust with our island.

The Honour of the Gout: or, A rational Discourse, demonstrating that the Gout is one of the greatest Blessings which can befal mortal Man; that all Gentlemen, who are weary of it, are their own Enemies: that those Practitioners, who offer at the Cure, are the vainest and most mischievous Cheats in Nature. By way of Letter to an eminent Citizen, wrote in the Heat of a violent Paroxysm [1], and now published for the common Good. By Philander Misaurus.

Printed at London, in 1699.

[Duodecimo, containing Sixty-seven Pages.]

The Publisher to the Reader.

This Piece (which I present to you), as appears from many passages in it, was wrote towards the beginning of the reign of King William; whether or no the Author be living, I cannot satisfy you; but this I will engage: Greater profit, and more agreeable entertainment, were never purchased of a bookseller cheaper.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The Author is of opinion, that some Epistle Dedicatory would do best, standing after the Pamphlet; therefore, good Reader, pass on, and expect mine in its proper place.

SIR,

I OWE you a greater observance, more profound respects, and hearty thanks, for favours, to which I had not merit to pretend, than I am able to express, should I make words and phrase my study: but I am not like to do that at present; for you have used me so of late, that you tempt me to think you are going to put as much despite in one scale, as ever you put obligation into the other. Why! Sir, I am informed, that your Worship, not having a right sense of things, nor the fear of God before your eyes, should, to the disgrace of your own virtue, give your tongue the liberty, in an open coffee-house, to speak ill of the gout. Of the gout, Sir! which if you look on as a disease, you ought to welcome, as

[1] [Those who are fellow-sufferers, and can find any relief from the Letter of this facetious author, may possibly derive similar benefit from the "Gout-raptures" of Dr. Wittie, who "eas'd his Gout with rhyming," and published his *Lucubrationes Podagricæ* in 1677 and 1681.]

the most useful and necessary thing that could have happened to you; but if you consider it as becomes you, then, with me, you must reverence it as a power divine,

> On whose sacred internodial altars I,
> Each spring and fall, at least, will sacrifice
> Morbifick, painful loads of matter tartarous,
> With recrements of nervous juice impregnate.

Would you yourself, Sir, patiently endure the honour of our great master, our rightful and lawful king, to be contemptuously reflected on by ever a recreant piece of conscien-cious priestcraft[2], that infests the town? Then, why should not I be concerned for the honour of my great master, the gout? Who claims not, it is true, the power he exercises over me, by any hereditary pretence; but from an origin altogether as sacred and indis-putable, viz. some voluntary acts and deeds of my own. Yet you could say, that when the Almighty God had, out of rude chaos, built this goodly frame of nature, which we see, and formed his noble creature, man; he indulged the devil to create some one thing, and his damned envy gave being to the gout. Now I am confident, Sir, and have great au-thorities for it, that if the devil ever created any thing, it was the doctor; of whom, since you have made so much use, I know not but it may be rationally inferred, that you have dealt with the devil. The gout, Sir, whether you know it or no, was postnate to the creation, and younger, something, than the fall of man; who having incurred the sentence of death, the friendly gout was sent in mercy down from heaven, to lengthen wasting life. By my consent, you should never have the gout, who have no more consideration in you than to blaspheme it.

I always took your Worship for a person the most accomplished our city has ever bred: I imagined, that you thoroughly understood most things; but it could never enter into my head, that you should fall into so profane an error as to think, into so rash a practice as to speak ill of the gout. But, because my soul has been full of humble deference to your Worship, I will be at some pains to recover you to your right mind, and a due vene-ration of that friendly dæmon, the gout, For, though you may value yourself, and reckon that no girding satirist can take up the old proverb against you, and say, 'That you are afraid of your friends, when there is none near you;' yet, what is worse, they may reproach you with this disgraceful truth, 'You are afraid of your best friend, when he kisses your very feet.'

Now, upon this subject, having no need to use the inveigling arts of oratory, I shall not with tropes and metaphors, with flourishes and amusements of insinuating words, seek to divert your mind and cheat your judgment; but, to make my work the shorter and do it effectually, press you with plain demonstration. Your error, Sir, was this: 'That the devil created the gout.' I prove he did not. You know, Sir, that the man of sin, the son of perdition, best known by the name of Antichrist, is the pope. You must not doubt of this; for, till the days of that excellent prelate, Archbishop Laud, the whole stream of protestant interpreters gave it so; a learned chaplain of his has put that character upon the grand seignior; and a famous annotator has taught our church to split Antichrist into Simon Magus, and his Gnostic followers. I must confess, I have a sort of respect to these authorities; but the body of modern dissenters, and the general agreement of interpreters, Whig and Tory, in the age before, weighs them down. Take in, then, the lay-mobility of the nation, who should know something, but are confident of nothing more, than that Antichrist is the pope; and your Worship will agree with me, that that is the plain truth of the matter. By the way, I will observe one thing, which will not trouble my demonstra-

[2] Alluding to Bishop Burnet's unbecoming insinuation against King William the Third.

tion, but let your Worship see, how ready I am to allow you, in your speculation, all that can reasonably be desired. A celebrated author notes, that the ancients described Antichrist by the phrase of πρωτότοκος τῦ Σατανᾶ, 'the first-born of the devil.' Supposing now, that the devil created something, as you contend, you see, it could not be the gout; at least, not if you will be judged by the fathers; but rather Antichrist, or the pope. I desire your Worship to consider next, that you shall not read in Platina, Onuphrius, or any later Antichristian biographer, that ever fetid toe of pope was visited with the beneficial gout. But, had so great a blessing been created by the devil, as you fondly imagine, the devil had, for certain, bestowed it on his first-born, the pope. Nay, and then too, instead of the filthy scrutiny, through the porphyry chair, for old and wasted testicles, the deacon had only pulled off the stocking of the elect, and the ratificatory report had been, *Dominus noster Papa habet podagram*[3]. In short, Sir, Antichrist, or the pope, (for they are one and the same first born of the devil, according to the ancients,) being never favoured with the gout, it is plain, that the devil did not create it; ὅπερ ἔδει δεῖξαι, which was the thing to be demonstrated.

Having thus, Sir, utterly confounded your error, my next labour shall be, to instruct you in a sounder persuasion. The gout was sent, in mercy, down from heaven, to lengthen wasting life.

The seat of this friendly dæmon, by whom every afflicted man receives a thousand times more benefit, than ever Socrates by his; his seat, I say, is in the nervous parts; he commonly visits the internodia of the bones of the feet; sometimes the hip, the knee, the elbow, shoulder, wrist, and ancle. But, to prove its divine original, I will proceed methodically; and from his lowest commendations, ascend by six just steps or degrees, till I have raised him above the stars and entered him among the celestial spirits; to whom, Sir, you will then be tempted to offer up your oraisons, in the prescribed form (at the end of an old manuscript-missal, communicated to me by a learned antiquary, a great collector of those rarities. The form is this: 'Blessed gout! most desirable gout, sovereign antidote of murdering maladies, powerful 'corrector of intemperance, deign to visit me with thy purging fires, and throw off the 'tophous injury, which I may have suffered by wine and wit, too hard for the virtue of 'a devotee upon a holy festival; but fail not thy humble supplicant, who needs thy friend-'ly help to keep his tottering tenement in order; fail him not, every vernal and autum-'nal equinox.'

I know, some precise doctors are against all invocation of saints; at present, I shall not dispute with them: but they must grant me, that there is no more to be said in justification of such a prayer to the gout, than can be said for the offices directed to any other saints, not excepting the virgin. For I defy their worshippers to prove, that there has been the tithe of so much good done by them all, as, I shall prove, has been done by the beneficial gout. I begin at the lowest step, and note,

First, 'The gout gives a man pain without danger.'

It is possible, I confess, that a sick man, if he were directly asked to declare his sense of the matter, might refuse to acknowledge the benefit of pain without danger; for sickness and peevishness commonly go together: but mind his discourse at another time, when he talks from the heart, and is not upon his guard: then, O then, pain without danger is a blessed thing. For instance,——Suffering under a painful threatening distemper, what is his first question to the physician, but this? "Doctor, pray be plain with me; and let me truly know what I am to expect; don't flatter a sick man, but tell me, am I like to recover, or no?" That pain, you see, which he suffers, does not at all trouble him; he is only afraid he shall die; secure him against that danger, and all is well with him: cut, slash, burn, no pain is grievous, if it promise to set us out of the danger of death.

When the other doctor comes, (the physician of the soul I mean, whose coming bodes no good to the body,) he tells the decumbent a long story of the pains and misery of life,

[3] 'Our lord, the Pope, has got the gout.'

in order to make his *nunc dimittis* go down the easier; but that method seldom takes, for not one of a hundred is so bad, but he is content to live, and put the rest to the venture. The fear of death is generally more grievous than all the cruel pains of a wretched life[4]. But, since we must have pain while we live, give me the pain of the gout, which has no danger attending. Here some malevolent adversary may importunately object, 'Did ever any man die of the gout?' To this I answer, 1. I have not yet affirmed, that the gout can make a man immortal; though I will boldly say this much, it very often keeps a man alive till all his friends are weary of him. But, 2. Should I venture to say, that the gout has in itself the power to make a man immortal; it ought not to seem so very strange, all things being considered. If that be true, which some authors write of the noble Paracelsus, 'He had the secret to make a man immortal;' and I would not say he lyed, though himself died about forty; for, perhaps, he did not like his company: but it must have been by way of his discovery to give any man the gout when he pleased; in that I am positive. Here the objector will scornfully put me in mind, that gouty persons escape death no more than other men; which is very true; but that's because men are fools, and don't know when they are safe; they must be curing the gout, forsooth, and, to that end, they deal with the doctor, i. e. with the factor of death, the emissary of hell, the purveyor of the grave, damned alchymist, good at calcining nothing but living bodies into dust and ashes. Let every one bear his own burthen; the gout has nothing to do with the carnage of the doctor. All that can be rationally said against the gout, is, that it does not actually preserve man, in spite of their own folly and the doctor's ignorance. And yet there is the Right Honourable Sir R. H.[5] the gout is so salutary to him, that two Swiss doctors can't dispatch him; what would a certain Lord give, that those two coagulating spirits could remove his honour's gout? but, say I, 'Gout, hold thy own;' for earth has more need of the cripple than heaven of the saint. And now, Sir, let me tell you a story, the famous Willis shall be my voucher, who dissected the body of the reverend, learned, and pious Doctor Hammond[6], killed purely by his friend, who, unhappily, taught him a medicine to cure the gout: upon the success of that medicine, the Doctor's old nephritic pains returned, and in a fortnight dispatched him.

Therefore, for your own, for your lady's, and for your children's sake, Sir, welcome the gout to your house, and shut all your doors against the physician, I'll warrant you for upwards a hundred. Lord! how glad shall I be, to see them pick chalk-stones out of your worship's feet, some forty or fifty years hence; by that time you will have learned so much patience, as never to roar for the matter. But if you do roar (for that may be then as you use yourself now), they that look on, if they love life, will envy, not pity you. Indeed you are already a fit object for the envy of thinking men, for I have heard you confess, that yours is an hereditary gout, and that is for the better; an hereditary gout is a far greater happiness than an acquired one; what a deal of intemperance and amorous excesses might it have cost your Worship to have got the gout before forty; whereas now you have the mighty blessing for nothing, *sorte nascendi*, it is your birth-right, Sir, never think of parting with it.

Perhaps you may be now tempted to ask me, how I acquired my gout? I shall not be shy to satisfy your curiosity, for I came by it honestly. We scholars have away, by ourselves, to come at the blessing, without ever being beholden to the god, that cheers the genteel candidate of the gout by day, or the goddess that entertains him on nights; we lead sedentary lives, feed heartily, drink *quantum sufficit*, but sleep immoderately; so that, the superfluities of our sober and grave fullness not exhaling, we very honestly prepare

[4] [See 'Contemplations upon Life and Death,' in vol. i. p. 543, of the present Work.]

[5] [*Forsan*, Sir Robert Howard, who deceased in Sept. 1698, before which time this tract might have been written, if not printed.]

[6] [The literary labours of Dr. Hammond were interrupted by those four tormenting ails, the stone, the gout, the colic, and the cramp; but the former is said to have put an end to his life.]

tartarous matter for the gout, for the beneficial gout, which gives us pain without danger.—Ascend we now the next step, which advances the honour of the gout.

2. 'The gout is no constant companion, but allows his patients lucid joyous intervals.'

Human nature is so framed, that no one thing is agreeable to it always; therefore it is well for us, that the world is so full of changes: the earth we tread on, the seas we sail on, the air we breathe in, the starry firmament expanded round us, have their continual vicissitudes, which all make for our advantage and delight. The body of man is a true microcosm in this respect, for it never continues in one condition; and, upon the same account, his mind is a very fit guest for his body; for, at different times, he thinks and speaks different things,—

———*Modo reges atque tetrarchas,*
Omnia magna loquens, modo sit mihi———

'Sometimes he'd talk of heroes and of kings,
'In mighty swelling numbers, mighty things;
'And then, again, let gracious fortune give
'A little meat and drink enough to live;
'Let her a coat to keep out cold present,
'Although 'tis thick and coarse, he'll be content.'
Mr. Creech.

How welcome is a guest that knows when to be gone; but, if his stay be longer than ordinary, we are ready to thrust him out of doors. For these, and the like considerations, the way of the gout's dealing with his patients can never be enough esteemed. Whatever some impatient weak minds may think, it is manifest that the gout, by his coming and going, takes the right course to be very agreeable and obliging. Weak people may curse the gout, and wish to be wholly excused from his intermitting visits; but I look upon such people, as men that are weary of the world, and, being willing to leave it, I grant, they have reason to be angry with the gout, with the gout, that folds their mortality so fast about them.

Your Worship has been guilty of this impatience, but I hope to recover you to a better mind. I have already shewn you, that to a wise considerer, the absence of danger takes off from the pain of the gout; but some pain there is, and ought to be; for constant health has no relish, it is an insipid dull thing. That reverend Calvinist, Dr. Twiss, affirms, 'That it is better to be damned, than annihilated.' I might, I suppose, with less offence affirm, that it were better to be dead, than never to be sick of the gout; nay this I am sure of, that all the sober and experienced people will be so far from taking offence, that I shall have them on my side, if I venture on that paradox: for, how often have I heard a grave adviser, one that had tried health and sickness, alternately, for many years, tell the robust, young, riotous fellow, that he knew not the value of health. No, how should he; having never been sick? But why should his sober adviser press him to be careful of his health? That is the way never to understand the deliciousness of it; by that time he gets the gout, he will thoroughly understand the matter, I'll warrant him. Set me two men together, one that never knew pain, and another newly recovered of the gout; observe them both narrowly; in the former, perhaps, you may perceive an easy, even temper; but the latter is ravished with joys and satisfactions, which, if his tongue does not declare, his hands, and feet, and gesture shall.

Homer says, that the beauty of Helen was a prize worth all the blood spilt through the long course of the ten years war. Homer would not have redeemed those lives by the least injury to that adorable lady. Such are the lucid intervals between heart-breaking fits of the gout, worth all the ravings and roarings which the violent paroxysm forces from the tortured patient; and who would spoil the refined pleasure of his recovery, by wishing to

have one angry throb, one heavy groan abated him? *Si parvis componere magna liceret*, 'if we might compare great things with small,' the gout is to health, as ham and tongue to wine, or rather, as ζὼη καὶ ψὺχη, to the lovers congress. Courage, Sir, and be advised by me, it is good advice I am giving, and you shall have it gratis. When your foot swells, and burns, and throbs, banish all foolish sorrow and repining; instead whereof, let swelling joys dilate your generous breast; when sharp, fermenting juices, not easily miscible, shall meet, and by their furious contest, cause cruel twitchings of your nervous fibres, comfort your heart, and be extremely pleased; when masculine, acetous recrements shall, with female tartarous matter, mix, ingender, and beget a tophous mass; when that same tophous mass shall lodge in the internodia of your Worship's bones, entertaining you with a rending solution of continuity, then let your soul triumph, but touch not, taste not, the crumen-emulgent doctor's emulsions, juleps, apozemes; nor let his repercussives or resolvents, cataplasms, and anodynes touch you, so let your friend, the gout, take his course, and maul you soundly. O! so easy, so pleased, so joyous, so happy, so blessed will you be, when the turn of health shall come: why, Sir, you will be in heaven, in heaven while you are on earth; you will be entirely beatified on this side the grave; and that is more than Solomon has arrived at yet (if you can give any credit to a Catholic painter,) for but one half of him is glorified, the other fries in flames vexed by tormenting devils, like the noble Shaftsbury[7] in Windsor-hall; beshrew the painter for——his pains, *Fas est & ab hoste doceri:* 'learn of our common enemy.' Sir, I fancy the late tyran, tsolaces his exile with the expectations of a return to trample on the liberties, and riot in the blood of heretics; but before ever that dismal day come, may the gout (my life's kind preserver, and my dear life itself) forsake me: only I will make it in my bargain, I will not stand to this wish, if my help can contribute any thing to oppose this invasion. I am much of the mind, Sir, that by what I have said already, you are a coming proselyte; but before I have done with you, you shall choose to part with your eyes, rather than your true friend, the gout. The mighty blessing whereof, that you may the better understand, mount with me one step higher, and then take notice of this farther advantage of the gout.

3. 'The gout presents you with a perpetual almanack;' and that it may never be out of the way, but ready always for your Worship's use, safely deposits it in the internodia of your bones. Barometers, thermometers, and other the inventions of men, not yet perfect masters of their art, serve more for the delight, than the use of the curious; but the useful pains of the gout give your Honour trusty prognostics of the seasons. As often as a moist constitution of the year, south or north winds, or snows, are at hand, you predict those things from the accesses of your pains; and by the absence of your pains you foreknow the contrary: so, one way or other, your bone-almanack serves for all changes.

Our Lillys and Gadburys[8] foreknow, when it shall be rain-like, or snow-like; but what your Honour foreknows, by means of the gout, does afterwards actually come to pass. Doctor Goad knew more of the stars and their positions than you, but not half so much of their influence. Spinoza will have it, that when a Jewish prophet foretold any thing, he gave a sign, a present sign, which was a confirmation of his prophecy; you have the sign within you, Sir, and a true prophet all over.

Majora animalia diutius visceribus parentum continentur, says Pilny; 'Nature gives to larger-sized animals a longer stay in the womb of their mother;' their mighty limbs

[7] [Anthony Ashley Cooper, first Earl of Shaftesbury, has the repute of being represented as one of the evil genii in an allegorical picture on the ceiling of St. George's Hall. Vid. *Les delices de Windsore* See a brief account of many memorable passages in Lord Shaftesbury's Life, in the present Work, vol. v.]

[8] [Lilly, originally a servant man, and Gadbury, who served an apprenticeship to a taylor, became the two principal dealers in astrological predictions and sham prognostications during the Interregnum. Goad was a person of very superior reputation, and for some time head-master of Merchant-taylors school. His learned publication here alluded to, was entitled "Astro-Meteorologica, or aphorisms and discourses of the bodies celestial," &c. Lond. 1686, fol.]

and vast frame of body are not so soon fashioned and perfected, as is the compendious texture of lesser animals. So it is with the most noble arts and sciences, with the most useful inventions when first brought to light; every man is taken up with an unactive ecstasy and lazy admiration, greatly pleased to be taught, and let into mystery, and as well content to know no more than is taught him; time passes silently on, and ages steal away, before there starts up a studious inquisitive person, who bends his wit to improve the discoveries of his ancestors, and raise them to their just perfection.

Now of this observation, I am of the mind there is not again in nature so clean an instance as the gout affords us. The gout, at first, passed for no other but an evil spirit, which an exorcizing priest attacked with charms, before ever the physician fell foul upon him with poisonous recipes. The physician, purely to force a trade, imposed upon the people, that the gout was a disease; having cheated them with this false opinion, he plagued them with real tortures, all which he was pleased to christen by the general name of therapeutic method; in which his barbarous executions thus follow one another. First phlebotomy, then cathartics, emetics, hypnotics, the —— and all; and, while the inside of the poor patient is thus miserably racked and confounded, he daubs the outside with anodyne applications, unguents, and cataplasms; and, when all is done, I will give them my body to practise on (though I had rather the executioner had it to dispatch outright), if plain carthartic-gruel, and the cataplasm of a fresh cow-turd, do not work greater wonders, than any thing they can pretend to. From Germany, nay, from beyond the Alps they come with hard names, exotic cant, and baneful poison, to allay the paroxysm and remove the procatarxis of the gout: but (God be thanked!) their practice decays, and must do more and more every day, now that it is so plainly discovered, that, the gout needs no remedy, not being, in truth and proper speaking, a disease, but a sovereign antidote against the most dangerous diseases; and therefore people of the best sense are content to let it take its course; and not only so, but they are proud to publish the satisfaction they take, in one or other advantage, which the gout affords them. For instance, as to the foreknowledge of weather: The gout never twitches their nerves, but they will be telling others what changes are towards. Now, that which I propose is this, that people should not think it enough to know thus much of the gout, but study to improve and increase their knowledge; for, no doubt, more may be made of this blessing, than ever yet was done by the happy man that has enjoyed it longest. I am persuaded, that if the fortunate patient would be at the pains to observe all the motions of the gout, in his pinching, smarting, galling accesses; in his gnawing, stabbing, burning paroxysms; in his evacuating, tender, remitting recesses; he might quickly come to wind a storm long before, that in a short time no owners would think their ship safe, but with a gouty master, nor would any experienced seaman, that wanted a ship, offer himself to the merchants, but upon crutches. Possibly here some nice person may object, That it is a sad thing to be a cripple; I reply, In lameness two things are to be considered, the unsightly gait, and the afflicting pain. As to the unsightly gait, set the Italian proverb against it:

> 'He knows not Venus in her perfect sweetness,
> 'Who has never lain with a lame mistress:'

And Montaigne tells us, that the same is said of men as well as women; for the queen of Amazons answered the personable Scythian, who courted her to love, ἄρισα χωλὸς οἰφεῖ, 'Lame men make the best gallants.' In that female republic, to prevent the dominion of the males, they lamed them arms and legs in their infancy; believing that they would be rather the better, for the use which they would make of them thereafter. Montaigne gives a philosophical reason for the advantage accruing by lameness, either to men or women, viz. The legs and thighs not receiving their due aliment, it falls out, that the gentinal parts above are the fuller, better supplied, and more vigorous.

(2.) As to the pain proceeding from lameness, I will not, to diminish that, tell the objector a long story from the reasonings of Aristotle, or the practice of Cato; but only pray him to consider the lower sort of people, who know little of example, and mind as little of precept; nature is their guide and this their familiar practice; they call the phthisic, says Montaigne, a cough; the bloody flux is no more with them than a looseness; a pleurisy, but a stitch in the side; and as they softly name, so they patiently endure these grievances.

If the mercenary adversaries of the gout, the doctors, have any other objections against a bone-almanack, besides what I have answered, let them be published; I will fairly and fully answer them also, or renounce my reverence for the gout.

O! that I had an infallible medicine, which would both certainly and speedily cause the gout, (wine and women are tedious and uncertain ways of purchasing the mighty blessing,) I would not doubt but to make more of it, than ever Daffy did of his elixir, or any strolling mountebank of his nostrum. The fair for Rider's Almanack, Partridge's Almanack, Al—ch's Almanack, last but one month in the year; but I might vend Gout-Almanacks, and Bone-Almanacks, all the year round. Here I suspect, that the malevolent doctors, that get their living by their mischievous craft in practising on the gout, will object, That all, which I have hitherto urged in its commendations, has a very great allay; for, though it is not dangerous, yet it is painful; though the patient has lucid intervals, yet he has violent paroxysms; though he be a prophet, yet the spirit, which inspires, rends him. But of these objectors I would fain know, whether holy precious enthusiasm be not a furious ungovernable impulse; whether lucid intervals are not more eligible than a constant, weak, and sullen light; whether pain, without danger, is not better than ease without security? I am of opinion, that our compositions are no more able to endure pure and unmixt felicities, than Semele, the half-gone mother of Bacchus, to abide the warm congress of the Olympic Jove, circled with all his glories. Yet, to silence envy itself, the next step we ascend, we shall see the gout dealing to his patients a benefit, so wonderous, refined, pleasant, and useful; that he must be a very dull creature, that can seriously think on this, and not passionately wish, deliberately consider it, and not heartily labour, by all honest ways and means, to deserve the gout.

4. 'Gouty persons are most free from the head-ach;' the reason of which is this:

—The heavy recrements of the blood and nervous juice always fall downward to the gouty joints. The nerves of the head, the fibres and the membranes, whereof there are many placed above and under the skull; the two meninges, the tunicles of the nerves, the pericranium, and other periostia, the muscles, the paniculus carnosus, and lastly, the skin itself, are all freed from a world of torment by means of the medicinal gout, which attracts to exterior remote parts vicious humours of various denominations, and there sets them on fire, wastes and evacuates them. Persons much favoured by the gout, upon every long absence of that best friend of theirs (whether occasioned by unknown accidents or unwise recourse to the mischievous tampering of a wicked doctor) exchange their freedom from the gout for pain more intense and dangerous; but, of all other pains, they are extremely subject to the head-ach; something of a cloud, more or less, always hangs over their brain; but as soon as ever the gout pleases (forgiving their ingratitude) to revisit them, presently the weather breaks up, the nerves are relaxed, the fibres unmolested, the membranes and muscles recover their right tone; while the inimicous contesting particles, thrown off from boiling blood, and turgid nervous juice, fall down to the remote parts of the body; and then the understanding grows clear, the thoughts brisk and active; and the patient is fitted, whatever his station and employment is in the world, to do the duty thereof better than ever. I have been told of several sea-captains (and I have reason to believe the relator) who, during a fit of the gout, happening to meet the enemy, bestirred themselves with a vigour that forgot their pain, and gave their order with a steadier presence of mind, than ever they were masters of before. I have the honour to be known to a person of quality, who has obliged the age with several instructive pieces, who never

published a sorry trifle, nor ever any thing so absolutely perfect, useful, and entertaining, as when he lay under a course of the gout. Then would he dictate like an angel, or, which is much the same, a man inspired, to his ravished amanuensis. That amanuensis of his has told me, though he loved his master very well, yet he was always sorry for his recovery; for then his strength failed him, and he was no more then another writer; I mean a writer of the first rate though. I know nothing that a man, when he enjoys the gout, is unfit for, but jumping, running of races, or foot-ball. The Amazons, if they be not belied, coveted to admit strangers, *flagrante paroxysmo*. Had Montaigne ever met with the MS. whence I have the notice, he would have given us a philosophical reason for it. The gout being thus beneficial, I bless myself to think, that any patient should be so much his own enemy, as to be weary of it; any doctor so much an enemy to mankind, as to offer at the cure; but cure it they cannot, whatever they pretend, unless they kill the patient. For my part, I know no difference in the earth between a doctor of physick and a tinker, save that the doctor has more of the tinker, the tinker more of the doctor in him; for, the tinker effectually stops that particular hole which he is hired to stop, though he makes two or three for it; but the doctor does but disturb the gout, which he undertakes to cure; and, when the vicious humours of the body are not suffered to have their course to the exterior remote parts, there to be sacrificed on the internodial altars of the gout, they revert with fury and indignation, dangerously assault the vitals, diffuse their venom over all the viscera, corrupt the stomach, but more especially affect the head, with violent pains, which are often followed by dangerous swooning, a vertigo, a failing of memory, nay, and sometimes a downright delirium. Thus physicians cure their patients of the gout! Then doubly blessed are the poor and needy, who when they have the gout, and do not understand their own happiness, cannot be at the charge to get rid of it, by a cure of the doctors. Nay, beside the mischievous consequences of their meddling, their very meddling itself is a sorer pain than the gout, a thousand times: so that man's intellectuals must not be right, who would not wish to have his head-ach cured by the gout, rather than by the doctors' methods, i. e. by being purged and blooded, cupped and fluxed, stifled with spirit of hartshorn and soot, drenched with cephalic juleps and waters—Cold as those that extinguished the vital heat of that renowned thrice-illustrious hero, hight old Simon the king. The gout is a specifick, a single, proper, and effectual remedy for the head-ach; by a strong revulsion it attracts morbific matter from the nobler parts, and, ever while you live, (say I,) keep pain from your head, and sorrow from your heart. The honest old beldame made sport for her neighbours, when she applied the clyster to her forehead, the part affected. Again, when her neighbours turned up her blind-side, and plaid her pipe at her virgin avenue, that was a jest to her: "Marry gap, (quoth she,) it is the upper end that akes, and you give physick to the lower;" but the clyster was a good remedy for the head-ach, though planted at a distance, and so the gout. How necessary a friend to the head the medicinal gout is, keeping it easy, clean, and free from all morbific matter which disturbs the brain, we might partly guess, from the subtle observation of the famous Confucius upon gouty persons, which is communicated to us, by one of the chastest historians among the veracious emissaries, (for the Chinese are blessed with the gout, as well as the Europeans.) It is possible, said the wise mandarin, for a lame, gouty person to be a knave, even in our country have I known some such; but who ever knew a gouty cripple that was a fool? In a book of that great master of morals and politics, presented by a mandarin of Confucius's own race, to a learned jesuit, who has enriched the king of France's library with it, (but I suppose, the book was there reposited, since a certain person finished his travels,) these farther remarks are delivered: Natural fools never acquire the gout, the sons of gouty persons are defended from dulness and folly by the sins of their parents; or, if in their minority, their understanding happen to lie a little backward, they shall no sooner enter on their gouty inheritance, but a bright illumination brings the same forwards. Whatever a man's natural powers are, they are so improved by the gout, so refined, so heightened

in the paroxysm, that I am almost tempted to call it a sort of natural inspiration. *Facile est inventis addere*, what the noble Confucius has admirably well observed of the gout, viz. 'that it is a perfect deletory of folly,' prompts me to think, that it would be worth inquiry, whether the gout is not as effectual against madness; and we may reasonably believe that it is so, if upon examination it should be found, that there are no gouty people in Bedlam; and then for the recovery of those poor creatures to their wits again, it will not need much consideration, whether they ought not to be excused the hard blows which their barbarous keepers deal them; and the therapeutic method of purging, bleeding, cupping, fluxing, vomiting, clystering, juleps, apozemes, powders, confections, epithemes and cataplasms, with which the more barbarous doctors torment them; and, instead of their learned torture, indulged, for a time only, a little intemperance, as to wine, or women, or so; or the scholar's delight of feeding worthily, and sleeping heartily, whereby they might get the gout, and then their madness were cured.

Many and great are the advantages which accrue to mortal men from the gout, as cannot but sufficiently appear to your Worship from what I have, in running haste, observed; but far more numerous, and inconceivably vast, are the improvements, which a man, worthy of the gout and sensible of his happiness, might, with attentive care and sedulous observance, make. Yet I shall not insist on conjectural topics to do justice to so effectual a promoter of the safety of human life; but proceed on those benefits, which are the objects of sense; so that, if there be any person, that shall think or speak ill of the gout, he must be one, that does not desire or deserve to live.

It is a lofty height to which I have advanced your Worship; four steep ascents you have already climbed, but the honour of the gout

——*Caput inter nubila condit.*

Can your head bear to mount a *fifth?* But, why do I ask that question? The gout itself will enable you.

5. 'The gout preserves its patients from the great danger of fevers.'

Gouty persons, by reason of a fixed dyscrasy of the blood, are not obnoxious to fevers; as they live free from the dreadful pains of the head-ach, so, likewise, from the scorching heat of fevers. Every one knows, that a fever is a disorderly motion or over-boiling of the blood, which seldom or never happens to gouty persons; because the malignant recrements of the blood and nervous juice, which occasion fevers, are continually deposited in the joints of gouty persons, are there imprisoned, watered, and consumed by the purging, healing, cleansing, senative fire of the burning gout. There is a natural motion and heat in the blood, depending, partly, on its proper crasis and constitution, (for, being composed of spirit, salt, and sulphur, principles vigorous and active, it spontaneously grows turgid and tumultuous, like generous wine in narrow vessel pent;) and, partly, to the ferment implanted in the heart, which rarifies the liquor passing through its channels, and forces it to rise with effervescence frothy. The preternatural ebullition of the blood is raised, either by some extraneous, heterogeneous mixture, or from the immoderate exaltation of its own natural spirit or sulphur; which, when it happens, presently a high and quick pulse follows; the blood, like a sulphurous liquor, taking fire, diffuses its burning heat all over the body.

The vast Sicilian chasms, which vomit flaming heaps of matter sulphurous and combustible, what are they, but nature's emblems of a burning, fiery fever? And, when the poets fable, that haughty Typhœus [9], big Eryx, and bald Enceladus, deep buried in

[9] [Tyhpœus seems to have been another name for the giant Typhon, who by some has been considered as the same with Enceladus, of whom see a marvellous account in Virgil's Æneid, lib. iii. For the poetic fame of Eryx, see lib. v. and xii. of the same work.

the earth by angry Jupiter, belch out those fires, which waste the country, and fright the inhabitants; what meaned they to denote, but the restlessness of the strenuous heroes (for want of the gout to withdraw the feverish fuel) frying in flames merciless and destructive?

Methinks, I pity the young and healthy, whose blood flows temperately, and never knew disorder; I pity them, I say, not for their present ease, but because of their imminent danger. For when a royal sun of France blazes and perishes in flames, painted by a brave Russel's masterly hand; when a vanquished admiral shifts off in a boat inglorious; a king of equal valour, from a safe station, all the while beholding the Monsieur's prudent care to preserve a great commander; when a haughty mareschal is beat out of the strongest bulwark, that fenced his master's treacherous rapine; and to induce that master of his for once to keep the cartel, can, in spite of all his blustering, part with his sword. When rebel invaders are disappointed, and execrable assassins punished; on such tempting occasions as these, who can forbear a rightful, lawful, and brimful glass? Yet, on so solemn a festival, if the healthy gives nature but a fillip, it may, perchance, throw him into a fever, and that fever, perchance, cost him his life; whereas the man, that is obnoxious to the gout, cheerfully ventures the duty of the day, well knowing, that, when the worst comes to the worst, it is but roaring in purgatory some forty days, or so; and by that time the gout has wasted and cleansed off the tartarous recrements of undigested Falern[1], who knows but good news may come, to make another holy-day?

Purgatory, which cleanses the souls of the departed from their filth, which sets them out of the danger of the lake, and renders them (like burnt tobacco-pipes) clean and pure, and fit for Paradise; is a true picture of the fire of the gout, which spends the morbific matter, that might otherwise throw the body into a hellish fever. Indeed, infidels and hereticks may object and say, that, perhaps, purgatory is but a false story; but no matter for that: for grave authors teach, that a false story may be a true picture, and serve to illustrate as necessary a doctrine as that of purgatory; but in this I am positive, that neither a false story, nor a true one, can illustrate a more infallible maxim than this, 'That the purging 'fires of the gout withdraw the fuel from the destructive fires of burning fevers.'

Those learned and worthy authors that write of devils and spirits, and know the natures and orders of them as perfectly as heart can wish, tell us, that there be two sorts of them, white and black, good and bad. So is it certainly with diseases. The gout, if it be lawful to call it a disease, is a good and useful disease, a white devil; the fever, a bad, hurtful disease, a black devil; the devil of a disease, or a disease that is the devil; whom if ever the physician casts out, I will swear, it is by compact. Whereas, the gout is an honest febrifuge, the operations thereof natural and intelligible; something painful indeed, but there is no magic in them. By the way, if the physician cures, or casts out black diseases, or devils, by compact with black devils; may it not be said to be a double wickedness? For I took it to be the Roman priests' ungodly office, with rumbling exorcisms, to eject them; but this is the fault also of other dealers; there is nothing more common among them, than to incroach on one another's trade. Could tyrants inflict fevers, they would never make use of rack or gibbet, axe, or unrighteous judge, unless the object of their fate were an honest gouty fellow; for the gout would soften the feverish infliction, as the popish printer did his father confessor's penance, when he boiled the pease, which he was ordered to put in his shoes, before he took his walk. There is not, certainly, a severer torment than a burning fever, nor a more sovereign antidote then the medicinal gout; so that it is a truth clear as the sun, if more people had the gout, fewer would die of a fever. Having placed these things in so clear a light, I am strongly persuaded, that not your Worship only, but the generality of the age, will set their prejudices aside, and

[1] [Horace and other Roman poets have highly celebrated the Falernian vines, which grew in a fertile portion of Campania. The author of this Discourse has introduced the wine of Falernus figuratively and facetiously.]

yield to the happy force of the many useful truths, which, by the bright illumination of a violent gout-paroxysm, I have here discovered; so that, hereafter, instead of the old parting compliments,—"Save you, Sir; God keep you in good health;" I question not but we shall say,—"The gout defend you, Sir; God give you the gout:" for he ought not to hope for a blessing without the means. To wish a man the gout, is to wish him that, which withdraws fuel from diseases, and preserves life at so cheap a rate; it costs a man not a penny more than patience.

It has been the opinion of some writers, that none can be saved, who die of the plague; but in judging of the future state of others, I think it best to venture being mistaken on the charitable side; and therefore, I would sooner believe, that none can be damned, who have the gout; and, I must tell your Worship, that I have known a less probable sign of salvation, given by a dissenting Rabbi to his hearers.

When Mercury, by the mighty power of a verse, borrowed from that great architect Homer, heaved up the aspiring mountain Pelion, and piled it entire on heaven-shouldering Ossa, and then helped Charon up to the top; the poor old ferry-man complained, that the distance from the earth was so great, that he could not see what was done there: I am much afraid, Sir, that this uppermost step of ascent, on which I am going to seat your Worship, that you may have a full view of the amazing excellence of the medicinal, useful, health-restoring, soul-enlivening gout, will place you at such a vast distance above terrene things and notions, that you will not be able to discern the true proportion of that benefit, which crowns the honour of the gout; at least, not so plainly as I could wish.

6. To crown the honour of the gout, 'It is not to be cured.'

The gout defies all your gross Galenical methods, and all your exalted chemical preparations; for the conjunct causes thereof (as the learned Willis confesses) lie in parts so very remote, that the virtues of no medicines can reach them; and, Heaven be praised for it! For why, Sir, would you *cure* (as you call it) the gout; which gives you pain without danger; a better taste of health, by an acquaintance with pain; a knowledge of future things; freedom from the head-ach, and from fevers?

Bless us! That any man should wish to be rid of the gout, for want of which he may become obnoxious to fevers, and head-ach; be blinded in his understanding, lose the taste of his health, and the security of his life. I hope you and I, dear Sir, shall be better advised, and to show that we are so; and at the same time, to set the world a good example, I hope we shall neither of us ever tamper with the doctor for the cure of the gout, which really and truly is incurable, unless the patient be to be killed; which is what the doctor's medicines aims at, perhaps not what he directly aims at himself: for his heart is chiefly upon his fee; his prayers, that his patient may neither die, nor recover; at least not die, while he is worth a penny; but when his last penny is spent, then the miserable creature is forsaken, like the poor woman in the Gospel, and may perish for all him, unless Heaven has a miracle in store for a poor sinner, that has been tormented by a nasty d—, before his time. But, lest I should be thought, in vindication of the honour of the gout, too severe against the pretenders to cure it; I shall argue against them, from their own confessions. We may say of every medicaster, whether a college or a stage doctor, *habemus confitentem reum*; the whole clan of them are homicides, by their own confession. Other wicked people put on the guise of honesty, for the better perpetrating their crimes; but physicians own the roguery of their art: indeed, to save themselves from public infamy, they give this softening turn to their scandalous cause. The principles of their art, they say, are difficult to be understood, and uncertain to be relied on; and then also the temperament of the body, on which they practise, can be but guessed at; so that the success of the most learned practitioner can be but casual. Now, that, after this, these men should be entertained, and so general admittance given to their practice, does evidently prove, that the generality of men, when they lose their health, lose their wits together with it. I will allow, that it were reasonable for a sick man liberally to part with his guineas for his health;

if the doctors, that have their money in hand, were sure of restoring health, or upon failure would refund; but to pay down ready money for a lottery-chance, where it is great odds but the adventurer encreases his malady, and hastens his death! I, for my part, declare against it, and am persuaded, that no one who considers rightly, but would keep his money, and bear his burthen. A spare and easy diet shall be always my physick, and I will leave it to Nature to do her own work. But let us come to some more particular acknowledgements of these deadly enemies of mankind.

Galen, that is still revered as a god by modern practitioners, acknowledges it impossible to find out a medicine that shall do any great good one way, and not do as much hurt another. The learned Dr. Hammond fatally experienced the truth of this acknowledgement; the medicine, which was prescribed him to cure the gout, moved the gravel from his kidneys, which being too big to pass the ureters, choaked the channel, and deprived him of his life that way. Cornelius Agrippa tells us of one Rasis, a physician of note, who (considering the foolish credulity of patients, and the contentious ignorance of professors in physick,) advised, that never above one doctor should be made use of at a time, giving this reason, Because the mistake of a single man was less dangerous. And I would advise never to use any; for, as the mistake of one man is less dangerous than of a consult of them, so the having nothing to do with any one, is less dangerous than the mistake of one; for nature can commit no mistake, but if not loaded with luxury, nor disturbed with physick, will vigorously strive to throw off every noxious disease. Such the gout is not; for nature, throwing off morbific matter to the remoter parts of the body, does designedly beget the gout, and make use of that admirable remedy, to cure diseases already gotten, and to prevent others. But it is not mere reason which I rely upon, when I advise men to trust nature alone for their recovery, and never go to a physician; I have the greatest authority to support my advice. 2 Chron. xvi. 12. Asa, in the 39th year of his reign, was diseased in his feet (as I am now, which hinders me from running to my commentators), but I remember the phrase of the Septuagint is, ἐμαλακίσθη τὰς πόδας, 'his feet were soft and tender,' (swelled with the gout, that must be the meaning), untill his disease (gout) was exceeding great; yet in his disease (ἐν τῇ μαλακίᾳ αὐτοῦ, 'in the extreme softness and tenderness of his gout') he sought not to the Lord, but to the physician. I do not see how our doctors of physick can evade the force of this text, in defence of their profession: for it is a very weak and precarious reply which they make, when they tell us, that Asa is blamed, not directly for seeking to the physicians, but for not trusting in the Lord when he sought to them. Now, I will grant these gentlemen, that it is the duty of patients to trust in the Lord, when theyseek to the physicians; nay, it is their duty to trust in the Lord then, above any other time; for then they run themselves into those hazards, that, if the Lord does not help them, 'tis odds but they miscarry. But I would have these physicians, who make but sorry interpreters of Scripture, to consider, that the text sets seeking the Lord and seeking the physician, in opposition to one another; plainly enough implying, that the former was his duty, the latter his fault. But our physicians, it seems, would have the sick seek to the Lord, and them both; as if the Lord could not do his own work without them. *Odi profanum genus.*——Hence, Sir, it is plain to me, that they are an order of men that care not much what they say, or do, to uphold their own honour, and keep their ungodly trade a-going. But therefore I would wish all unhealthy people, who have bought their misery of the professors, and all honest gentlemen, who are preserved by the salutary gout in the land of the living, to prefer a bill in parliament against this destructive order of men, that, by a strong cathartic act, they may be purged out of his majesty's dominions. I will engage, that there's never a family in the nation, but shall, by this means, besides their health, save their taxes; so that a vigorous war may be continued against France, till Monsieur is not worth a livre, and no body with us ever the poorer. For such an useful decree, we are not without a precedent in history. The wise Romans, under Marcus Porcius Cato, banished physicians, not only from Rome, but also from Italy; which counsel,

it may be reasonably thought, contributed not a little to the increase of their people: for, as where the most lawyers are, there are the most quarrels and contentions; so, where the most physicians, there the most funerals; and some say, where the most divines, there the most differences about religion: but that is not the fault of the divines; for, if the magistrate would let the strongest party alone, they would force all the rest to be of their opinion. But I am afraid I forget myself in too long a digression: what I ought chiefly to insist on, is the superlative excellence of the gout, which is never to be removed. The fear of losing a blessing takes off from the pleasure of enjoying it. Thieves may plunder your house, age will ruin your beauty, envy may asperse your reputation, bribes corrupt your faith, but the gout is a sure inheritance; neither thieves, nor knaves; neither time, nor envy; nor any thing else, can despoil you of it. A man, may himself, if he has a mind to it, squander his estate, blemish his comely form, injure his fame, and renounce his honesty; but let him get rid of the gout if he can; that blessing he may take comfort in, being secure that it is for his life. They say, there is more care and trouble in keeping an estate, than getting it: as for the gout, there may be some trouble in getting it, though that is mixed with pleasure too, but no man is put to the least care or trouble for the safe keeping of the gout; he may endure misery enough indeed, if he seeks to the physician for the cure of it. You cannot be always young and handsome; but gouty once, and gouty ever; thence came the proverb, 'Drink claret, and have the gout; and drink no 'claret, and still have it.' The gout, it is true, is the reward of some works; but there is no forfeiting it, and therefore it is preferable to a crown imperial. Possibly, a wise and worthy person may secure his virtue against dangerous temptations, but then he must be always upon his guard; but let him take as little care of himself as he pleases, he shall never have the less gout for his loose way of living. But, possibly, it may be objected, that the gout, curing other diseases, and not being to be cured itself, becomes an encouragement to intemperance and lust. The lustful and intemperate drink, and love on; reckoning that the gout will carry off the evil consequences of wild excess, and foolish passion. Now I will not lie for the gout, as much as I honour it. If it were not for this one——abatement, it were physick for an angel. But, that the reader may not reproach me for a gross philosophical error, I declare that I do not mean, for the spiritual substance of an angel; for that, I well know, needs no physick, of one sort, or other; but for the corporeal vehicle, which an angel may chance to assume; which vehicle, being rectified by the gout, may, with less trouble, be actuated by the angel.

Sir, I thought to have taken a longer view of the excellency of the noble gout, from this sublime ascent; which represents it with its greatest advantage, the advantage of being incurable. But, alas! the violent paroxysm, which I have laboured under for these three short days and nights, abates; the intenseness of my pains considerably remits, and therefore I am forced to break off abruptly; for I am sensible, that no man can do honour to the gout by a just and adequate panegyric, but he that, at the time of writing, feels in it extremity.

THE DEDICATION.

To all the numerous Offspring of Apollo; whether Dogmatical Sons of Art, or Empirical By-blows.

To all Pharmaceutic Residentiaries in Town or City; also to all strolling Practitioners and Impostors.

Gentlemen,

IF this Letter shall happen in any measure to spoil your trade, Heaven make me thankful; for well I know, that yours is the very trade of two famous princes, that have, by one method or other, rid out of the way very great numbers of men.

A malefactor, condemned to die, ought to be free from all insults as he goes to execution. I know it, and therefore do not dedicate this letter to you, by way of insult, but friendly to mind you, that, since your unrighteous trade is broke or breaking, you would timely bethink yourselves, what honest employment you may be fit for: if you will take my advice, you shall travel; for, to your sorrow, you have known an over-grown farrier, from abroad, make a great doctor in England; why should not you make as good farriers abroad, as they do doctors here? This is certain; like true farriers, you have prescribed to many a weak man a medicine for a horse; so then, for the *materia medica*, it is the same; nothing will be troublesome and uneasy to you in your new profession, but that you shall never get as much by practising on the spavin as the gout; but you must be content with less earnings. What! you cannot, in conscience, expect as much for killing a horse as a man.

To this change of your profession, not only the discovery of the frauds and dangers thereof, but also the name of your great patron, Hippocrates, invites,—What are you more than he? Come, come, τένομα καί τέχνην μεταμείψατε, change name and profession; better a murrain among horses than a plague among men.

Having thus obliged you, Gentlemen, in an epistle dedicatory; by minding you of the imminent decay of your practice upon human bodies, and teaching you how to make the best of a bad market, by trying experiments upon horse-flesh; I hope you will make me that greateful return, as to prevent the obligation I confer on you from turning to my prejudice; therefore, if any gouty person that may happen to malign you, shall object against me and say, "I had better have made a forlorn regiment of you, and sent you to have been knocked on the head in Flanders, than given you a licence to kill horses," remember to say this for yourselves, and your benefactor, "That, when the devils were ejected out of human bodies, they were suffered to enter into swine."

The Character of an ill Court-Favourite: Representing the Mischiefs that flow from Ministers of State, when they are more great than good; the Arts they use to seduce their Masters; and the Unhappiness of Princes, that are cursed with such destructive Servants. Translated out of French.

London: Printed in the Reign of King Charles the Second.

[Quarto, containing Twenty-two Pages.]

HE that stands by, and observes the simple addresses and sedulous applications of courtiers; how greedily men, reputed to be wise, sell their liberties, and sacrifice their time; with what patience they undergo attendance, more grievous than the toil of Algier galley-slaves, or popish pilgrims; will be ready to imagine, that it must needs be some wonderous mystery, which deserves such superstition; nor can expect less than the philosopher's stone, where he sees so many furnaces set on work, and so rare alchymists engaged.

If he cast but a superficial eye on the lofty flights of the favourites of princes; how in effect, they manage all the reins of the commonwealth, though their masters sit in the

saddle; how they give laws to the people, by recommending judges; nay, bias religion itself, by bestowing ecclesiastical dignities, and the fattest benefices, and make the bravest swordmen kiss their feet; since they can neither get, nor hold any command of honour and profit, but through their good graces.

He, I say, that remarks all this, and also how their seeming virtues, and, perhaps, but imaginary abilities, are magnified and multiplied, and even their errors, with veneration, concealed, extenuated, or justified; with what ease they trample upon their adversaries, and prefer their dependents; how can he refrain from drawing at so tempting a lottery, or escape those delicious charms, which would almost delude a stoic to mistake such a fortune for his *summum bonum?*

But, alas! these are only outsides, to amuse the ignorant; these stately escutcheons serve but to hide a dead corpse, and these excellent odours, to perfume a sepulchre. The factions wherewith every court and state is perpetually pregnant; the envy and emulation, which, though not so loud, is yet, perhaps, fiercer than open war; the spies which (like eunuchs in Turkey) are there set upon all men's actions, and the slippery paths on which they walk; the keen and pestilent slanders against which innocency itself is scarce armour of proof. These, and a thousand other inconveniencies, are not presently discovered; and, indeed, it is perhaps fit they should be concealed, lest, otherwise, men of sense and integrity avoid courts, as persons in debt do prisons, and dread greatness like infection.

Which would yet be more apprehended, if they could have either the prudence or leisure to reflect, how many persons, that, in a private station, were honest, just, and resolute patriots, when once preferred to the misfortune of being great, have abandoned all thoughts of the public-weal: their integrity retired to give place to their fortune; too rank preferment stifled their honesty; and thenceforward, they aimed only to advance their own narrow interest, and blow short-lived sparks to warm their private fingers, out of the public ashes of their ruined country.

Their innocency lasts scarce so long at court, as the first man's did in the terrestrial Paradise. Though they were not wicked before, yet they believe they ought to become so; and, therefore, as the foolish wise-man of old flung all his goods into the sea, that he might more freely philosophize: they resolve to rid themselves of their consciences; that, with less incumbrance, they may manage the affairs of state. They conceit pride necessary to support their dignity, and that, should they not swell, and look big, their condition would be nothing changed; that civility would reduce them to that equality, whence they had forced themselves with so much trouble; to avoid contempt, not being able to render themselves respected, they study to make themselves feared. They esteem that there is no way left to bolt out the memory of their former quality, but by the present objects of their tyranny; and that they shall not hinder the people from laughing at their infirmities, but by employing them to weep for their own miseries, and complain of their cruelties.

One would think it bedlam-folly, that men, not unacquainted with history, and sufficiently warned by experiences of their own times, should adventure on the very same precipices, on which, all that went before, broke their necks; but, we must remember, that ambition is as blind as love. They (like the famous fond pilosopher) are gazing at stars, till they tumble into the ditch. Their eyes are always fixed on the glittering vanities above, suggested by a deluded imagination; so they never look down on the wrecks and shattered fortunes, and dismembered bodies and forfeited heads, and infamous memories of their predecessors. For few have the wisdom to foresee, how hard it is, in greatness, to pursue honest and safe maxims, what resolution is required for the potent to be innocent, what sordid interests they are forced to espouse, and by what insensible degrees they are brought at last to swallow those actions and compliances without reluctancy, which, at first, they looked upon with detestation. What, long since, was observed of Sejanus, holds true of many latter tympanies of grandeur, that their favour is not to be purchased without

some notable crime: you must part with your honour, nay, your soul; if you expect promotion from such spirits. If this were sufficiently weighed, we may justly presume, such as have a strict regard to honesty, would not precipitate themselves into public affairs, and stand gaping, like greedy chamelions, to be puffed up with the tainted air of haughty and luxurious courts, where interest can scarcely be preserved (unless by miracle) without a shipwreck of conscience.

But (to make our approaches a little nearer) if it be so ticklish a thing for even a good man to abide long in honour, without becoming like 'the beast that perisheth,' and acting dishonourable things; what then shall we say of those portentous meteors, that sometimes blaze in that superior orb, noxious exhalations drawn up by the wanton beams of favour, from the slime and filth of the world, and which presage more calamities, than a comet, to those nations in which they appear? Insolent giants! that combate, with displayed colours, the authority of the fundamental laws, and all methods of justice; who, in the government of a state, produce a design formed for its ruin; who grow fat and burley from the juice and substance of exhausted provinces; who build their own houses with the wreck and dissipation of a whole kingdom. Princes and great men would be happy, if, without dying by proxy, they could live in person; they are born oftentimes with excellent qualities, and are calm seas, filled with riches and power, that might do good to all the world, if the winds would but let them blow gently, according to their own nature.

But as extraordinary beauties are courted by variety of lovers, so such exalted conditions rarely want a swarm of flatterers, mere insects, bred out of putrefaction, by the warmth of royal sunshine, that, under the umbrage of adorers, make themselves masters; and, by a colour of service, exercise an empire, even over those that think they command the universe; whose sacred names, in such a case, become but a passport to mischiefs; their authority, a sanctuary of crimes; their revenues, but tinder to debauchery, and supplies for riot; their power, an instrument of revenge; and a scourge and plague to those very people whom it ought to cherish and protect.

What shall we say of these insufferable grandees, who wreck their private spleens, with the hands and arms of their master? who declare all those guilty of high-treason, who do not fall prostrate before them? who, by fatal wars, and dishonourable treaties of peace; by abandoning the true interest of their country, and playing the mountebanks with the body-politic, till they cast it at once into a fever and consumption, endeavour all they can to bring the people into despair; and would gladly reduce the honester sort of men to so miserable a condition, as to be unable to save themselves, but in a revolt; that so they may palliate their own villanies by others' forced disobedience, and trip off with the spoils of a nation, in a general combustion of their own kindling?

Observe them in ancient history, (for meddle not with our times,) they first ruin the people, and then, if not themselves, their masters; and many times bring destruction on all three. Their courses are all violent and domineering; they own no laws but will and pleasure; their pace is always full-speed; they whip and slash like masters of a bridewell, rather than persons entrusted with the governance of free-men. All to them is plunder, all is prey. They cannot feed but on dead bodies; they first rifle the ship they sail in, and then wilfully strand her, to conceal their own robberies. Though they came only out of the dirt, and, to speak truly, are of kin to nobody, yet they believe themselves the heirs of all the world; there is no officer of the crown, no governor of a place, whose succession they do not pretend unto; they think they are not in safety, so long as there is any man in credit or authority, that is not a creature of their own raising.

Such people commonly introduce themselves by low means, and, for the most part, such as are dishonest and vile; they not seldom owe the commencement of their fortune to a well-danced saraband, to agility of body, to the beauty of their face, or the interest of a strumpet. They make themselves valued by shameful secret services, whose payment is not publicly to be demanded. In a word; though wise antiquity allowed no entrance into

the temple of honour, but through that of virtue, yet these crowd themselves into credit, by the recommendation of vice; their crimes, which truly deserve the halter and the axe, are the sole rondels whereby they mount the ladder of towering preferment.

Nor is their progress unsuitable to their rise; their design being only to make complaisant propositions, they inquire not whether they profit or incommode; if they do but please, it is enough. They insinuate themselves into their master's favour, by the intelligence they endeavour to keep with his passions. And, having once possessed themselves of his mind, they seize on all the avenues, and leave not so much as an entrance for his great or privy-council, nay, scarce for his confessor. How weak and tender soever his inclinations may be to evil, they water and cultivate them with so much art and diligence, that presently there springs up a great tree from a little seed, and a violent and opinionated habit, from a light disposition.

These are the Petroniusses, and the Tigillinusses about Nero; these are the advocates of voluptuousness, the pest of a realm, and the evil genii of kings.

It is incredible to think how many charms they use, without employing those of magic, (of which yet the people forbear not to accuse them). How ingenious are they to invent new pleasures to a sated and disgusted soul; and with what pungent sharpnesses do they awaken the sleeping lusts, which languish and can no more?

Yet do they not, at the first onset, become absolute conquerors; but for a time dispute with virtue, which shall gain the ascendent in the court of a prince of eighteen: sometimes she gets the better, sometimes is repulsed; so that, for a short season, there is a divided or alternate empire over his affections; a kind of twilight between good and ill, just government and tyranny, *party per pale*. Projects brave and good are resolved upon, but before they can come to execution, the humour is altered; good counsels are given, but before they take impression on his mind, a debauch is contrived, which dashes them out of his memory, and they are thought of no more. Honest Burrhus is hearkened to perhaps, but these court-earwigs will take care he never shall be believed.

However, thus far, they are like Seneca's balance, and things are not yet grown desperate; but, at last, they carry away all before them. The epicure destroys as much in three days, as the stoic built in five years. Having undermined or stormed the fortress, they by piece-meals dismantle it, and undo the whole frame. They assault their master's good parts one after another; from petty sallies of humour, and sociable revels, and a refreshing glass, and blushing gallantries, they lead him on step by step, to the utmost degrees of debauchery, adulteries, perjury, cruelty, and tyranny.

At first they content themselves to breathe in his ears, that it is not necessary for a prince to be so precisely religious, so strictly just, so nicely temperate, or so very much an honest man. That it is sufficient, if he is not wicked; that wine and women were designed to sweeten the toils of empire, and the fair created on purpose for the diversion of the great. That he would put himself to too much trouble, to make himself beloved, that he only ought to prevent his being hated: or, if that cannot be, to render himself feared will do as well. That solid and perpetual probity is too heavy and too difficult; since its umbrage and counterfeit hath no less splendour than the original, and produceth the same effects; that a virtuous action or two, kind and popular (which is no great matter of cost) being fitly performed, may serve to entertain his reputation; nor will they leave him in so fair a way; after having made him esteem good, as an indifferent thing, make him approve ill as reasonable; and afford vice the colour of virtue, and represent those things, which are the shame of all the rest of mankind, as peculiar ornaments of majesty.

To authorize his worst actions, great examples shall not be wanting; they tell him, it is not in Turkey, and amongst Barbarians, that he is to look for precedents; that all things are lawful to the powerful, or, at least, any thing may be made appear to be so, to the simple. God's own people, the holy nation, (say they,) Sir, will furnish you with instances, more than enough. The very king, that built the temple, was also the founder of a seraglio; and we, at this day see at Constantinople, but a copy of what was formerly to be seen at

Jerusalem; you content yourself, even in the heat of full veins and vigour of youth, with half a score, or forty or fifty women only; whereas he that was the wisest prince the earth could boast of, even the superlative Solomon, in his old age, had six hundred; which the Holy Scripture implies to be legitimate wives, without reckoning those which were his concubines: and, have you not heard of the last will of his father David, and of those gallant things he commanded by his testament? We shall not exaggerate them, only beseech you to consider, by how many deaths, he counselled his son to secure his own life.

Nay, Sir, since the law of grace, and amongst Christian princes, you cannot find more sweetness; you are nice, perhaps, to abandon a child, or stagger to expose a son, that never disobliged you. But (to omit the practice of Mahometans, and the modern example of the most Catholic King, in the unfortunate Don Carlos) the great Constantine, that most holy, most religious, and most divine emperor (as he hath been called by the mouth of councils) did much more than this; for he caused his son to be put to death, upon the first suspicion which was falsely suggested to him. It is true, he regretted his execution, and acknowledged his innocency; but this acknowledgment came too late, and his regret lasted but four-and-twenty hours; he thought himself quit, by causing a statue to be erected in memory of the deceased, with this inscription, 'To my son Crispus, whom I caused to die unjustly.'

Do you reserve your absolute authority? Will you always stand upon justice and title, and vain punctilios of equity? Dare you not use force, when the good of your affairs requires it? The example of the mighty Charlemaign, who is one of the Saints of the Church, as well as one of the Nine Worthies, may secure you against all the scruples your conscience can make; he knew neither a better nor greater right than that of arms; the pommel of his sword served him for his seal and signet. To this day, there are privileges found granted, and donations of lands made, by that good and orthodox emperor, Rowland and Oliver being present, sealed with the pommel; and, which he swore, he would warrant with the edge of the same sword.

Would you rule absolutely? at your pleasure levy taxes, and dispose of both the goods and lives of your subjects? You shall therein do nothing new or extraordinary; all the mighty monarchs of the East have done it these many hundred years and the most Christian King practises it at this day. Discover not so much weakness, as to regard the sighs and groans of your people, who are but animated dirt, prattling beasts, creatures designed to be slaves, as well by nature as fortune; what else were they born for, what else are they good for, but to be instruments of your pleasures, and sacrifices to your glory? The only way to preserve your authority, is to curb the vermin, and keep them miserable; do they winch under your rods? then scourge them with scorpions. Are they not your vassals? why then do they complain? Shall slaves be allowed to murmur and capitulate? If their tears grow troublesome, wash them away with their blood.

There have been favourites mentioned in histories, that have instructed princes, in these, and the like pernicious lessons; and being at last tired out with defending crimes, with precedents, to excuse some new unparalleled extravagance; they freely have told their prince, that when there was no example to be found, he might make one. That what had formerly been unheard of, would, being done, cease to be so. That it would be shameful for the sovereign authority, to give an account of any thing it commands; and misbecome him, who hath armies and fleets to maintain his actions, to seek words or pretences, either to disguise or justify them.

There is not a man (this is the language of the Sejanusses, and the Plautusses) innocent in all the parts of his life, and who in his soul envies not his superiors, and whom they envy, they hate. Therefore the prince cannot but condemn the guilty; nor strike any but his enemies; consequently, he gratifies him whom he bereaves only of his goods, in that he takes not away his honour, and leaves him his life. Honesty and justice are virtues proper for merchants and lawyers, not for sovereigns; that to be slaves to their words is to depose

themselves, and abandon their prerogatives; that even in Heaven (if there be any such place above a lady's lap) the oaths of princes are put in the same scales with those of lovers. That Jupiter commands them to be thrown into the wind, as things of no obligation; and never to be regarded farther than present interest requires.

Thus, in a way of fooling and telling of fables, they persuade the prince, that he is not obliged by his promises, nor ought to hearken to the fancies of preachers or dotages of legislators; but stands exempted, by his quality, from all laws divine and human, nor is obliged by ties of justice or prudence: and that it belongs to him, *jure divino,* to define unto men what is good or ill; to declare unto the world, what, for the future, he will have to be just or unjust, as well in morality as policy.

Thus are tyrants made; from this stock monsters are engendered; from such commencements, we are to set Rome on fire, to butcher the senate, to dishonour nature with debauches, and declare war against it by parricides. These wheedling whisperers are the first causes of so many miseries; and, did not these winds blow, we should be sensible of none of these tempests and hurricanes, able to discompose the harmony of the best settled governments in the world.

Wherefore, since, in the whole bulk of sublunary beings, there is no good of so great use, and which so universally communicates itself, as a good prince; nor any ill, which disperseth itself farther, or is more pernicious, than a bad one: can there be any punishments great enough, in all the extent of human justice, for those who change this good into ill; who corrupt so salutiferous and so excellent a thing? They had far better have poisoned all the wells, and all the fountains in their countries; nay, should they infect the rivers themselves, water might be gotten from elsewhere; even Heaven would still furnish us with some refreshing drops. But here of necessity we must either choak, or drink poison; against these domestic ills, we are not permitted to use foreign remedies; we are obliged to continue miserable by the laws of our religion, and to obey furies and madmen, not only out of fear, but for conscience sake.

For which cause, since the persons of princes, whatsoever they be, ought to be inviolable and sacred, and that the characters of God's finger make an impression, which we are to reverence, on what matter soever it be engraven; no wonder if subjects turn all their hatred against these flatterers, which cast them into these miseries without redemption. If they pursue, with all manner of execrations, these evil counsellors which give them ill princes, which provoke innocents to murder, and good natures to barbarous cruelties; it is their pernicious advice, which occasions all fatal resolutions. Their maxims of fire and blood assure and fortify malice, when it is as yet timorous and doubtful; they sharpen what cuts, they precipitate what is falling, they encourage the violent to run after the prey, they inflame the desires of the avaricious to invade their people's goods, and those of the lascivious to debauch their daughters, and ravish their wives.

But if they meet with natures, which are not susceptible of those strong passions, and which, by their complexions, are, in an equal degree, distant from vice and virtue; if they light on those soft princes, who are without sting or spirit, and have small inclinations to great and mighty evils, but rather propense to ease and effeminate delights; such as divide time, between the cup and the bed, and are more intent at the theatre than the council-chamber: it is still so much the worse for those people who live under them; for, abusing the simplicity of their pliant master, and taking the advantage which their spirit hath over his, they reign openly; and their just dominion adds, to the weight of tyranny, the shame that occurs from suffering it from a particular private person and fellow-subject.

You cannot imagine the wiles and artifices they use to attain hereunto, and totally to subject to themselves the prince. Their method is, to spur him with glory in the establishment of their fortune. They give him to understand through several trunks, that his predecessors, who were nothing more powerful than he, made some far greater creatures of their own: that it is more safe to raise up new people who have no dependence, and who

shall only hold from his majesty, than to use persons of ancient birth and of known probity, whose affections and party may be already made: that it concerns his honour not to leave his works imperfect, but to labour for their establishment, after he has established their solidity. That he ought to put them in a condition, that they may not be ruined, but by themselves. That, if he yields to the desires of his ancient nobility, who will endure no companions; or if he consents to the complaints and petitions of his people, who are ever enemies to all growing greatness; he will not for the future have the power to reward a servant, or to gratify those that oblige him: but must live a precarious king, a mere duke of Venice, a shadow of royalty; and be forced to call an assembly of the states, to dispose of the least office in the kingdom. Besides, they represent, that he cannot abandon a person who hath been so dear unto him, without condemning the conduct of many years; and rendering a public testimony either of past blindness, or present fickleness. Nor wants this argument its force; for it is certain, that having begun to love any object for the love of itself, time presently adds our own interest to the merit of the thing; and the desires that we have, that all the world should believe, that our election was good, makes the action of necessity, which before was voluntary; so that what hath been done against reason, being not to be justified, but by an headstrong perseverance, we never think that we have done enough; and upon this fond conceit, though never so much reason be offered to discontinue our affection, yet it seems we are obliged, in point of honour, to defend our judgment.

Now, if these temptations can shake stable minds, and sometimes make wise men fail, we need not be astonished, if they easily overthrow weak princes, who make use only of borrowed reason, and who will yield themselves to be persuaded by a very mean eloquence, so it but suits with their already biassed inclination.

And when once a prince is engaged in the making of this subject (whom as much without merit, as beyond measure, he dotes upon) great, he speaks of him no more, but as his enterprise, and the utmost effort of his prerogative and creative power; and so goes on in a blind zeal, till, without minding it, he even adores what he hath made, like the statuaries of Athens, who, from their own handy-work, chose their gods. His thoughts, which should be employed for glory and the public good of his realm, and have no other object but the safety and welfare of his people, are all at an end in this pitiful design, in blowing up a gaudy bubble of honour, as vain and trivial, and yet no less gay, than that which children raise with a quill from water and soap. He opens to him all his coffers, and pours out treasures on him, as much in despite of others, as to benefit him; and, at last, when he hath conferred on him all the offices of the kingdom, and all the ornaments of his crown, and has nothing left to give him but his own person, he surrenders that too with so absolute and so total a resignation, that, in the very monasteries, there is not an example of a will more subjected, and more perfectly renouncing itself.

Henceforward he appears at council, but when his presence is necessary to authorize some extravagant pre-resolved design, in the debate of which he never bore a part; and is content to shew himself for no other purpose, but to justify what those, that advised him to it, are both afraid and ashamed to own. He is amused with petty divertisements, unworthy of his condition, and of his age. They take from about him all that dare speak truth; they ruin, under several pretences, all that is eminent and virtuous in the state; and he imagines, because they tell him so, that all this is absolutely necessary for his service, and the support of his government. Thus Seneca must be butchered, before Nero could turn perfect monster; and Boetius banished by Theodoricus, at the persuasion of his three fatal favourites; because that good and wise statesman was an obstacle to their lewd designs.

To ruin honest patriots, that would stop the unhappy torrent, slanders are raised, and calumnies advanced, and false informations encouraged; they are seized on general rumours, without specifying their crime, and condemned unheard, as enemies to religion, and the state. Those that are rich and peaceable, are entrapped by informers, and penal

edicts let loose upon them. Those whose past services and undoubted loyalty maintain them in repute, and whose fidelity is without reproach, are employed in chargeable, or put upon hazardous attempts and ungrateful offices, either that they may lose their reputation or themselves. Some are driven away by an absolute command to retire, others honourably banished by an ambassy; and, in the room of all these, the ambitious domineering cabal place persons at their own devotion, who never look farther than their benefactors, and stop at the next cause of their fortune, and therefore study to serve and advance their interests who raised them, not the prince's; though still they call themselves his servants, and would be thought the greatest zealots for his honour.

Thus may an unfortuate prince come to be at the mercy and discretion of his favourite; he shall not cast a look, but presently a spy renders the other an account, nor utter one word, but what is told him again; so that, in the midst of his own court, and amongst all his guards, he shall be environed with none but savages that prey upon him; not having one faithful tongue about him, that dare truly represent his people's sufferings, nor one honest ear, to whom he may tell his own. Besides he quickly becomes so far engaged, that there is no way to release himself; the other making all the world his real enemies, or suspected for such, that he may have none but him to trust. And by having long had the possession of affairs, which he communicates with none; he alone understanding all, and knowing the state; he at last becomes a necessary evil, which neither can the prince be cured of, but by a dangerous remedy.

After this manner, in an absolute peace, being at amity with his neighbours, no foreign enemy appearing on the frontiers; without striking a stroke, or having ventured farther than from the palace to the theatre, may a prince insensibly fall into another man's power, which after the defeat of an army, is the worst thing that could happen. And, to speak home, the Battle of Pavia was not so fatal to Francis the First, nor the taking of Rome to Pope Clement the Seventh: for, if their disgrace was great, it was not voluntary; if they lost their liberty, they, in their afflictions, preserved the glory of their courage; and, if they were taken prisoners, it was by a great emperor, who was their enemy, and not by one of their petty subjects. There is no captivity so miserable, so base, nor so infamous, as that of a prince who suffers himself to be shackled in his cabinet, and by one of his own; he can never exercise a more cowardly patience, nor be more shamefully happy. Suppose a king should eat his people to the very bones, and live in his own state as in an enemy's country; he would not so far estrange himself from the duty of his place, as when he obeys another. There is, it is true, a vast difference betwixt tyranny and royalty; yet the former resembles the latter a great deal more than servitude. It is at least some kind of government, and one way of commanding men, although a very ill one. But for a sovereign to give up himself as a prey to three or four petty fellows, in the knowledge and conduct of all his affairs; certainly there cannot be a more miserable interregnum, than such a prince's life, during which he doeth nothing, and yet doeth all those evils which may happen to the people.

In this condition he is civilly dead, and hath, as it were, deposed himself; it is only his effigies, which is used in public, which, out of custom and for a show, hath some homages paid and useless congees made to it. But, in effect, royalty is forsaken, and favour only courted, and a civil idolatry committed. For, as some superstitious bigots say, ten ave-maria's to one pater-noster, and call an hundred times oftener upon St. Francis, than on our Saviour; so, in this case, where one addresses himself to the king, forty suitors apply themselves to the favourite; for, indeed, to go to the prince, without his mediation, would be a certain course to spoil your business, though never so just in itself, or advantageous to the public.

What a brave thing it was in former times, to see a king of Castile, who durst not walk abroad, nor put on a new suit, without the permision of Alvares de Luna: all favours, which others demanded of his majesty, he himself was obliged to obtain from him. The

most he could do was, to recommend their petitions to his favourite, and to do good offices with him, for those whom he loved. How preposterous would it be, to see such a courtier as he was, who revoked the elections of his prince, turned those out of their places, to whom his master had granted them; nay, proceeded to that height of insolence, that he took it very ill that his master should, once in his life, offer to read a paper which he presented him to sign; and complained, that this was to upbraid his fidelity and forget his past services.

But there are she-favourites, as well as bearded ones; and, though this be the weaker sex, yet both their passions and enchantments are the stronger of the two. Hercules and Achilles were not the only heroes that truckled to the distaff: love has often governed the politicks, and the fortune of a whole kingdom become the pastime of a debauched woman; for it is too true, that such persons have strangely derided the authority of the laws, and the majesty of empire: more than once they have trampled under foot crowns and sceptres; they have taken pleasure, and sported themselves with the violation of justice; and gloried in their cruel pride, in afflicting and rendering human kind miserable.

It is not long since there appeared one of these heroinas, who was risen to so high a degree of insolency, that having been solicited about a certain affair, which had been represented unto her as just and facile to be done, that she might the more willingly employ herself therein, she answered, with a fierceness worthy of her sex and profession, " That she used not her credit so lavishly; that another might serve, on so slight an occasion, to do just and possible things; for her part, she accustomed herself only to undertake those which were unjust and impossible."

How many mischiefs do you think follow such an one, how many violences are committed under the shadow of these fatal overgrown meddlers? Such a puffed-up succuba hath not a groom or a lackey, who believes it not to be his right and privilege to abuse, at his pleasure, any other subject; and, by alledging only that he belongs to such a great minister, commits all outrages with impunity, affronts justice, and dares tell to your teeth, (after he has cheated and abused you never so grievously,) that you are obliged, and ought to thank him for his civility, that he did not murder you.

All this while, you will say, " what is this to the prince?" And yet, with all deference be it spoken, he cannot be said to be wholly innocent of the miscarriages. His ignorance is not unblamable, his patience herein is not virtue, and the disorders which either he knows not of, or which he suffers, are imputed to him before God, even as if himself had done them; and therefore that Prince, who was according to God's own heart, in express terms desires him, and that in the fervency of his most ardent prayers, that he would ' cleanse himself from his secret faults, and acquit him from the sins of others;' which last word intimates, that kings ought not to content themselves with a personal innocency; that it is not enough for them to be just, if they lose themselves, and destroy their people by the injustice of their ministers; which becomes their own, because they tolerate it and countenance it, by conniving, and not punishing it with severity. *Qui non prohibit, quum potest, jubet.*

Not to multiply examples: can king Ahasuerus be justified, who, in a moment, abandoned to the vengeance of a pernicious Haman, so many thousand innocent lives, and those too of the select people of God, without inquiring into their crimes, or making any reflection on what he granted? He had, doubtless, no bloody design, nor any imagination, whither that inhuman commission, he so readily delivered with his royal signet, would tend: and his ordinary idleness, or over-conceit of the justice and prudence of his favourite, suffered him not to take any farther cognizance of it; which rendered him doubly culpable, to permit so many murders, and yet be ignorant of it. For so, no less wittily than judiciously, Seneca brings in Claudius in the other world; and some men reproaching him with abundance of murders, done under his name, who pleaded ' Not guilty,' and protested he did not so much as know what they meant, nor ever heard of those sufferers' names

before; upon which the ghost of Augustus rose up, and said, "Thou miscreant, we talk not here of the slaughters thou hast committed, but of those thou hast not known; for it is a more shameful thing to a king to be ignorant of the evil that passes in his kingdom, than to act it. *Turpius ignorasti, quam occidisti.*"

Great events are not always produced by great causes. The strings are hid which move these vast machines of state, that externally appear; and when those springs happen to be truly discovered, we are astonished to see them so small, and so weak; and half ashamed of the high opinion we had before conceived of them. A fit of jealousy, in an amorous intrigue between two particular persons, hath more than once been the cause of a general war. A little reflective joke uttered in a gay humour, an affront to a page, a whisper and a nod, a tale told at the king's going to bed, is, in appearance, nothing: and yet this nothing hath been the beginning of tragedies, wherein a sea of blood hath been shed, and an hundred heads made fly. It is but a cloud which passes, a small stain in the corner of the air, which vanishes, rather than abides; and yet it is this light vapour, this almost imperceptible cloud, which raiseth the most fatal tempests, which shake almost the foundations of the earth. The people, whenever war is proclaimed, think it their sovereign's interest; that it is to revenge some insufferable affronts, or have reparation of vast damages sustained; that it is to prevent an invasion, or secure their tranquillity; to increase traffick, or force by arms the necessary conveniencies of peace: when, in truth, perhaps all this bustle and hazard, this blood and treasure consumed, proceeds only from the capricios of two or three pensionary courtiers, that are content to hazard the ruin of their own master and country; to advance the designs of some powerful neighbour, that underhand feeds them with gold; or from some other unthought-of whim, if not altogether so base, more ridiculous.

I doubt not but the mighty Xerxes made most specious pretences to justify his arms, when he made his inroad upon Greece, and his manifestos told wonders of his intentions; he received (I'll warrant you) injuries, which he was bound to chastise, and had a right which he was obliged to assert; so that he could not, without diminution to his glory, refrain the expedition: for he forgot not to tell them, that he laboured the repose of the world, and to unite Europe and Asia; that he, the mighty monarch of the East, came to chastise the petty tyrants; and that he came purely out of compassion to the people, and offered them a rich glorious liberty, instead of a poor and shameful servitude. There is no doubt but he falsified his design several ways, and perhaps swore, that it was immediately inspired him from the immortal gods, and that the sun himself was the author of his march; yet, notwithstanding all this parade and colour of justice and religion, the bottom of the business was, in truth, only this: A Greek physician, the queen's domestic, having a mind to review the port of Pyræum and taste the figs of Athens, put this fancy of war into his mistress's head, and got her to engage her husband in the attempt. So that the king of kings, the puissant redoubtable Xerxes, raised an army of three hundred thousand combatants, levelled the mountains, drank up rivers, and overburthened the sea, &c. only to bring back a mountebank into his own country. Surely the quack might have gone the journey with less expense and a smaller equipage.

The Greek history affords us another notable example in the kingdom of Macedonia. Long before the birth of king Philip, there happened a famous conspiracy, which of one saint made two, and divided the court, the towns and the families, upon the most trivial occasion imaginable; one Meleager, governor of a frontier town and general of the cavalry, having an handsome wife, and withal so good-natured, as seldom suffered any of her lovers to die of despair: the king, hearing of her beauty and gallantry, had a mind to give her a visit in private: but, finding her no such exquisite beauty as fame had represented her to his fancy, he at first sight betrayed his disgust, and presently went away in a huff; which affront our stately dame, who had no ill opinion of her own merit, resented so briskly, that from that very hour she vowed revenge: and not being able to effect it better than by cor-

rupting her husband's fidelity, and debauching him from the service of his master, she employed all her charms to that purpose; till at last, by the continual croakings of this night-raven, the poor man had lost his reason, and forgot his duty; and, by this bosom-cockatrice, became so empoisoned, that he quitted the service of his king, and embarked himself in the party of a tyrant, without knowing truly what motion drove him, nor what passion he revenged; he acted a part he understood not, and was but his wife's soldier, when he thought he was the head of the revolt.

It is undoubtedly a truth, that kings cannot reign without ministers, and scarce less certain, that they cannot live without favourites. The wisest princes in the world, the Augustusses and the Antonines, the Constantines and the Theodosiusses, if they should revive, would once again, as well as formerly, give testimonies of human affection; and might with reason love one man *(cæteris paribus)* rather than another: for virtue is not so austere and savage, as to destroy nature, nor do the politicks oblige a prince to divest himself of humanity; his motions need only be just and well regulated. Let him shew his bounty and his kindness to particular persons, let him enjoy his diversions, his complaisancies, and his friendships too; but still it were to be wished he would observe a proportion and measure in the distribution of his favours. Let not Nero make his horse a consul, nor every fiddler a minister of state; let not a mighty monarch debauch nobility (the screen of majesty) by conferring honours on the sons of earth, and little people as void of quality as merit; let them not encourage villany by preferments, the proper dowry of virtue; nor impoverish the publick, to make one man unmeasurably rich. Let there be a man (the dictates both of religion and reason allow it) who is the prince's confident, and on whom he may, like the sun, more peculiarly dart down his beams; but let there not be any who day and night besiegeth the king, who by a violent usurpation (the most abhorrible monopoly in nature) appropriates him to himself; for he who impales a good which ought to belong to the publick, attempts the same injustice as if he hid the sun from all the world.

There is nothing that recommends a prince's judgment, or that is of more importance to his safety, than a discreet choice of his ministers. A man cannot conduct a boat, nor guide a chariot, nor manage an horse, without making use of address and method; and shall those who are to direct mankind, jump into the employ without any preparatory discipline? We come to the knowledge of affairs, and the dexterity of ordering them, by experience and reason. A place does not presently make a man wiser than he was before; nor are we to expect revelations, nor think Heaven obliged to endow a prince's ministers with the spirit of well governing, and render his precipitate election valid and successful by a sudden illumination. Courtiers are the matter, and the prince is the artist, who can easily render this matter fairer, but not better than it is; he can add to its colours and shape on the outside, but cannot give it any interior goodness. He can bestow the office and the title, but he cannot confer qualifications: the knowledge of things past, the penetration into things to come: that light which disembroils the intrigues of the court, the science of making war, and the dexterity of treating peace. In a word, he may make an idol; but he can neither make a spirit of it, nor an able man.

Yet even in Christendom such idols are to be seen; there have been always unworthy persons happy; monkeys caressed in king's cabinets, and apparelled in cloth of gold; there often happens an authority which is blind and dumb, which neither knows nor understands, which appears only and dazzles; pure refined authority you may call it, for it has not any mixture of virtue or reason. There are grandees, who are only remarkable by their greatness, and their greatness is all without them; they resemble certain fruitless mountains in some parts of the world, which produce neither herb nor plant; they seem to touch heaven with their stately tops, yet serve the earth for no use, and therefore their sterility makes their height accursed.

Princes therefore should make a strict inquiry into the abilities and virtues of those they employ; they should not suffer themselves to be led by occasion, but take for their instru-

ments such as are able, not such as stand next, or first offer themselves; wherein too, they should regard not only a general sufficiency, but a particular fitness for discharging those charges in which they place them; they must not think an expert soldier, that hath signalized himself in divers battles, is therefore qualified to be sent on an embassy; nor make an old prodigal lord treasurer, and submit the exchequer to his dispose, because, having in his youth profused away all his own estate, he now speaks admirably well of frugality.

Nor should a prince presently thrust into his council all those whose conversation is grateful to him: we ought to make a difference betwixt persons who delight us, and those who are profitable to us; betwixt the recreations of the mind, and the necessities of the state; and, if a sovereign take not special care in this examen, he will commit irremediable errors, and such whereby he may render not only his own reign miserable, but also his memory accursed and reproach in ages to come. He therefore ought not to follow his own private affections or inclinations, but abandon all capricios and fancies in this matter. Let him in other things sport and divert himself as he pleaseth: but, in a choice of so high concernment, be must use the severity of his judgment, and at first bring with him an indifferency of will; it ought to be a pure operation of reason, freed and despoiled of love or hate.

For the mischiefs arising from ill ministers, are no less fatal than various; part of which we have already recounted, and to sum them up all, is almost as difficult as to prevent them. If they are ignorant, they ruin the state, their master, and themselves, by their weakness; if they are false and treacherous, they set the publick to sale, and betray its interest for money. If they are men of ill principles, they blow up their prince to vanity by flatteries, and banish truth from the palace: they put him upon extravagant designs, or endeavour to drown him in voluptuousness: they exhaust the royal treasury by their profuseness, and strip poor people to the very skin, to feed their insatiable avarice; they rob the prince of his noblest and most stable throne, the hearts of his subjects, by creating fears and mutual jealousies between them; and whilst in vain pretences and endeavours, no less impracticable, than unjust, they would seem to make him more absolute than his forefathers, they render him less considerable at home, and consequently less revered abroad, than any of his ancestors: they manage affairs according to private fancies and hate public councils; having committed extravagancies that render them liable to justice, the rest of their life is spent, not to serve their master, but to save their own necks; so that in all their following councils they consult not his advantage, but their own defence, and make his interest stoop to their conveniencies; what care they how much the people be provoked? They had rather their country should be involved in all the miseries and desolations of a civil war, or be made a prey to a foreign invader, than they themselves brought to an account before an impartial tribunal; since, in the first case, they hope to shift amongst the crowd; but, in the second, can expect nothing but certain ruin, for their conscious fears presage what will happen; they know well enough the ills they have done must be defended with greater, and, if the law live, they must die; wherefore, these being their courses, and that the plague causes not so great a desolation, as one of these accursed favourites, it might be wished, that this prayer might be added to all the public litanies of Christians, 'Lord, turn 'away from all states an evil, which is the cause of so many other evils: Deny not so-'vereign princes the spirit of conduct, which is fit for them to govern by: Give them un-'derstanding enough to counsel themselves well, and to choose their counsellors as they 'ought.'

To conclude; as the first advances of ill court-favourites are commonly base and shameful; their progress vile, wicked, and destructive; their short continuances attended with hazards and anxieties; so their eclipses are ever more fatal, and their falls desperate: they are generally surprized with ruin, and their defeat is like that of forlorn troops, cut in pieces before they can rally, or be reinforced. Private men oftentimes fall upon their legs, and find friends to relieve, at least to commiserate them; and bankrupt merchants are daily

seen to rise again like phœnixes out of their own dust; but with courtiers and statesmen there are no degrees of misfortune: those ladders they clambered up with so much sweat, address, and difficulty, upon the smallest mis-step, serve but to render their precipitation more notorious; when they are hurled down from all those bubbled glories, their best comfort is not to survive their destiny; and their greatest misery is, when they outlive themselves, to see their families buried in their ruins, and all the advantages of their honour and fortune turned against them, like an army dissipated with the fury of its own cannon. Then, too late, they find themselves forsaken of all those alliances, which they had with so much subtlety contracted, vainly imagining to have laid a foundation of everlasting greatness. Their cobweb policies are unravelled in a moment; for no sooner do they begin to decline, but their most obliged creatures shun them most; and, like Haman's wife, are the first harbingers of their ruin. Those that were raised by their countenance, not daring to own any love or honour to their persons, lest they should be involved in their ruin, by being at least suspected, as concerned in their crimes; their own servants conclude it but justice, as well as prudence, to expose their faults; their enemies triumph over them, and even their friends think it charity enough to afford them an insulting pity, and the people, who with reason universally hated, but feared them before, are now privileged to curse them: nay, the prince himself, in whose service perhaps they wounded their consciences, and for whose pleasures they bleed, uses them but as the skreen of envy, and hoping with their ruin to gratify many, and please all, gives them up, when he cannot in prudence longer support them, as a propitiatory sacrifice to the enraged multitude, and becomes as inexorable to their petitions, as they had been formerly to the more just requests of others in distress.

In fine, having long since forfeited their innocency, (the sweet retreat of oppressed virtue,) they at last find no sanctuary sufficient to protect them; but are precipitated out of the world, loaded with guilt and shame, and the ruins of nations, and the destruction of their masters, and the execrations of all mankind.

The Forerunner of Revenge. Being Two Petitions: The one, to the King's most excellent Majesty; the other, to the most honourable Houses of Parliament. Wherein are expressed divers Actions of the late Earle of Buckingham; especially concerning the Death of King James, and the Marquis of Hamilton, supposed by Poison. Also may be observed the Inconveniencies befalling a State, where the noble Disposition of the Prince is misled by a Favourite. By George Eglisham, Doctor of Physick, and one of the Physicians to King James of happy Memory, for his Majesty's Person, above Ten Years Space.

Printed at London, in the Year MDCXLII.

[Quarto, containing Twenty-three Pages.]

To the most potent Monarch Charles, King of Great-Britaine.

SIR,

NO better motive there is for a safe government, than the safe meditation of death, (equalling kings with beggars,) and the exact justice of God requiring of them, that the good, suffering misery in this life, should receive joy in the other; and the wicked, flourishing securely in this, might be punished in the other. That which pleaseth, lasteth but a moment; what tormenteth is everlasting. Many things we see unrewarded or unpunished in this inferior world, which in the universal weight of God's justice, must be counterpoised elsewhere. But wilful and secret murther hath seldom been observed to escape undiscovered or unpunished, even in this life; such a particular and notable revenge perpetually followeth it[1], to the end that they who are either Atheists or Machiavelists may not trust too much to their wits in doing so horrible injustice. Would to God your majesty would well consider what I have often said to my master, King James, "The greatest policy is honesty;" and howsoever any man seem to himself wise in compassing his desires, by tricks; yet, in the end, he will prove a fool: for falsehood ever deceiveth her own master, at length, as the Devil (author of all falsehood) always doth, leaving his adherents desolate, when they have the greatest need of his help; no falsehood without injustice, no injustice without falsehood, albeit it were in the person of a king.

There is no judge in the world more tied to do justice than a king, whose coronation tieth him unto it by solemn oath, which, if he violate, he is false and perjured.

It is justice that maketh kings, justice that maintains kings, and injustice that brings

[1] [Supposing Buckingham to have been a king-killer, as he was asserted to be by Weldon and others, the sudden close of his own mortal career by the hand of Felton, must have furnished a memorable instance of speedy retribution. Sir Henry Wotton, in his View of the Life and Death of the Duke, seems to consider this pamphlet, or "libellous book (as he terms it) written by a Scottish physician," as one of the alleged incentives which hurried Felton to become an assassin: but if this were so, the tract must have made its appearance in, or before, 1628.]

kings and kingdoms to destruction, to fall into misery, to die like asses in ditches, or a more beastly death, eternal infamy after death, as all histories from time to time do clearly manifest.

What need hath mankind of kings but for justice? Men are not born for them, but they for men. What greater, what more royal occasion in the world, could be offered to your majesty, to shew your impartial disposition in matters of justice, at the first entry of your reign, than this which I offer in my just complaint against Buckingham, by whom your majesty suffereth yourself so far to be led, that your best subjects are in doubt whether he is your king, or you his? If your majesty know and consider how he hath tyrannized over his lord and master King James, (the worldly creator of his fortunes,) how insolent, how ingrate an oppressor, what a murtherer[2] and traitor he hath proved himself towards him, how treacherous to his upholding friends, the Marquis of Hamilton[3] and others; your majesty may think (giving way to the laws demanded against him) to yield a most glorious field for your majesty to walk in, and display the banner of your royal virtues.

Your majesty may perhaps demand, "what interest I have therein, what have I to do therewith, that I should stir, all others being quiet?" Sir, the quietness or stirring of others expecteth only a beginning from me, whom they know so much obliged to stir, as none can be more, both in respect of knowledge of passages, and in regard of human obligation and of my independency from the accused, or any other that his power and credit can reach unto: many know not what I know therein, others are little or nothing beholding to the dead; others, albeit they know it as well as I, and are obliged as deep as I, yet dare not complain so safely as I, being out of their reach, who are inseparable from him by his enchantments[4] and all to obscure myself, until the power of just revenge upon him be obtained from God.

What I know sufficient against him, I have set down in my petition against him to the parliament; to which if your majesty dismiss him, sequestered from your majesty chiefly in an accusation of treason, you shall do what is just, and deliver yourself and your kingdom from the captivity in which he holdeth them and your majesty oppressed. How easily I may eclipse myself from his power to do me harm, unless he hath legions of infernal spirits at his command to pursue me, your majesty may well know, I being *ultra mare* to these dominions, where he ruleth and rageth.

How far I am obliged to complain more than others, I will, in few words, express; that neither your majesty nor any man may think otherwise, but that I have most just reason not to be silent in a wrong so intolerable, the interest of blood, which I have to any of them, of whose death I complain, either by the house of Balgony Lunday or Silverton-Hill; albeit, it is easy to be made manifest and sufficient to move me, yet it is not the sole motive of my breach of silence; but the interest of received courtesy, and the heap of infallible tokens of true affection, is more than sufficient to stir me thereto, unless I would prove the most ingrate in the world, and senseless to the greatest injuries that can be done unto myself; for who killed King James, and the Marquis of Hamilton, (in that part of the injury, which is done unto me therein,) he hath done as much as robbed me of my life, and all my fortunes and friends: with such constant and loving impressions of me, as are neither to be recovered nor duly valued. For his majesty, from the third year of my age, did practise honourable tokens of singular favour towards me; daily augmented them in word, in writ, in deed; accompanied them with gifts, patents, offices, recommendations,

[2] [In the last illness of King James, the Duke of Buckingham had twice administered medicines of his own prescribing, for which he was afterwards impeached by the Commons; not directly, however, for poisoning the king, but for daring to apply remedies without the advice of his physicians.]

[3] [James Marquis of Hamilton, a distinguished favourite of King James, was made steward of his household, and, in 1619, created a peer of England by the titles of Lord Innerdale and Earl of Cambridge. In 1623 he was installed K. G. and died in 1624-5.]

[4] [Enchantments must here mean alluring power, or irresistible influence.]

both in private and publick; at home and abroad graced so far, that I could scarce ask any thing, but I could have obtained it.

How much honour he hath done unto me, there needs no witness unto your majesty, who is sufficient for many; no less is my Lord Marquis of Hamilton's friendship established by mutual obligation of the most acceptable offices continued by our ancestors these three generations, engraven in the tender minds and years of the marquis and me, in the presence of our sovereign King James. For the marquis's father, who with the right-hand on his head, and the left on mine, did offer us (young in years so joined) to kiss his majesty's hand, recommending me to his majesty's favour, said, "I take God to witness, that this young man's father was the best friend that ever I had, or shall have in this world." Whereupon, the young lord resolved to put trust in me; and I fully to addict myself to him, to deserve of him as much commendations as my father did of his father.

This royal celebration of our friends rooted itself so deep in my mind, that to myself I purposed this remembance, giving it to my young lord, and to my familiar friends, and set it upon the books of my study. *Semper Hamiltonium*, &c.

Always the king and Hamilton
Within thy breast conserve;
Whatever be thy actions,
Let princes two deserve.

Neither was it in vain; for both our loves increased with our age, the marquis promising to engage his life and whole estate for me, if need was, and so share his fortunes with me; and not only promising but also performing, whenever there was occasion: yea, for my sake, offering to hazard his life in combat, whose mind in wishing me well, whose tongue in honouring of me, and whose hands and means in defending me, (both absent and present unto the last period of his life,) hath ever assisted me.

I should be more tedious than was fit, if I should rehearse every particular favour so manifestly known to the whole court, and to the friends of us both: who then can justly blame me demanding justice as well for the slaughter of the Marquis of Hamilton, as of my most gracious sovereign King James, seeing I know whom to accuse? My profession of physick, nor my education to letters, cannot serve to hinder me from undertaking the hardest enterprise that ever any Roman undertook, so far as the law of conscience will give way.

Why should I stay at the decay
Of Hamilton's the hope?
Why shall I see thy foe so free,
Unto this joy give scope?
Rather, I pray, a doleful day
Set me in cruel fate:
Than thy death strange, without revenge,
Or him in safe estate.
This soul to heaven, hand to the dead I vow;
No fraudful mind, nor trembling hand I have:
If pen it shun, the sword revenge shall follow:
Soul, pen, and sword, what thing but just do crave?

What affection I bore to the living, the same shall accompany the dead; for, when one (whose truth and sincerity was well known unto me) told me, that it was better for the chiefest of my friends, the Marquis of Hamilton, to be quiet at home in Scotland, than eminent in the court of England; to whom, by the opinion of the wiser sort, his being at court will cost him no less than his life; sith that I, stretching forth mine arm, (apprehending some plots laid against him,) answered, "If no man dare to revenge his death, I vow to

God, this hand of mine shall revenge it." Scarcely any other cause to be found, than the bond of our close friendship, why, in the scroll of noblemen's names, who were to be killed, I should be set down next to the Marquis of Hamilton, and under these words (viz. 'The Marquis, and Doctor Eglisham to embalm him,') to wit, to the end that no discoverer or revenger should be left. This roll of names, I know not by what destiny, found near to Westminster, about the time of the Duke of Richmond's death, and brought to the lord marquis by his cousin, the daughter of the Lord Oldbarro, one of the privy-council of Scotland, did cause no terror in me, until I did see the marquis poisoned; and remembered, that the rest therein noted were dead, and myself next pointed at, only surviving. Why stay I any more? The cause requireth no more the pen, but the sword.

I do not write so bold, because I am amongst the duke's enemies; but I have retired myself to his enemies, because I was resolved to write and do earnestly against him, as may very well appear. For, since the Marquis of Hamilton's death, the most noble Marquis de Fiatte, ambassador for the most christian king of France, and also Buckingham's mother, sent on every side to seek me, inviting me to them. But I did forsake them, knowing certainly the falsehood of Buckingham would suffer the ambassador rather to receive an affront, than to be unsatisfied of his blood-thirsty desire of my blood, to silence me with death, (for, according to the proverb, 'The dead cannot bite,') if he could have found me: for my Lord Duke of Lenox (who was often crossed by Buckingham, with his brother and the Earl of Southampton, now dead, and one of the roll found of those that were to be murdered,) well assured me, that, where Buckingham once misliked, no apology, no submission, no reconciliation, could keep him from doing mischief.

Neither do I write this in this fashion, so freely, for any entertainment, here present, which I have not, nor for any future, which I have no ground to look for; seeing Buckingham hath so much misled your majesty, that he hath caused, not only here, but also in all nations, all British natives to be disgraced and mistrusted; your majesty's most royal word, which should be inviolable; your hand and seal, which should be infringeable; to be most shamefully violated, and yourself to be most ingrate for your kind usage in Spain: which Buckingham maketh to be requited with injuries in a most base manner, under protestation of friendship; a bloody war being kindled on both sides, whereby he hath buried with King James the glorious name of 'Peace-making King,' who had done much more justly and advisedly, if he had procured peace unto Christendom; whereby small hope I have of obtaining justice on my most just complaint, unto which my dear affection unto my dear friends murdered, and extreme detestation of Buckingham's violent proceedings hath brought me. Your majesty may find most just causes to accuse him in my petition to the parliament, which shall serve for a touch-stone to your majesty, and a whet-stone to me and many other Scotchmen; and which, if it be neglected, will make your majesty to incur a censure amongst all virtuous men in the world, that your majesty will be loth to hear of, and I am astonished to express at this time:

A serpent lurketh in the grass.

No other way there is to be found to save your honour, but to give way to justice against that traitor. Buckingham; by whom manifest danger approacheth to your majesty, no otherwise than death approached to King James.

If your majesty will, therefore, take any course therein, the examination upon oath of all those that were about the King and the Marquis of Hamilton in their sickness, or at their deaths, or after their deaths, before indifferent judges (no dependants on Buckingham) will serve for sufficient proof of Buckingham's guiltiness. In the mean time, untill I see what be the issue of my complaint, without any more speech, I rest

Your Majesty's daily Suppliant,

GEORGE EGLISHAM.

To the most honourable the Nobility, Knights, and Burgesses of the Parliament of England.

The humble Petition of George Eglisham, Doctor of Physick, and one of the Physicians to King James of happy Memory, for his Majesty's Person, above the space of Ten Years.

WHEREAS the chief human care of kings and courts of parliament, is the preservation and protection of the subjects' lives, liberties, and estates, from private and public injuries, to the end that all things may be carried in the equal balance of justice; without which no monarchy, no commonwealth, no society, no family, yea, no man's life or estate can exist, albeit never so little: it cannot be thought unjust to demand of kings and parliaments the censure of wrongs, the consideration whereof was so great in our monarch of happy memory, King James, that he hath often publicly protested (even in the presence of his apparent heir), that if his own son should commit murder, or any such execrable act of injury, he would not spare him, but would have him die for it; and would have him more severely punished than any other. For, he very well observed, no greater injustice, no injury more intolerable can be done by man to man, than murder. In all other wrongs fortune hath recourse[5]; the loss of honour, or goods, may be repaired; satisfaction may be made, reconciliation may be procured, so long as the party injured is alive; but, when the party injured is bereft of his life, what can restore it? what satisfaction can be given him? where shall the murderer meet with him, to be reconciled to him, unless he be sent out of this world to follow his spirit, which, by his wickedness, he hath separated from his body? Therefore, of all injuries, of all the acts of injustice, of all things most to be looked into, murder is the greatest; and of all murders, the poisoning under trust and profession of friendship is the most heinous; which if you suffer to go unpunished, let no man think himself so secure to live amongst you, as amongst the wildest and most furious beasts in the world. For, by vigilancy and industry, means may be had to resist, or evict, the most violent beast that ever nature bred; but, from false and treacherous hearts, from poisoning murders, what wit or wisdom can defend?

This concerneth your lordships, every one in particular, as well as myself. They (of whose poisoning your petitioner complaineth), viz. King James, the Marquis of Hamilton, and others (whose names after shall be expressed), have been the most eminent in the kingdom, and sat on these benches, whereon your honours do now sit. The party whom your petitioner accuseth, is the Duke of Buckingham; who is so powerful, that unless the whole body of a parliament lay hold on him, no justice can be had of him. For, what place is there of justice, what office of the crown, what degree of honour in the kingdom, which he hath not sold? and sold in such craft, that he can shake the buyer out of them, and intrude others at his pleasure?

All the judges of the kingdom, all the officers of state, are his bound vassals or allies, and afraid to become his out-casts, as it is notorious to all his majesty's true and loving subjects: yea, so far hath his ambitious practice gone, that what the king would have done, could not be done, if he opposed it; whereof many instances may be given, whensoever they shall be required. Neither are they unknown to this honourable assembly, howsoever the means he useth be, (whether lawful or unlawful, whether human or diabolic, so he tortureth the kingdom,) that he procureth the calling, breaking, or continuing of the parliament, at his pleasure; placing and displacing the officers of justice, of the council of the king's court, of the courts of justice, to his violent pleasure, and as his ambitious

[5] [*Recourse* seems here to be used for recovery, or restitution.]

villany moveth him. What hope, then, can your petitioner have, that his complaint should be heard, or being heard, should take effect? To obtain justice he may despair; to provoke the Duke to send forth a poisoner or murderer to dispatch him, and send him after his dead friends, already murdered, he may be sure of this to be the event. Let the event be what it will, come whatsoever can come, the loss of his own life your petitioner valueth not, having suffered the loss of the lives of such eminent friends; esteeming his life cannot be better bestowed, than upon the discovery of so heinous murders. Yea, the justness of the cause, the nearness and dearness of his friends murdered, shall prevail so far with him, that he shall unfold unto your honours, and unto the whole world, against the accused, and name him the author of so great murders, George Villers, Duke of Buckingham; which, against any private man, are sufficient for his apprehension and torture. And, to make his complaint not very tedious, he will only, for the present, declare unto your honours the two eminent murders committed by Buckingham: to wit, of the king's majesty, and of the Lord Marquis of Hamilton; which, for all the subtlety of his poisoning art, could not be so cunningly conveyed as the murderer thought, but that God hath discovered manifestly the author. And, to observe the order of the time of their death, because the Lord Marquis of Hamilton died first, his death shall be first related, even from the root of his first quarrel with Buckingham; albeit, many other jars have proceeded, from time to time, betwixt them.

Concerning the Poisoning of the Lord Marquis of Hamilton.

BUCKINGHAM once raised from the bottom of fortune's wheel to the top, by what desert, by what right or wrong, no matter it is; by his carriage the proverb is verified, 'Nothing more proud, than basest blood, when it doth rise aloft.' He suffered his ambition to carry himself so far, as to aspire to match his blood with the blood-royal both of England and Scotland. And well knowing, that the Marquis of Hamilton was acknowledged by King James to be the prime man in his dominions, who, next to his own line in his proper season, might claim an hereditary title to his crown of Scotland, by the daughter of King James the Second; and to the crown of England by Joan of Somerset, wife to King James the First; declared, by an act of parliament, heretrix of England to be in her due rank; never suffered the king to be at rest, but urged him always to send some of his privy-council to solicit the marquis to match his eldest son with Buckingham's niece; making great promises of conditions, which the mean family of the bride could not perform without the king's liberality, to wit, fifty thousand pounds sterling, valuing five-hundred thousand florins; with the earldom of Orkney, under the title of Duke; and whatsoever the marquis would accept, even to the first duke of Britain.

The glorious title of a Duke the marquis refused twice, upon special reasons reserved to himself.

The matter of money was no motive to cause the marquis to match his son so unequal to his degree; seeing Buckingham himself, the chief of her kindred, was but a novice in nobility, his father obscure amongst gentlemen, his mother a serving-woman; and he being infamous for his frequent consultation with the ring-leader of witches, principally that false Doctor Lambe, publicly condemned for witchcraft; whereby the marquis, knowing that the king was so far bewitched to Buckingham, that, if he refused the match demanded, he should find the king's deadly hatred against him; and seeing that Buckingham's niece was not yet nubile in years, and that, before the marriage should be confirmed, a way might be found out to annul it; unto which he was forced by deceitful importunity; therefore he yielded unto the king's desire of the match. Whereupon, Buckingham and his faction,

fearing that delays would bring lets[6], urged my lord marquis to send for his son, upon a Sunday morning betimes, in all haste, from London to court at Greenwich; where never a word was spoken of marriage to the young lord, till a little before supper, and the marriage made before the king after supper. And, to make it more authentic, Buckingham caused his niece to be laid in bed with the marquis's son, for a short time, in the king's chamber, and in his majesty's presence, albeit the bride was yet innubile. Many were astonished at the sudden news thereof; all the marquis's friends fretting thereat, and some writing unto him very scornful letters for the same.

The marquis, having satisfied the king's commands, did what he could to prevent the confirmation of the marriage; and intended to send his son beyond the seas, to travel through France, and so to pass his time abroad; until that means were found out to untie that knot, which Buckingham had urged the king to tie upon his son. But Buckingham, to countermand the marquis's design, causes the marquis's son to be sworn gentleman of the prince's bed-chamber, and so to be detained with him within the kingdom, until that the bride was at years ripe for marriage.

The time expired, that Buckingham's niece became marriageable; Buckingham sent to the marquis, to desire him to make the marriage to be completely confirmed. The marquis (not willing to hear of any such matter) answered briefly, "he scorned the motion."

This answer was reported to Buckingham, who seeing himself like to be frustrated of his ambitious matching of his niece, and perceiving that the lord marquis was able to raise a great faction against him, whether King James did live or die, was mightily incensed against the marquis; and, at the first encounter with him, did challenge him for speaking disdainfully of him and his house. The marquis replied, "he did not remember any offensive words uttered by himself against Buckingham." Buckingham then proudly said unto him, "Out of the words of thy mouth I will judge thee; for you have said, you scorn the motion of matching with my house, which I made unto you." The marquis answered, that "If he had said so, it became not the duke to speak unto him in that fashion." So Buckingham threatened to be revenged. The marquis uttered his defiance: and thus the quarrel began, which four or five times was reiterated, and as often reconciled by the Marquis de Fiatte, a little before the Marquis of Hamilton fell sick; wherein it is very evident, that the quarrel hath been very violent that needed so many reconciliations. The duke's fire of his anger and fury being unextinguishable, as King James did often censure him in his absence, albeit a favourite; that he was wonderful vindicative, whose malice was insatiable towards my Lord Marquis of Hamilton, did well shew itself, as shall appear hereafter.

Hardly can any man tell, whether, by the marquis in his sickness, Buckingham was more suspected, than accused, of the poison given, or to be given him; for he would not taste of any thing that was sent to him by any of Buckingham's friends, but he would have some of his servants taste of it before. And for the love that was mutual between him and your petitioner (whom he would never suffer to go out of his sight during his sickness) your petitioner cast off all that he took in that time, unto whom, his suspicion of Buckingham he expressed by name before sufficient witness, who will testify it upon oath, if there be any course taken therein for the search thereof. All the time of his sickness, he entreated your petitioner not to suffer my Lord of Buckingham to come near him; and your petitioner having often sent word, and also sometimes signified himself to Buckingham, that there was no fit opportunity to see the marquis, pretending something to be ministred to him. But, when your petitioner could find no more excuses, he told my lord marquis, that he had put away my Lord of Buckingham so often, that he could not keep him away any longer, but that he must needs see him.

Then he knowing Buckingham's visitation to proceed of dissimulation, requested your

[6] [Hindrances or impediments. This word is still current in the nomenclature of law.]

petitioner, at last, to find the means to get him away quickly; which your petitioner did, interrupting Buckingham's discourse, and entreating him to suffer my lord marquis to be quiet.

This did evidently shew my lord marquis's disliking and distrusting of Buckingham, whereas he was well pleased with other noblemen's company. All the time of his sickness, the Duke and my Lord Denbigh[7] would not suffer his own son to come to him, pretending that he was also sick; which was false, for the time that my lord marquis called for him. After this, your petitioner advised his lordship to dispose of his estate, and of his conscience; his sickness was not without danger; which your petitioner, four days before my lord's death, did in such manner perceive, that he had cause to despair of his health, but entreated him to commit all the care of his health to God and his physicians; assuring, howsoever he had gotten wrong abroad, he should get none in the cure of his disease.

At length his lordship burst out in these words to my Lord Denbigh, "It is a great cruelty in you, that you will not suffer my son to come to me when I am dying; that I may see him, and speak to him, before I die." So they delayed his coming with excuses, until my lord's agony of death was near; to the end that he should not have time to give his son private instructions to shun the marriage of Buckingham's niece, or to signify unto him the suspicion of poison. For they had rather his son should know any thing, than either of these; yet many did suspect his poison before he died: for, two days before his death, two of his servants died with manifest signs and suspicion of poison; the one belonging to the wine-cellar, the other to the kitchen.

The fatal hour being come, that my lord marquis deceased; your petitioner entreated all that were present, to suffer no man to touch his body, until he retutned to see it opened. For then he protested earnestly, that all the time of his sickness, he judged him to be poisoned; but this poison was such, and so far gone, that none could help it. Nevertheless, to have the matter concealed, Buckingham would have him buried that same night in Westminster church, and the ceremonies of his burial to be kept afterwards; saying, "that such delicate bodies as his, could not be kept." But his friends (taking hold of the caveat before given by your petitioner) refused so to do; and replied, "that they would have him, as became him, to be buried in Scotland, in his own chapel, where all his ancestors have been buried for more than these four hundred years; and that his body must first be visited by his physicians."

No sooner was he dead, when the force of the poison had overcome the force of his body, but it began to swell in such sort, that his thighs were swoln six times as big as their natural proportion; his belly became as big as the belly of an ox; his arms, as the natural quantity of his thighs; his neck as broad as his shoulders; his cheeks over the top of his nose, that his nose could not be seen or distinguished; the skin of his forehead two fingers high swelled; the hair of his beard, eye-brows, and head, so far distant from one another, as if an hundred had been taken out between each one; and when one did touch the hair, it came away with the skin as easily, as if one had pulled hay out of an heap of hay. He was all over, his neck, breast, shoulders, arms, and brows, (I say) of divers colours; full of waters, of the same colour; some white, some black, some red, some yellow, some green, some blue, and that as well within his body as without. Also, the concavities of his liver green, his stomach, in some places, a little purpurated with a blue clammy water, adhering to the sides of it; his mouth and nose foaming blood mixed with froth mightily, of divers colours, a yard high. Your petitioner, being sent for to visit his body, and his servants all flocked about him, saying, "See, see;" presently weeping, said, "He was poisoned, and that it was not a thing to be suffered."

Moreover, he said, that "albeit his speech might cost him his life, yet seeing his sorrow had extorted that speech out of him, he would make it manifest, and would have a jury of

[7] [William, first Earl of Denbigh, was brother-in-law to the Duke of Buckingham. See Collins's Peerage.]

physicians." Presently, some of my Lord Marquis of Hamilton's friends said, "We must send to my lord duke, that he may send his physicians:" but your petitioner replied, "What have we to do with the duke's physicians? Let us have indifferent men." Captain Hamilton, hearing your petitioner so boldly take exceptions at Buckingham, and judging that he had good reason for what he had spoken, said, "For all that, let us send to the duke; and signify, that all who have seen the marquis's body, both physicians, chirurgeons, and others, may see that he is poisoned; and that his friends desire more physicians out of the college of London, besides the duke's physicians, to bear witness in what case the marquis's body is in; and then, if the duke's conscience be guilty (said the captain) it will shew itself:" as others out of London, whom he caused first to be brought unto him, before they went to see the marquis's body, giving them his directions in these words, viz.

"My masters, there is a bruit[8] spread abroad that the Marquis of Hamilton is poisoned; go see, but beware what you speak of poison, (which he said in a threatening form of delivery,) for every nobleman that dieth must be poisoned."

If his consience had not been guilty, should not he have commanded the physicians to inquire by all means possible, and make it known, rather than to suppress the speech of poisoning so worthy a man?

These physicians being come, your petitioner with one hand leading Doctor More to the table, where the marquis's body was laid, and with the other hand throwing off the cloth from the body, said unto him, "Look you here upon this spectacle." At the sight whereof Doctor More, lifting up both his hands, heart, and eyes, to the heavens, astonished, said, "Jesus, bless me! I never saw the like, I cannot distinguish a face upon him:" and in like manner all the rest of the doctors, and also the chirurgeons, affirmed, that they never saw the like, albeit that they have travelled and practised through the greatest part of Europe: Only one, that said "My Lord of Southampton was blistered all within the breast, as my lord marquis was." Doctor Leicester, one of Buckingham's creatures, seeing Doctor More and others so amazed at the sight of my lord's body, drew first him aside, and then the others, one after another; and whispered them in the ear to silence them.

Whereupon many went away, without speaking one word; the others, who remained, acknowledged, that those accidents of the dead body could not be without poison; but they said, they could not know how such a subtle art of poisoning could be brought into England; your petitioner replied, "that money would bring both the art, and the artist, from the furthest part of the world into England;" from whence, since your petitioner's departure, he hath conferred with the skilfullest pest-masters that could be found, who visit the bodies of those that die of the venom of the pest.

They all admire the description of my lord marquis's body, and testify, that never any of the pest have such accidents, but carbuncles, rubons, or spots; no such huge blisters with waters, and such a huge uniform swelling to such dimensions, above six times the natural proportion. But he hath met with some, who have practised the poisoning of dogs, to try the force of some antidotes; and they have found, that some poisons have made the dogs sick for a fortnight or more, without any swelling, until they were dead, and then they swelled above measure, and became blistered, with waters of divers colours; and the hair came away with the skin, when it was touched.

The physicians then, who remained, were willing to certify under their hands, that my lord marquis was poisoned. But your petitioner told them, "it was not needful, seeing we must needs attend God's leisure to discover the author, the manner being so apparent, and so many hundreds having seen the body, to witness it;" for the doors were kept open for every man to behold, and to be witness who would.

The Duke of Buckingham, making some counterfeit shew of sorrow to men of great qua-

[8] [That is, *report, rumour.*]

lity, found no other shift to divert the suspicion of the poisoning of the marquis from him, but to lay it upon his master, the king; saying, "that the marquis, for his person, spirit, and carriage, was such as he was born worthy to reign; but the king, his master, hated him to death, because he had a spirit too much for the common-weal." Whereby the duke did shew himself no good subject to the king, who made the king's honour to be tyrannical, and the king a blood-thirsty murderer, and a most vile dissembler, having heaped so many honours daily upon the marquis, even to the very last; making him Lord High Steward of his Majesty's House, and Judge of the very Court, whom he had made before Viceroy of Scotland, for the time of the parliament of Scotland, Earl of Cambridge, Privy-counsellor in England, and Knight of the Garter; as if he had raised him to all these honours, that the murdering of him might be the less suspected to proceed from him.

The king's nature hath always been observed to have been so gracious, and so free-hearted towards every one, that he would never have wished the marquis any harm, unless that Buckingham had put great jealousies and fears into his mind; for, if any other had done it, he would have acquainted his favourite therewith. And then was it Buckingham's duty to remove from the king such sinistrous conceits of the marquis, as the marquis hath often done of Buckingham; upholding him upon all occasions, and keeping the king from giving way to introduce any other favourite? Wherefore Buckingham, in that diversion of the crime from him, hath not only made the king, but also himself, guilty of the marquis's death.

But Buckingham's falsehood and ill intention, was long before rightly discovered, when he did what he could to make the Earl of Nethersdale and my Lord Gordon (both near kinsmen to my lord marquis) so incensed at him, that they had like all three to have killed one another; if it had not been that my Lord Marquis, by his wisdom, did let them all know how they were abused.

If any dissimulation be greater than Buckingham's, let any man judge. For, when my lord marquis's body was to be transported from Whitehall, to his house at Bishopsgate, Buckingham came out muffled and furred in his coach, giving out, that he was sick for sorrow of my lord marquis's death; but as soon as he went to his house out of London, before his coming to the king, he triumphed and domineered with his faction so excessively, as if he had gained some great victory. And, the next day coming to the king, he put on a most lamentable and mournful countenance for the death of my lord marquis. No greater victory could he have gotten to his mind than to have destroyed that man, who could and would have fetched his head off his shoulders, if he had outlived King James, to have known his carriage in the poisoning of him in his sickness; wherefore, he thought it most necessary to remove the marquis before-hand.

The same day that my lord marquis died, Buckingham sent my lord marquis's son out of town, keeping him as prisoner, that none could have private conference with him, until his marriage of Buckingham's niece was completed, but always either my Lord Denbigh, or my Lady Denbigh, or my Lord Duke of Buckingham, or the Duchess of Buckingham, or the Countess of Buckingham[9] was present; that none could let him understand how his father was murdered. Even your petitioner himself, when he went to see him, within a few days after his father's death, was entreated not to speak to him of the poisoning of his father; which he did conceal at his first meeting, because their sorrow was too recent. But he was prevented of a second meeting; neither would Buckingham suffer the young lord to go to Scotland, to see his father's funeral, and to take order with his friends, concerning his father's estate, for fear that their intended marriage should be overthrown.

This captivity of the young lord marquis lasted so long, until that Buckingham caused

[9] [The Duke's mother was made Countess of Buckingham for life: she was the daughter of Anthony Beaumont, esq. and had the principal care of her son's education, from the early death of his father. See Sir Henry Wotton's Life of the Duke.]

his majesty, King Charles, to take the young lord with himself and Buckingham into St. James's park, discharging all others from following them; and there to persuade and urge the young lord, without any more delay, to accomplish the marriage with Buckingham's niece, which instantly was performed; so that Buckingham trusteth and presumeth, that, albeit the young lord should understand how his father was poisoned by his means; yet, being married to his niece, he would not stir to revenge it, but comport with it.

To all that is observed before, it is worthy to be added that the bruit went through London, long before the Lord Duke of Richmond's death, or his brother's, or my Lord of Southampton's, or of the marquis, that all the noblemen, that were not of the duke's faction, should be poisoned, and so removed out of his way.

Also a paper was found in King-street, about the time of the Duke of Richmond's death, wherein the names of all those noblemen, who have died since, were expressed; and your petitioner's name also set next to my Lord Marquis of Hamilton's name, with these words: 'To embalm him.' This paper was brought by my Lord Oldbarro's daughter, cousin-german to the lord marquis. Likewise a mountebank, about that time, was greatly countenanced by the Duke of Buckingham; and by his means procured letters patents, and recommendations from the king, to practice his skill in physick through all England; who coming to London, to sell poison, to kill man or beast within a year, or half a year, or two years, or a month or two, or what time prefixed any man desired; in such sort that they could not be helped nor discovered. Moreover, the Christmas before my Lord Marquis's death, one of the prince's footmen said, "that some of the great ones at court had gotten poison in their belly, but he could not tell who it was."

Here your honours considering the premises of my Lord Duke of Buckingham's ambitious and most vindicative nature; his frequent quarrels with my Lord Marquis, after so many reconciliations; his threatening of the physicians, not to speak of the poison; his triumphing after my lord marquis's death; his detaining of his son almost prisoner, until the marriage was complete with his niece; the preceding bruit of poisoning Buckingham's adversaries; the paper of their names found, with sufficient intimation of their death, by the conclusion of the word, 'embalming;' the poison-monger mountebank, graced by Buckingham, may suffice for ground to take him and torture him, if he were a private man: and herein, your petitioner most earnestly demandeth justice against that traitor, seeing by act of parliament it is made treason to conspire the death of a privy-counsellor. Out of this declaration, interrogatories may be drawn for examination of witnesses; wherein more is discovered to begin withal, than was laid open at the beginning of the discovery of the poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury.

Concerning the Poisoning of King James of happy Memory, King of Great-Britain.

THE Duke of Buckingham, being in Spain advertised by letter, how that the king began to censure him in his absence freely, and that many spoke boldly to the king against him, and how the king had intelligence from Spain of his unworthy carriage in Spain; and how the Marquis of Hamilton (upon the sudden news of the prince's departure) had nobly reprehended the king, for sending the prince with such a young man without experience and in such a private and sudden manner, without acquainting the nobility or council therewith; wrote a very bitter letter to the Marquis of Hamilton, conceived new ambitious courses of his own, and used all the devices he could to disgust the prince's mind off the match with Spain so far intended by the king; made haste home, where when he came, he so carried himself, that, whatever the king commanded in his bed-chamber, he controlled in the next; yea, received packets to the king from foreign princes, and dis-

patched answers without acquainting the king therewith, in a long time after. Whereat perceiving the king highly offended, and that the king's mind was beginning to alter towards him, suffering him to be quarrelled and affronted in his majesty's presence; and observing that the king reserved my Lord of Bristol to be a rod for him, urging daily his dispatch for France, and expecting the Earl of Gondomor[10], who, as it seemed, was greatly esteemed and wonderfully credited by the king, and would second my Lord of Bristol's accusations against him. He knew also that the king had vowed, that in despite of all the devils in hell, he would bring the Spanish match about again, and that the Marquis of Inicosa had given the king bad impressions of him; by whose articles of accusation, the king himself had examined some of the nobility and privy-council, and found in the examination, that Buckingham had said, after his coming from Spain, "That the king was now an old man, it was now time for him to be at rest, and to be confined to some park, to pass the rest of his time in hunting, and the prince to be crowned."

The more the king urged him to be gone to France, the more shifts he made to stay; for he did evidently see, that the king was fully resolved to rid himself of the oppressions wherein he held him.

The king being sick of a certain ague, and that in the spring was of itself never found deadly; the duke took his opportunity, when all the king's doctors of physick were at dinner, (upon the Monday before the king died, without their knowledge or consent,) and offered to him a white powder to take, the which he a long time refused; but, overcome with his flattering importunity, at length took it in wine, and immediately became worse and worse, falling into many swoonings and pains, and violent fluxes of the belly, so tormented, that his majesty cried out aloud of this white powder, "Would to God I had never taken it! it will cost me my life."

In like manner also the Countess of Buckingham, my Lord of Buckingham's mother, upon the Friday after, (the physicians being also absent and at dinner, and not made acquainted with her doings,) applied a plaster to the king's heart and breast; whereupon he grew faint, and short-breathed, and in a great agony. Some of the physicians, after dinner, returning to see the king, by the offensive smell of the plaster, perceived something to be about him, hurtful to him, and searched what it should be, and found it out, and exclaimed that "the king was poisoned." Then Buckingham entering, commanded the physicians out of the room, caused one of them to be committed prisoner to his own chamber, and another to be removed from court; quarrelled with others of the king's servants in his sick majesty's own presence so far, that he offered to draw his sword against them in his majesty's sight. And Buckingham's mother, kneeling down before his majesty, cried out with a brazen face, "Justice, justice, Sir, I demand justice of your majesty." His majesty asked her, "For what?" "For that which their lives are no way sufficient to satisfy; for saying that my son and I have poisoned your majesty." "Poisoned me!" said he; with that, turning himself, swooned, and she was removed.

The Sunday after his majesty died; and Buckingham desired the physicians, who attended his majesty, to sign with their own hands a writ of testimony, that the powder which he gave him, was a good and safe medicine; which they refused.

Buckingham's creatures did spread abroad a rumour in London, that Buckingham was so sorry for his majesty's death, that he would have died, that he would have killed himself, if they had not hindred him; which your petitioner purposely enquired after of them that were near him at that time, who said, that "neither in the time of his majesty's sickness, nor after his death, he was more moved, than if there had never happened either sickness or death to his majesty."

[10] [Count Gondamor, ambassador from the court of Spain, was a man of great diplomatic craft, and biassed the political proceedings of King James with much secret sway. It was by his management that the Prince of Wales's marriage with the Infanta of Spain was so long made a matter of collusive negotiation, and at last was broken off.]

One day when his majesty was in great extremity, he rode post to London, to pursue his sister-in-law, to have her stand in sack-cloth in St. Paul's for adultery. And, another time, in his majesty's agony, he was busy in contriving and concluding a marriage for one of his cousins.

Immediately after his majesty's death, the physician, who was commanded to his chamber, was set at liberty, with a caveat to hold his peace; the others threatened, if they kept not good tongues in their heads.

But, in the mean time, the king's body and head swelled above measure, his hair with the skin of his head stuck to the pillow, and his nails became loose upon his fingers and toes.

Your petitioner needeth to say no more to understanding men; only one thing he beseecheth, that taking the traitor who ought to be taken without any fear of his greatness, the other matters may be examined, and the accessaries with the guilty punished.

Fragmenta Regalia: or, Observations on the late Queen Elizabeth, her Times and Favourites. Written by Sir Robert Naunton[1], Master of the Court of Wards.

[Quarto, containing Forty-nine Pages.]

Printed Anno Dom. 1641.

TO take her [Queen Elizabeth] in the original, she was the daughter of King Henry the Eighth, by Ann Bullen, the second of six wives which he had, and one of the maids of honour to the divorced Queen, Katharine of Austria (or as the now styled Infanta of Spain) and from thence taken to the royal bed.

That she was of a most noble and royal extract by her father, will not fall into question, for on that side was disembogued into her veins, by a confluency of blood, the very abstract of all the greatest houses in Christendom: and remarkable it is, considering that violent desertion of the royal house of the Britons, by the intrusion of the Saxons, and afterwards by the conquest of the Normans; that, through vicissitude of times, and after a discontinuance almost of a thousand years, the sceptre should fall again, and he brought back into the old regal line and true current of the British blood, in the person of her renowned graudfather, King Henry the Seventh, together with whatsoever the German, Norman, Burgundian, Castilian, and French atchievements, with their intermarriages, which eight hundred years had acquired, could add of glory thereunto.

By her mother she was of no sovereign descent, yet noble and very ancient in the family of Bullen; though some erroneously brand them with a citizen's rise, or original, which was yet but of a second brother, who (as it was divine in the greatness and lustre to come to his house) was sent into the city to acquire wealth, *ad ædificandam antiquam*

[1] [Sir Robert Naunton was born (as Fuller conceived) at Alderton in Suffolk, of right ancient extraction. He became a fellow of Trinity-hall, Cambridge, and a proctor of that university in 1601. He was afterwards appointed secretary of state to King James, and discharged his official duties with ability and dexterity. Lloyd adds, that he also was promoted to be master of the wards, which he executed with integrity. His "Fragments Regalia" is considered as the product of his early years, and did not appear in print till after his decease.]

domum, unto whose atchievements (for he was lord-mayor of London) fell in, as it is averred, both the blood and inheritance of the eldest brother, for want of issue males, by which accumulation the house within few descents mounted *in culmen honoris*, and was suddently dilated in the best families of England and Ireland; as, Howard, Ormond, Sackville, and others.

Having thus touched, and now leaving her stipe[2], I come to her person, and how she came to the crown by the decease of her brother and sister.

Under Edward the Sixth, she was his, and one of the darlings of fortune; for, besides the consideration of blood, there was between these two princes a concurrency and sympathy of their natures and affections, together with the celestial bond (confirmative religion) which made them one; for the king never called her by any other appellation but 'his sweetest and dearest sister,' and was scarce his own man, she being absent; which was not so between him and the lady Mary.

Under her sister [3] she found her condition much altered, for it was resolved (and her destiny had decreed it) to set her apprentice in the school of affliction, and to draw her through that ordeal-fire of trial, the better to mould and fashion her to rule and sovereignty: which finished, fortune calling to mind, that the time of her servitude was expired, gave up her indentures, and therewith delivered into her custody a sceptre, as the reward of her patience; which was about the twenty-sixth of her age: a time in which, as for her internals grown ripe, and seasoned by adversity, in the exercise of her virtue; for, it seems, fortune meant no more but to shew her a piece of variety, and changeableness of her nature, but to conduct her to her destiny, i. e. felicity.

She was of person tall, of hair and complexion fair, and therewith well favoured, but high-nosed; of limbs and features neat, and, which added to the lustre of these external graces, of a stately and majestic comportment, participating in this more of her father than of her mother, who was of an inferior alloy, plausible, or as the French hath it, more debonnaire and affable; virtues, which might well suit with majesty, and which, descending as hereditary to the daughter, did render her of a sweeter temper, and endeared her more to the love and liking of the people, who gave her the name and fame of a most gracious and popular princess.

The atrocity of the father's nature was rebated in her, by the mother's sweeter inclinations; for (to take, and that no more than the character out of his own mouth) 'He never spared man in his anger, nor woman in his lust.'

If we search further into her intellectuals and abilities, the wheel-course of her government deciphers them to the admiration of posterity; for it was full of magnanimity, tempered with justice, piety, and pity, and, to speak truth, noted but with one act of stain or taint; all her deprivations, either of life or liberty, being legal and necessitated. She was learned (her sex and time considered) beyond common belief: for, letters about this time, or somewhat before, did but begin to be of esteem and in fashion, the former ages being overcast with the mists and fogs of the Roman[4] ignorance, and it was the maxim that over-ruled the foregoing times, that 'Ignorance was the mother of devotion.' Her wars were a long time more in the auxiliary part, and assistance of foreign princes and states, than by invasion of any; till common policy advised it[5], for a safer way, to strike first abroad, than at home to expect the war, in all which she was ever felicious and victorious.

The change and alteration of religion, upon the instant of her accession to the crown, (the smoke and fire of her sister's martyrdoms[6] scarcely quenched,) was none of her least remarkable actions; but the support and establishment thereof with the means of her own

[2] [Probably, for *stirpe*, lineage, descent.]
[3] Queen Mary.
[4] Meaning Roman Catholic, or Popish.
[5] See Vol. I. p. 196, &c.
[6] See Vol. I. p. 212, &c.

subsistence amidst so powerful enemies abroad, and those many domestic practices, were, methinks, works of inspiration, and of no human providence, which, on her sister's departure, she most religiously acknowledged, ascribing the glory of her deliverance to God above; for, she being then at Hatfield, and under a guard, and the parliament sitting at the self-same time, at the news of the queen's death, and her own proclamation by the general consent of the house and the public sufferance of the people; falling on her knees, after a good time of respiration, she uttered this verse of the psalm:

A Domino factum est istud, et est mirabile in oculis nostris[7].

And this we find to this day on the stamp of her gold, with this on her silver:

Posui Deum adjutorem meum[8].

Her ministers and instruments of state, such as were *participes curarum*, or bore a great part of the burthen, were many, and those memorable; but they were only favourites and not minions, such as acted more by her princely rules and judgments, than by their own wills and appetites; for, we saw no Gaveston[9], Vere, or Spencer, to have swayed alone, during forty-four years, which was a well-settled and advised maxim; for it valued her the more, it awed the most secure, it took best with the people, and it staved off all emulations, which are apt to rise and vent in obloquious acrimony even against the prince, where there is one only admitted into high administrations.

A Major Pallatii.

THE principal note of her reign will be, that she ruled much by faction and parties, which she herself both made, upheld, and weakened, as her own great judgment advised; for I do disassent from the common and received opinion, that my Lord of Leicester was absolute and alone in her grace; and, though I come somewhat short of the knowledge of these times, yet, that I may not err, or shoot at random, I know it from assured intelligence that it was not so; for proof whereof amongst many (that could present) I will both relate a story and therein a know truth, and it was thus: Bowyer, the gentleman of the black rod, being charged by her express command, to look precisely to all admissions in the privy-chamber, one day staid a very gay captain (and a follower of my Lord of Leicester) from entrance, for that he was neither well known, nor a sworn servant of the queen; at which repulse, the gentleman (bearing high on my lord's favour) told him, that he might, perchance, procure him a discharge. Leicester coming to the contestation, said publicly, which was none of his wonted speeches, "that he was a knave, and should not long continue in his office;" and so turning about to go to the queen, Bowyer, who was a bold gentleman and well beloved, stepped before him, and fell at her majesty's feet, relates the story, and humbly craves her grace's pleasure, and in such a manner as if he had demanded whether my Lord of Leicester was king, or her majesty queen; whereunto she replied (with her wonted oath), "God's-death, my lord, I have wished you well, but my favour is not so locked up for you, that others shall not participate thereof; for I have many servants unto whom I have and will, at my pleasure, bequeath my favour, and likewise resume the same; and if you think to rule here, I will take a course to see you forthcoming[10]: I will have here but one mistress, and no master; and look that no ill happen to him, lest it be

[7] 'This is the work of the Lord, and it is wonderful in our sight.'

[8] 'I have chosen God for my help.'

[9] [For a full account of whom, see Vol. I. p. 69.]

[10] i. e. I will confine you.

severely required at your hands;" which so quailed my Lord of Leicester, that his faint humility was, long after, one of his best virtues.

Moreover, the Earl of Sussex[11], then lord chamberlain, was his professed antagonist, to his dying day; and for my Lord Hunsdown[12], and Sir Thomas Sackville, after lord-treasurer[13], who were all contemporaries, he was wont to say of them, " that they were of the tribe of Dan, and were, *Noli me tangere:*" implying, that they were not to be contested with, for they were, indeed, of the queen's nigh kindred.

From whence, and in many more instances, I conclude, that she was absolute and sovereign mistress of her graces, and that all those, to whom she distributed her favours, were never more than tenants at will, and stood on no better terms than her princely pleasure, and their good behaviour. And this also I present as a known observation, that she was, though very capable of counsel, absolute enough in her own resolutions; which was ever apparent even to her last, and in that of her still aversion to grant Tyrone[14] the least drop of her mercy, though earnestly and frequently advised thereunto; yea, wrought only by her whole council of state, with very many reasons; and, as the state of her kingdom then stood, (I may speak it with assurance,) necessitated arguments.

If we look into her inclination as it was disposed to magnificence or frugality, we shall find in them many notable considerations; for all her dispensations were so poised, as though discretion and justice had both decreed to stand at the beam, and see them weighed out in due proportion, the maturity of her paces and judgments meeting in a concurrence; and that in such an age that seldom lapseth to excess.

To consider them a part, we have not many precedents of her liberality, nor any large donatives to particular men; my Lord of Essex's book of parks excepted, which was a princely gift; and some more of a lesser size, to my Lord of Leicester, Hatton, and others[15]. Her rewards chiefly consisted in grants and leases of offices, and places of judicature, but for ready money, and in great sums, she was very sparing: which we may partly conceive, was a virtue rather drawn out of necessity than her nature: for she had many layings-out, and as her wars were lasting, so their charge increased to the last period. And I am of opinion with Sir Walter Rawleigh, that those many brave men of her times and of the militia, tasted little more of her bounty, than in her grace and good word with their due entertainment: for she ever paid her soldiers well, which was the honour of her times, and more than her great adversary of Spain could perform; so that, when we come to the consideration of her frugality, the observation will be a little more, than that her bounty and it were so woven together, that the one was[16] stained by an honourable way of sparing.

The Irish action we may call a malady, and a consumption of her times; for it accompanied her to her end: and it was of so profuse and vast an expence, that it drew near unto a distemperature of state, and of passion in herself; for, towards her last, she grew somewhat hard to please, her armies being accustomed to prosperity, and the Irish prosecution not answering her expectation, and her wonted success: for, it was a good while an unthrifty and unauspicious war, which did much disturb and mislead her judgment; and, the more, for that it was a precedent taken out of her own pattern. For, as the queen, by way of division, had, at her coming to the crown, supported the revolted states of Holland, so did the king of Spain turn the trick upon herself, towards her going out, by cherishing

[11] [Vide infra, p. 90.]

[12] [Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, was first cousin to the queen, on her mother's side, and was honoured accordingly with marked distinction: being made captain of the band of gentlemen pensioners, K. G., Lord Chamberlain of the household, and had special charge of the royal person when the Spanish invasion was expected.]

[13] [This high office was conferred on him by Queen Elizabeth in 1598, and was confirmed for life by her successor, who also created this illustrious statesman Earl of Dorset. See Noble Authors, art. Lord Buckhurst.]

[14] The Irish rebel. [Vid. Nugæ Antiquæ.]

[15] See her last Speech to the Parliament, in Vol. I. p. 377.

[16] *al.* not.

the Irish rebellion; where it falls into consideration, what the state of this kingdom, and the crown revenues, were then able to endure and embrace.

If we look into the establishments of those times with the best of the Irish army, counting the defeatures of Blackwater, with all the precedent expences, as it stood from my Lord of Essex's undertaking of the surrender of Kingsale, and the General Mountjoy, and, somewhat after; we shall find the horse and foot troops were, for three or four years together, much about twenty-thousand, besides the naval charge, which was a dependant of the same war, in that the queen was then forced to keep in continual pay a strong fleet at sea, to attend the Spanish coasts and parts, both to alarm the Spaniards, and to intercept the forces, designed for the Irish assistance; so that the charge of that war alone did cost the queen three-hundred-thousand pounds per annum, at least, which was not the moiety of her other disbursements and expences; which, without the public aids, the state of the royal receipts could not have much longer endured; which, out of her own frequent letters and complaints to the Deputy Mountjoy, for cashiering of that list as soon as he could, might be collected; for the queen was then driven into a strait.

We are naturally prone to applaud the times behind us, and to vilify the present; for the concurrent of her fame carries it to this day, how loyally and victoriously she lived and died, without the grudge and grievance of her people; yet the truth may appear without retraction, from the honour of so great a princess. It is manifest, she left more debts unpaid, taken upon credit of her privy-seals, than her progenitors did, or could have taken up, that were an hundred years before her; which was no inferior piece of state, to lay the burthen on that house[17], which was best able to bear it at a dead lift, when neither her receipts could yield her relief, at the pinch; nor the urgency of her affairs endure the delays of parliamentary assistance. And, for such aids, it is likewise apparent, that she received more, and that with the love of her people, than any two of her predecessors, that took most; which was a fortune strained out of the subjects, through the plausibility of her comportment, and (as I would say, without offence) the prodigal distribution of her grace to all sorts of subjects: for, I believe, no prince living, (that was so tender of honour, and so exactly stood for the preservation of sovereignty,) was so great a courtier of the people, yea, of the commons, and that stooped and declined low in presenting her person to the public view as she passed in her progress and perambulations[18], and in her ejaculations of prayers on the people.

And, truly, though much may be written in praise of her providence, and good husbandry, in that she could, upon all good occasions, abate her magnanimity, and therewith comply with the parliament, and so always come off both with honour and profit; yet must we ascribe some part of the commendation to the wisdom of the times, and the choice of parliament-men: for I said[19] not, that they were at any time given to any violent or pertinacious dispute; the elections being made of grave and discreet persons, not factious and ambitious of fame; such as came not to the house with a malevolent spirit of contention, but with a preparation to consult on the public good, and rather to comply, than to contest with majesty: neither dare I find[20], that the house was weakened and pestered through the admission of too many young heads, as it hath been of latter times; which remembers me of the Recorder Martin's speech[21], about the truth of our late Sovereign Lord, King James[22], when there were accounts taken of forty gentlemen, not above

[17] *al.* horse.

[18] [This will be fully seen, by consulting that very curious and entertaining compilation by Mr. Nichols, intitled, "The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth;" which commences with the coronation of Anne Boleyn, 1533, and continues to King James's entertainment at Cambridge, in 1615.]

[19] *al.* find. [20] *al.* say.

[21] [Richard Martin, a barrister of the Middle Temple, was (according to Wood) 'a plausible linguist,' and so much respected by James the First, as to be recommended by him to the citizens of London for their Recorder; whence he was characterized as *principum amor, legum lingua, lexque dicendi*, &c.

[22] The First.

twenty, and some not exceeding sixteen years of age; which made him to say, "That it was the antient custom for old men to make laws for young ones; but there he saw the case altered, and that there were children in the great council of the kingdom, which came to invade and invert nature, and to enact laws to govern their fathers." Such [23] were in the house always [24], and took the common cause into consideration; and, they say, the queen had many times just cause, and need enough, to use their assistance; neither do I remember, that the house did ever capitulate, or prefer their private to the public and the queen's necessities, but waited their times, and, in the first place, gave their supply, and according to the exigence of her affairs; yet failed not at the last to attain what they desired; so that the queen and her parliaments, had ever the good fortunes to depart in love, and on reciprocal terms, which are considerations that have not been so exactly observed in our last assemblies. And, I would to God they had been! for considering the great debts left on the king [25], and to what incumbrances the house itself had then drawn him, his majesty was not well used; though I lay not the blame on the whole suffrage of the house, where he had many good friends: for, I dare avouch it, had the house been freed of half a dozen popular and discontented persons (such as, with the fellow that burnt the Temple of Ephesus, would be talked of, though for doing of mischief) I am confident the king had obtained that which in reason, and, at his first occasion, he ought to have received freely, and without condition. But pardon this digression, which is here remembered, not in the way of aggravation, but in true zeal of the public good, and presented in caveat of future times. For, I am not ignorant how the genius and spirit of the kingdom now moves to make his majesty amends, on any occasion; and how desirous the subject is to expiate that offence at any rate, may it please his majesty to make trial of his subjects' affections; and at what price they value now his goodness and magnanimity.

But, to our purpose; The queen was not to learn, that, as the strength of the kingdom consisted in the multitude of her subjects, so the security of her person consisted and rested in the love and fidelity of her people, which she politically affects (as it hath been thought) somewhat beneath the height of her natural spirit and magnanimity. Moreover, it will be a true note of her providence, that she would always listen to her profit. For she would not refuse the information of meanest personages, which proposed improvement; and had learned the philosophy of *(Hoc agere)* to look unto her own work: of which there is a notable example of one Carmarthen, an under-officer of the custom-house; who, observing his time, presented her with a paper, shewing how she was abused in the under-renting of the customs, and therewith humbly desired her majesty to conceal him, for that it did concern two or three of her great counsellors [26], whom customer Smith had bribed with two thousand pounds a man, so to lose the queen twenty thousand pounds per annum; which being made known to the lords, they gave strict order that Carmarthen should not have access to the back-stairs: but, at last, her majesty smelling the craft, and missing Carmarthen, she sent for him back, and encouraged him to stand to his information; which the poor man did so handsomely, that, within the space of ten years, he was brought to double his rent, or leave the custom to new farmers. So that we may take this also in consideration, that there were of the queen's council, which were not in the catalogue of saints.

Now, as we have taken a view of some particular motives of her times, her nature and necessities, it is not without the text, to give a short touch of the helps and advantages of her reign, which were not without [27] paroles; for she had neither husband, brother, sister, nor children to provide for, who, as they are dependents on the crown, so do they necessarily draw livelihood from thence, and oftentimes exhaust and draw deep, especially when there is an ample fraternity royal, and of the princes of the blood, as it was in the time of

[23] Fathers. [24] During Queen Elizabeth's reign. [25] Charles the First.
[26] Burleigh, Leicester, and Walsingham. [27] *al.* were without.

Edward the Third, and Henry the Fourth. For, when the crown cannot, the publick ought to give honourable allowance; for, they are the honour and hopes of the kingdom; and the publick, which enjoys them, hath the like interest with the father, which begat them, and our common law, which is the inheritance of the kingdom, did ever, of old, provide aids for the *primogenitus*[28], and the eldest daughter; for that the multiplicity of courts, and the great charges, which necessarily follow a king, a queen, a prince, and royal issue, was a thing which was not *in rerum naturâ*[29], during the space of forty-four years[30]; but worn out of memory, and without the consideration of the present times, insomuch as the aids, given to the late and right noble Prince Henry, and to his sister, the Lady Elizabeth, which were, at first, generally received as impositions for knighthood, though an ancient law, fell also into the imputation of a tax of nobility, for that it lay long covered in the embers of division, between the houses of York and Lancaster, and forgotten or connived at, by the succeeding princes. So that the strangeness of the observation, and the difference of those latter reigns, is, that the queen took up much beyond the power of law, which fell not into the murmur of people, and her successors took nothing but by warrant of the law, which nevertheless was received, through disuse, to be injurious to the liberty of the kingdom.

Now before I come to any mention of her favourites, for hitherto I have delivered but some oblivious passages, thereby to prepare and smooth a way for the rest that follows; it is necessary, that I touch on the religiousness of the other's reign, I mean the body of her sister's[31] council of state, which she retained entirely, neither removing, nor discontenting any; although she knew them averse to her religion, and, in her sister's time, perverse to her person, and privy to all her troubles and imprisonments. A prudence, which was incompatible to her sister's nature; for she both dissipated and presented the major part of her brother's council; but this will be of certaine, that, how compliable and obsequious soever she found them, yet, for a good space, she made little use of their counsels, more than in the ordinary course of the board, for she had a dormant table in her own privy breast; yet she kept them together, and in their places, without any sudden change; so that we may say of them, that they were then of the court, not of the council: for, while she[32] amazed them by a kind of promissive disputation, concerning the points controverted by both churches, she did set down her own guests, without their privity, and made all their progressions, gradations, but for that the tenents[33] of her secrets, with the intents of her establishments, were pitched, before it was known where the court would sit down.

Neither do I find, that any of her sister's council of state were either repugnant to her religion, or opposed her doings; (Englefield[34], master of the wards excepted, who withdrew himself from the board, and shortly after out of her dominions:) so pliable and obedient they were to change with the times, and their prince; and of them will fall a relation of recreation: Pawlet Marquis of Winchester, and lord-treasurer, had served then four princes, in as various and changeable times and seasons, that, I may well say, no time, nor age, hath yielded the like precedent; this man being noted to grow high in her favour (as his place and experience required) was questioned by an intimate friend of his, how he had stood up for thirty years together, amidst the change and ruins of so many chancellors, and great personages; Why, quoth the marquis, *Ortus, sum è salice, non ex quercu*, i. e. 'I am made of pliable willow, not of the stubborn oak.' And truly it seems, the old man had taught them all, especially William Earl of Pembroke, for they two were always of the king's religion, and always zealous professors: of these it is said, that, being both younger

[28] The eldest son. [29] Existing. [30] Which she ruled the English sceptre. [31] Mary.

[32] Amused. [May not the word *amazed*, in the text, have been used for *perplexed*, *confounded?* a sense in which it was employed by Shakspeare and other writers.]

[33] [See Vol. I. p. 25.]

[34] [Sir Francis Englefield was a privy-counsellor to Queen Mary, and after her death withdrew to Spain, where he became a zealous agent for the Queen of Scots. See Fuller's Worthies of Berks.]

brothers, yet of noble houses, they spent what was left them, and came on trust at the court, where, upon the bare stock of their wits, they began to traffic for themselves, and prospered so well, that they got, spent, and left, more than any subjects from the Norman's conquest, to their own times; whereupon it hath been prettily spoken, that they lived in a time of dissolution.

To conclude then; of all the former reign, it is said, that those two lived, and died, chiefly in her grace and favour; by the letter written upon his son's marriage with the Lady Catharine Gray, he had like utterly to have lost himself; but at the instant of consummation, as apprehending the unsafety and danger of intermarriage with the blood-royal, he fell at the queen's feet, where he both acknowledged his presumption, and projected the cause and the divorce together; so quick he was at his work, that, in the time of repudiation of the said Lady Gray, he clapped up a marriage for his son, the Lord Herbert, with Mary Sidney, daughter to Sir Henry Sidney, then Lord Deputy of Ireland, the blow falling on Edward, the late Earl of Hertford, who, to his cost, took up the divorced lady, of whom the Lord Beauchamp was born, and William, now Earl of Hertford, is descended.

I come now to present them to her own election, which were either admitted to her secrets of state, or took into her grace and favour, of whom, in order, I crave leave to give unto posterity a cautious description, with a short character or draught of the persons themselves; for, without offence to others, I would be true to myself, their memories, and merits, distinguishing those of *Militiæ*[35], from the *Togati*[36]; and of both these she had as many, and those as able ministers, as had any of her progenitors.

LEICESTER.

IT will be out of doubt, that my Lord of Leicester was one of the first whom she made master of the horse; he was the youngest son then living of the Duke of Northumberland, beheaded *primo Mariæ*[37], and his father was that Dudley which our histories couple with Empson; and both be much infamed for the caterpillars of the commonwealth, during the reign of Henry the Seventh, who, being of a noble extract, was executed the first year[38] of Henry the Eighth, but not thereby so extinct, but that he left a plentiful estate, and such a son, who (as the vulgar speaks it) would live without a teat; for, out of the ashes of his father's infamy, he rose to be a duke, and as high as subjection could permit, or sovereignty endure; and though he could not find out any appellation to assume the crown, in his own person; yet he projected, and very nearly effected it, for his son Gilbert[39], by intermarriage with the Lady Jane Gray, and so, by that way, to bring it into his loins.

Observations which though they lie beyond us, and seem impertinent to the text, yet are they not much extravagant, for they must lead us, and shew us how the after-passages were brought about, with the dependencies on the line of a collateral workmanship; and surely it may amaze a well-settled judgment to look back into these times, and to consider how the duke could attain to such a pitch of greatness, his father dying in ignominy, and at the gallows, his estate confiscated for pilling and polling the people.

But, when we better think upon it, we find that he was given up, but as a sacrifice to please the people, not for any offence committed against the person of the king; so that upon the matter he was a martyr of the prerogative, and the king in honour could do no less than give back to his son the privilege of his blood, with the acquiring of his father's profession, for he was a lawyer, and of the king's council, at law, before he came to be *ex*

[35] Camp. [36] Council. [37] In the first year of Queen Mary, 1553.

[38] [In this year, 1510, Edmund Dudley and Richard Empson were both executed as traitors to Henry the Eighth, though in fact they had only acted as instruments of extortion to Henry the Seventh.]

[39] [Or Guildford; who with his hapless consort became a wedded sacrifice to paternal ambition.]

interioribus consiliis[40], where, besides the licking of his own fingers, he got the king a mass of riches, and that not with hazard, but with the loss of his life and fame, for the king's father's sake.

Certain it is, that his son was left rich in purse and brain; which are good foundations, and fuel to ambition; and, it may be supposed, he was on all occasions well heard of the king, as a person of mark and compassion in his eye; but I find not that he did put up for advancement, during Henry the Eighth's time, although a vast aspirer, and a provident stayer.

It seems, he thought the king's reign was much given to the falling sickness, but espying his time fitting, and the sovereignty in the hands of a pupil prince, he then thought he might as well put up, for it was the best; for having the possession of blood and of purse, with a head-piece of a vast extent, he soon got to honour, and no sooner there, but he began to side it with the best, even with the protector[41], and, in conclusion, got his and his brother's heads; still aspiring, till he expired in the loss of his own: so that posterity may by reading of the father and grandfather, make judgment of the son; for we shall find that this Robert[42], whose original we have now traced, the better to present him, was inheritor to the genius and craft of his father, and Ambrose[43]; of the estate of whom hereafter we shall make some short mention.

We took him now as he was admitted into the court and the queen's favours, and here he was not to seek to play his part well and dexterously; but his play was chiefly at the fore-game; not that he was a learner at the latter, but he loved not the after-wit; for the report is, (and I think not unjustly) that he was seldom behind-hand with his gamesters, and that they always went with the loss.

He was a very goodly person, tall, and singularly well-featured, and all his youth well-favoured, of a sweet aspect, but high foreheaded, which (as I should take it) was of no discommendation; but, towards his latter, and which with old men was but a middle age, he grew high-coloured; so that the queen had much of her father, for, excepting some of her kindred, and some few that had handsome wits in crooked bodies, she always took personage in the way of election, for the people hath it to this day, 'King Henry loved a man.'

Being thus in her grace, she called to mind the sufferings of his ancestors, both in her father's and sister's reigns, and restored his and his brother's blood, creating Ambrose, the elder, Earl of Warwick, and himself Earl of Leicester; and as he was *ex primitiis*, or, 'of her first choice;' so he rested not there, but long enjoyed her favour, and therewith what he listed, till time and emulation, the companions of greatness, resolved of his period, and to colour him at his setting in a cloud (at Conebury[44]) not by so violent a death, or by the fatal sentence of a judicature, as that of his father and grandfather's was, but, as is supposed, by that poison which he had prepared for others, wherein they report him a rare artist.

I am not bound to give credit to all vulgar relations, or to the libels of his time, which are commonly forced and falsified suitable to the words and[45] honours of men in passion, and discontent; but what binds me to think him no good man, amongst other things of known truth, is that of my Lord of Essex's[46] death, in Ireland, and the marriage of his lady; which I forbear to press, in regard he is long since dead, and others are living whom it may concern.

To take him in the observation of his letters and writings, (which should best set him off,) for such as have fallen into my hands, I never yet saw a style or phrase more seemingly religious, and fuller of the strains of devotion; and, were they not sincere, I doubt much

[40] Of his privy council.
[41] The Duke of Somerset.
[42] [Earl of Leicester.]
[43] [Earl of Warwick.]
[44] [Or Cornbury, in Oxfordshire, where he had paused on his way to Kenilworth, Sept. , 1588.]
[45] *al.* humours.
[46] Of which you have an account hereafter in this small pamphlet.

of his well-being[47]; and, I fear, he was too well seen in the aphorisms, and principles of Nicholas the Florentine, and in the reaches[48] of Cæsar Borgias[49].

And hereto I have only touched him in his courtships. I conclude him in his lance[50]. He was sent governor by the queen to the revolted states of Holland, where we read not of his wonders; for they say, he had more of Mercury, than he had of Mars, and that his device might have been without prejudice to the great Cæsar, *Veni, vidi, redivi.*

RADCLIFFE, EARL OF SUSSEX.

HIS[51] corrival was Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex, who in his constellation was his direct opposite, for indeed he was one of the queen's martialists, and did her very good service in Ireland, a ther first accession, till she recalled him to the court, whom she made Lord Chamberlain; but he played not his game with that cunning and dexterity, as the Earl of Leicester did, who was much the fairer courtier, though Sussex was thought much the honester man, and far the better soldier; but he lay too open on his guard[52]. He was a godly gentleman, and of a brave and noble nature, true and constant to his friends and servants; he was also of a very ancient and noble lineage, honoured through many descents, through the title of Fitzwalters. Moreover, there was such an antipathy in his nature to that of Leicester, that, being together in court, and both in high employments, they grew to a direct forwardness, and were in continual opposition, the one setting the watch, the other the guard, each on the other's actions and motions; for my Lord of Sussex was of so great spirit, which, backed with the queen's special favour, and support[53], by a great and ancient inheritance, could not brook the other's empire, insomuch as the queen, upon sundry occasions, had somewhat to do to appease and atone them, until death parted the competition, and left the place to Leicester, who was not long alone, without his rival in grace, and command: and to conclude this favourite, it is confidently affirmed, that, lying in his last sickness, he gave this caveat to his friends:

"I am now passing into another world, and I must leave you to your fortunes, and the queen's grace and goodness; but beware of the gipsy (meaning Leiceser), for he will be too hard for you all, you know not the beast so well as I do."

SECRETARY WILLIAM CECILL.

I COME now to the next, which was Secretary William Cecill; for, on the death of the old marquis of Winchester, he came up in his room; a person of a most subtle and active spirit.

[47] In a future state.

[48] The art of poisoning.

[49] [Cæsar Borgia took for his device, *Aut Cæsar, aut nihil*: which occasioned the following epigram:

Borgia Cæsar erat factis et nomine Cæsar:
Aut nihil, aut Cæsar, dixit; utrumque fuit.]

[50] Martial state.

[51] Leicester's.

[52] [In January 1569, Lord Sussex wrote the following interesting account to Secretary Cecil, of his slighted services, and of his disposition to retire from courtly life, which the queen by her political sagacity prevented. "I was firste a lieutenante; I was after little better than a marshall; I had then nothing left to me but to direct hanging matters; and nowe I am offered to be made a sheriff's bayly to deliver over possessions. Blame me not, good Mr. Secretarie, though my pen utter sumwhat of that swell in my stomake, for I see I am kepte but for a broome, and when I have done my office, to be thrown owt of the dore. I am the first nobelman hathe ben thus used. Trewe service deservith honor and credite, and not reproche and open defaming: but seeing the one is ever delivered to me in stede of the other, I must leave to serve, or lose my honor, which being continewed so long in my howse, I wolde be lothe shoolde take blemishe with me. These matters, I knowe, procede not from lacke of good and honorable meaning in the Q. Majestie towards me, nor from lacke of dewtie and trewthe in me towards her, which grevethe me the more: and therefore, seing I shalbe still a camelyon, and yelde no other shewe than as it shall please others to give the couller, I will content myself to live a private lyfe." Lodge's Illustrations of B. H. II. 35.]

[53] *al.* supported by.

He stood not by the way of constellation, but was wholly intentive to the service of his mistress, and his dexterity, experience, and merit therein, challenged a room in the queen's favour, which eclipsed the others' overseeming greatness, and made it appear that there were others steered and stood at the helm besides himself, and more stars in the firmament of grace, than *Ursa Major*.

He was born, as they say, in Lincolnshire, but, as some aver upon knowledge, of a younger brother of the Cecills of Hartfordshire, a family of my own knowledge, though now private, yet of no mean antiquity; who, being exposed, and sent to the city, as poor gentlemen used to do their sons, became to be a rich man on London bridge, and purchased [54] in Lincolnshire, where this man was born.

He was sent to Cambridge, and then to the Inns of Court, and so came to serve the Duke of Somerset, in the time of his protectorship [55] as secretary; and having a pregnancy to high inclinations, he came by degrees to a higher conversation with the chiefest affairs of state and councils; but, on the fall of the duke, he stood some years in umbrage and without employment, till the state found they needed his abilities; and although we find not that he was taken into any place, during Mary's reign, unless (as some say) towards the last; yet the council several times made use of him, and in the queen's [56] entrance he was admitted secretary of state; afterwards he was made master of the court of wards, then lord-treasurer [57]; for he was a person of most excellent abilities; and indeed the queen began to need and seek out men of both guards, and so I conclude to rank this great instrument amongst the Togati [58]; for he had not to do with the sword, more than as the great paymaster, and contriver of the war, which shortly followed, wherein he accomplished much, through his theoricall knowledge at home, and his intelligence abroad, by unlocking of the councils of the queen's enemies.

We must now take it, and that of truth, into observation, that, until the tenth of her reign, the times were calm and serene, though sometimes overcast, at the most glorious sun-rising is subject to shadowings and droppings; for the clouds of Spain, and the vapours of the holy league, began to disperse and threaten her felicity. Moreover, she was then to provide for some intestine strangers, which began to gather in the heart of her kingdom; all which had relation and correspondency, each one to the other, to dethrone her, and to disturb the public tranquillity, and therewithal (as a principal mark) the established religion; for the name of Recusant then began first to be known to the world. Until then the catholics were no more than church papists [59], but now commanded by the Pope's express Catholic Church, their mother, they separate themselves; so it seems the Pope had then his aims to take a true number of his children; but the queen had the greater advantage, for she likewise took tale [60] of her opposite subjects, their strength and how many there were, that had given their names to Baal, [61] who then by the hands of some of his proselytes fixed his bulls on the gates of St. Paul's, which discharged her subjects of all fidelity, and received faith; and so under the vail of the next successor, to replant the Catholic religion. So that the queen had then a new task and work in hand, that might well awake her best providence, and required a muster of new arms, as well as courtships and counsels; for the time then began to grow quick and active, fitter for stronger motions than them of the carpet and measure; and it will be a true note of her magnanimity, that she loved a soldier, and had a propension in her nature to regard, and always to

[54] An estate. [55] Under Edward VI. [56] Elizabeth's.

[57] [Gilbert Talbot, in a letter to the earl of Shrewsbury, dated May 1573, gives this forcible epitome of Lord Burghley's ministerial character: "My lord-treasurer, even after the ould manner, dealyth with matters of the state only, and beareth himself very upryghtly."]

[58] Counsellors.

[59] Because notwithstanding many dissented from the reformed establishment in many points of doctrine, and still acknowledged the pope's infallibility and supremacy; yet they looked not upon these doctrines and discipline to be fundamentals, or without which they could not be saved; and therefore continued to assemble and baptize, and communicate, for the space of ten years, in the reformed church of England. Query, Whether their separation did not make them schismatics?

[60] [Or, numerical account.] [61] The Pope.

grace them; which the court, taking into their consideration, took it as an inviting to win honour, together with her majesty's favour, by exposing themselves to the wars, especially when the queen and the affairs of the kingdom stood in some necessity of the soldiers; for we have many instances of the sallies of the nobility and gentry, yea and of the court and her privy favourites, that had any touch or tincture of Mars in their inclinations, to steal away without licence, and the queen's privity; which had like to cost some of them dear, so predominant were their thoughts and hopes of honour grown in them, as we may truly observe in the exposition of Sir Philip Sidney, my Lord of Essex and Mountjoy, and divers others, whose absence, and the manner of their eruptions, was very distasteful unto her; whereof I can hereunto add a true and no impertinent story, and that of the last (Mountjoy), who having twice or thrice stole away into Britanny, where under Sir John Norris he had a company, without the queen's leave and privity; she sent a messenger unto him, with a strict charge to the general, to see him sent home. When he came into the queen's presence, she fell into a kind railing, demanding of him how he durst go over without her leave: "Serve me so (quoth she) once more, and I will lay you fast enough for running; you will never leave till you are knocked on the head, as that inconsiderate fellow Sidney was: you shall go when I send; in the mean time, see that you lodge in the court (which was then at Whitehall) where you may follow your book, read, and discourse of the wars."

But to our purpose. It fell out happily to those, and, as I may say, to these times, that the queen, during the calm time of her reign, was not idle, nor rocked asleep with security; for she had been very provident in the reparation and augmentation of her shipping and ammunition; and I know not whether by a foresight of policy, or any instinct, it came about, or whether it was an act of her compassion; but it is most certain she sent no small troops to the revolted states of Holland, before she had received any affront from the King of Spain, that might deserve to tend to a breach of hostility, which the Papists maintain, to this day, was the provocation to the after-wars; but, omitting what might be said to this point, these Netherland wars were the queen's seminaries, or nursery, of very many brave soldiers; and so likewise were the civil wars of France, whither she sent five several armies. They were the French scholars that inured the youth and gentry of the kingdom, and it was a militia, where they were daily in acquaintance with the discipline of the Spaniards, who were then turned the queen's inveterate enemies.

And thus I have taken in observation her *dies halcyonei*, i. e. these years of hers, which were more serene and quiet than those that followed; which though they were not less propitious, (as being touched more with the points of honour and victory,) yet were they troubled and loaded ever, both with domestic and foreign machinations; and, as it is already quoted, they were such as awakened her spirits, and made her cast about her to defend rather by offending, and by way of provision, to prevent all invasions, than to expect them; which was a piece of the cunning of the times, and with this I have noted the causes and *principium*[62] of the wars following, and likewise points to the seed-plots, from whence she took up these brave men, and plants of honour, who acted on the theatre of Mars, and on whom she dispersed the rays of her graces; who were persons, in their kinds of care, virtuous, and such as might, out of their merit, pretend interest to her favours; of which rank the number will equal, if not exceed that of her gown-men, in recount of whom I will proceed with Sir Philip Sidney.

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

HE was the son of Sir Henry Sidney, lord deputy of Ireland, and president of Wales, a person of great parts, and of no mean grace with the queen: his mother was sister to my Lord of Leicester, from whence we may conjecture how the father stood up in the sphere of honour and employments, so that his descent was apparently noble on

[62] Beginning.

both sides; and, for his education, it was such as travel and the university could afford none better, and his tutors infuse; for, after an incredible proficiency in all the spheres of learning, he left the academical for that of the court, whither he came by his uncle's invitation, famed after by noble reports of his accomplishments, which together with the state of his person, framed by a natural propension to arms, soon attracted the good opinions of all men, and was so highly praised in the esteem of the queen, that she thought the court deficient without him[63]. And whereas through the fame of his desert, he was in election for the kingdom of Pole[64], she refused to further his preferment: it was not out of emulation of advancement, but out of fear to lose the jewel of her time. He married the daughter and sole heir of Sir Francis Walsingham, the secretary of state; a lady destinated to the bed of honour, who, after his deplorable death at Zutphen, in the low countries, where he was at the time of his uncle Leicester's being there, was re-married to the Lord of Essex, and, since his death, to my Lord of St. Albans, all persons of the sword, and otherwise of great honour and virtue.

They have a very quaint conceit of him, that Mars and Mercury fell at variance, whose servant he should be; and there is an epigrammist[65] that saith, that art and nature had spent their excellencies in his fashioning, and, fearing they could not end what they had begun, they bestowed him up for time, and nature stood mute, and amazed, to behold her own mark. But these are the particulars of poets.

Certain it is, he was a noble and matchless gentleman; and it may be said justly of him, without these hyperboles of fiction, as it was of Cato Uticensis, 'That he seemed to be born only to that which he went about, *vir sutilis ingenii*,' as Plutarch saith it: but to speak more of him were to make them less.

WALSINGHAM.

SIR Francis Walsingham, as we have said, had the honour to be Sir Philip Sidney's father-in-law: he was a gentleman at first, of a good house, and of a better education, and from the university travelled for the rest of his learning; doubtless he was the only linguist of his times, how to use his own tongue, whereby he came to be employed in the chiefest affairs of state.

He was sent ambassador to France, and staid there legar long in the heat of the civil wars, and at the same time that Monsieur was here a suitor to the queen; and, if I be not mistaken, he played the very same part there, as since Gundamore did here[66]. At his return, he was taken principal secretary, and for one of the great engines of state and of the times, high in his mistress the queen's favour, and a watchful servant over the safety of his mistress.

They note him to have certain courtesies and secret ways of intelligence above the rest;

[63] [Queen Elizabeth is said to have called this national ornament "*her* Philip," in opposition to Philip II. of Spain.]

[64] Poland.

[65] [This Epigrammatist appears to have been Thomas Bastard, in whose Christoleros, 1598, these lines appeared:

"De Philippo Sidneo.

When Nature wrought upon her mould so well,
That Nature wonder'd her own work to see,
When Arte so labourde Nature to excell.
And both had spent their excellence in thee:
Willing they gave thee into Fortune's hande,
Fearing they could not ende what they beganne."]

[66] Gundamor, the Spanish ambassador, amused King James the First with much dissimulation.

but I must confess, I am to seek wherefore he suffered Parry[67] to play so long as he did, hung on the hook, before he hoised him up; and I have been a little curious in the search thereof, though I have not to do with the *arcana regalia imperii*, for to know it is sometimes a burthen; and I remember it was Ovid's criminant error, that he saw too much: but I hope these are collaterals, and of no danger.

But that Parry, having an intent to kill the queen, made the way of his access, by betraying of others, and in impeaching of the priests of his own correspondency, and thereby had access to confer with the queen, as oftentimes private and familiar discourse with Walsingham, will not be the query of the mystery; for the secretary might have had an end of a farther discovery and maturity of the treason; but that, after the queen knew Parry's intent, why she would then admit him to private discourse, and Walsingham to suffer him, considering the conditions of all the designs, and to permit him to go where and whither he listed, and only under the secrecy of a dark sentinel set over him, was a piece of reach and hazard, beyond my apprehension. I must again profess, that I have read many of his letters, for they are commonly sent to my Lord of Leicester, and of Burleigh, out of France, containing many fine passages, and secrets, yet, if I might have been beholding to his cyphers, they would have told pretty tales of the times; but I must now close him up, and rank him amongst the Togati; yet chief of those that laid the foundations of the French and Dutch wars, (which was another piece of his fineness of the times,) with one observation more, that he was one of the greatest always of the Austrian embracements; for both himself, and Stafford that preceded him, might well have been compared to him, in the Gospel, that sowed his tares in the night; so did they their seeds in division, in the dark, and as it is a likely report, that they father on him at his return, the queen speaking to him with some sensibility of the Spanish designs on France: "Madam, (he answered,) I beseech you be content, and fear not; the Spaniard hath a great appetite and an excellent digestion, but I have fitted him with a bone for these twenty years, that your majesty should have no cause to doubt him, provided that, if the fire should chance to shake; which I have kindled, you will be ruled by me, and cast in some of your fuel, which will revive the flame."

WILLOUGHBY.

MY Lord Willoughby was one of the queen's first swords-men; he was of the ancient extracts of the Bartewes[68], but more ennobled by his mother, who was Duchess of Suffolk; he was a great master of the art military, and was sent general into France, and commanded the second army of five, the queen had sent thither, in aid of the French. I have heard it spoken, that, had he not slighted the court, but applied himself to the queen, he might have enjoyed a plentiful portion of her grace; and it was his saying, and it did him no good, that "he was none of the *reptilia;*" intimating that he could not creep on the ground, and that the court was not his element: for indeed, as he was a great soldier, so he was of a suitable magnanimity, and could not brook the obsequiousness and assiduity of the court, and as he was then somewhat descending from youth, happily he had an *animun revertendi*, or a desire to make a safe retreat.

[67] The traitor; of whom hereafter in this Collection. [William Parry, a gentleman of Wales, and a member of parliament, acknowledged he had a design to kill the queen, and was prompted thereto by Cardinal Allen's book: upon which confession he was condemned and executed in 1585.]

[68] [Or, Berties; from whom the Dukes of Ancaster derived lineal descent. It was this Lord Willoughby who had his birth in a church-porch at Wesel, in Germany, whither his parents had fled to escape the inquisitorial persecution of Bishop Gardiner.]

BACON.

AND now I come to another of the Togati, Sir Nicholas Bacon, an arch-piece of wit and of wisdom: he was a gentleman, and a man of law[69], and of a great knowledge therein, whereby together with his after-part of learning and dexterity, he was promoted to be keeper of the great seal, and being of kin to the Treasurer Burleigh, and[70] also the help of his hand to bring him to the queen's great favour, for he was abundantly factious: which took much with the queen, when it suited with the season, as he was well able to judge of the times. He had a very quaint saying, and he used it often to good purpose, "That he loved the jest well, but not the loss of his friend;" and that, though he know that *verus quisque suæ fortunæ faber*, was a true and a good principle, yet the most in number were those that numbered themselves: but I will never forgive that man that loseth himself to be rid of his jests.

He was father to that refined wit, which since hath acted a disastrous part on the publique stage, and of late sat in his father's room, as lord chancellor: those that lived in his age, and from whence I have taken this little model of him, give him a lively character, and they decipher him to be another Solon, and the Sinon of those times, such a one as Œdipus was in dissolving of riddles; doubtless, he was an able instrument, as it was his commendation, that his head was the mallet, (for it was a very great one,) and therein kept a wedge, that entered all knotty pieces that came to the table.

And now again I must fall back to smooth and plain a way to the rest that is behind; but not from my purpose. There have been, about this time, two rivals in the queen's favour, old Sir Francis Knowles, comptroller of the house, and Sir Henry Norris, whom she had called up at parliament, to sit with the peers in the higher house; as, Henry Norris of Rycot, who had married the daughter and heir of the old Henry Williams of Tayne, a noble person, and to whom, in her adversity, the queen had been committed to his safe custody, and, from him, had received more than ordinary observances. Now, such was the goodness of the queen's nature, that she neither forgot the good turns received from the Lord Williams, neither was she unmindful of this Lord Norris, whose father, in her father's time, and in the business of her brother, died in a noble cause, and in the justification of her innocency.

NORRIS.

MY Lord Norris had, by this lady, an apt issue, which the queen highly respected, for he had six sons, and all martial and brave men: the first was William the eldest, and father to the late Earl of Berkshire; Sir John, vulgarly called General Norris; Sir Edward, Sir Thomas, Sir Henry, and Maximilian, men of haughty courage and of great experience in the conduct of military affairs; and, to speak in the character of their merit, they were persons of such renown and worth, as future times must, of duty, owe them the debt of an honourable memory.

KNOWLES.

SIR Francis Knowles was somewhat near in the queen's affinity[71], and had likewise no incompetent issue; for he had also William, his eldest son, and since Earl of Banbury; Sir

[69] [He held the offices of Solicitor of the Court of Augmentations, and Attorney to the Court of Wards, under Henry VIII. from whom he afterwards obtained a grant of certain manors belonging to the monastery of St. Edmondsbury. Sir N. Bacon and Lord Burleigh married two sisters, the learned daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke. See Ballard.—When Queen Elizabeth visited Gubambury in 1577, she told Sir Nicholas, his house was too little for him: "No, madam, (he replied,) it is your Highness hath made me too great for my house." See Fuller's Worthies.]

[70] *al.* had.

[71] [He married Catharine, sister of Henry, Lord Hunsdon, and cousin-german to the Queen. By her he had six sons and four daughters: of whom see an account in Lodge's Illustrations, I. 311.; whence it will be found that Sir Robert Naunton was a little mistaken in marshalling their succession.]

Thomas, Sir Robert, and Sir Francis, if I be not a little mistaken in their names and marshalling. And there was also the Lady Lettice, a sister of those, who was first Countess of Essex, and after of Leicester; and those were also brave men in their times and places, but they were of the court and carpet, and not by the genius of the camp.

Between these two families there was, as it falleth out amongst great ones and competitors of favour, no great correspondency; and there were some seeds, either of emulation or distrust, cast between them; which had they not been disjoined in the residence of their persons, as that was the fortune of their employments, (the one side attending the court, and the other the pavilion,) surely they would have broken out into some kind of hostility, or, at least, they would intwine and wrestle one in the other, like trees circled with ivy: for there was a time, when, both these fraternities being met at court, there passed a challenge between them at certain exercises, the queen and the old men being spectators, which ended in a flat quarrel amongst them all. For, I am persuaded, (though I ought not to judge,) that there were some relicks of this feigned, that were long after the causes of the one family's almost utter extirpation, and the other's inprosperity: for it was a known truth, that, so long as my Lord of Leicester lived, who was the main pillar, on the one side, for having married the sister, the other side took no deep root in the court, though, otherwise, they made their ways to honour by their swords. And that, which is of more note, (considering my Lord of Leicester's use of men of war, being shortly after sent governor to the revolted states, and no soldier himself,) is, that he made no more account of Sir John Norris, a soldier, then deservedly famoused, and trained from a page under the discipline of the greatest captain in Christendom, the Admiral Castilliau, and of command in the French and Dutch wars almost twenty years. And it is of further observation, that my Lord of Essex, after Leicester's decease, though addicted to arms, and honoured by the General in the Portugal expedition, whether out of instigation, as it hath been thought, or out of ambition and jealousy, eclipsed by the fame and splendour of this great commander, never loved him in sincerity.

Moreover, and certain it is, he not only crushed, and upon all occasions quelled the youth of this great man, and his famous brethren; but therewith drew on his own fatal end, by undertaking the Irish action in a time when he left the court empty of friends, and full-fraught with his professed enemies. But I forbear to extend myself in any further relation upon this subject, as having lost some notes of truth in these two nobles, which I would present; and therewith touched somewhat, which I would not, if the equity of the narration would have permitted any omission.

PERROT.

SIR John Perrot was a goodly gentleman, and of the sword; and he was of a very ancient descent, as an heir to many subtracts of gentry, especially from Guy de Brian, of Lawhorn; so was he of a very vast estate, and came not to court for want, and to these advancements. He had the endowments of carriage and height of spirit, had he alighted on the alloy and temper of discretion; the defect whereof, with a native freedom and boldness of speech, drew him on to a clouded sitting, and laid him open to the spleen and advantage of his enemies, of whom Sir Christopher Hatton was professed. He was yet a wise man and a brave courtier, but rough, and participating more of active, than sedentary motions, as being in his instellation destined for arms. There is a query of some denotations, How he came to receive the foil, and that in the catastrophe? For he was strengthened with honourable alliances and the prime friendship in court, my Lords of Leicester and Burleigh, both his contemporaries and familiars; but that there might be (as the adage hath it) falsity in friendship. And we may rest satisfied, that there is no dispute against fates, and they quit him for a person that loved to stand too much alone on his legs.

of too often regress and discontinuance from the queen's presence; a fault which is incompatible with the ways of court and favour. He was sent lord-deputy into Ireland, as it was then apprehended, for a kind of haughtiness and repugnancy in council; or, as others have thought, the fittest person, then, to bridle the insolencies of the Irish; and probable it is, that both, (considering the sway that he would have at the board, being head in the queen's favour,) concurred, and did alike conspire his remove and ruin. But into Ireland he went; where he did the queen very great and many services, if the surplusage of the measure did not abate the value of the merit, as after-time found to be no paradox to save the queen's purse, but both herself, and my Lord Treasurer Burleigh, ever took for good service. He imposed on the Irish the charge of bearing their own arms; which both gave them the possession, and taught them the use of weapons; which provided, in the end, to a most fatal work, both in the profusion of blood and treasure.

But, at his return, and upon some account sent home before, touching the estate of that kingdom, the queen poured out assiduous testimonies of her grace towards him, till, by his retreat to his castle of Cary, which he was then building, and out of a desire to be in command at home, as he had been abroad, together with the hatred and practice of Hatton, then in high favour, (whom he had, not long before, bitterly taunted for his dancing;) he was accused for high treason, and for high words, and a forged letter, and condemned; though the queen, on the news of his condemnation, swore, by her wonted oath, "That the jury were all knaves:" and they delivered it with assurance, that, on his return to the town, after his trial, he said (with oaths and with fury) to the lieutenant, Sir Owen Hopton, "What, will the queen suffer her brother to be offered up as a sacrifice to the envy of my flattering adversaries?" Which being made known to the queen, and somewhat enforced, she refused to sign it, and swore "he should not die, for he was an honest and faithfull man." And surely, though not altogether to set our rest and faith upon tradition and old reports, as, that Sir Thomas Perrot, his father, was a gentleman of the privy chamber, and in the court married to a lady of great honour, which are presumptions in some implications: but, if we go a little further, and compare his pictures, his qualities, gesture, and voice, with that of the king, which memory retains yet amongst us, they will plead strongly, that he was a surreptitious child of the blood royal.

Certain it is, that he lived not long in the Tower; and that, after his decease, Sir Thomas Perrot, his son, then of no mean esteem with the queen, having before married my Lord of Essex's sister, since Countess of Northumberland, had restitution of his land; though, after his death also (which immediately followed) the crown resumed the estate, and took advantage of the former attainder; and, to say the truth, the priest's forged letter was, at his arraignment, thought but as a fiction of envy, and was, soon after, exploded by the priest's own confession. But that, which most exasperated the queen, and gave advantage to his enemies, was, as Sir Walter Rawleigh takes into observation, 'words of disdain,' for the queen, by sharp and reprehensive letters, had nettled him; and thereupon, sending others of approbation, commending his service, and intimating an invasion from Spain; which was no sooner proposed, but he said publicly, in the great chamber at Dublin: "Lo, now she is ready to bepisse herself, for fear of the Spaniards; I am again one of her white boys:" which are subject to a various construction, and tended to some disreputation of his sovereign; and such as may serve for instruction to persons in place of honour and command, to beware of the violences of nature, and especially the exorbitance of the tongue. And so I conclude him with this double observation; the one of the innocency of his intentions, exempt and clear from the guilt of treason and disloyalty, therefore of the greatness of his heart: for, at his arraignment, he was so little dejected with what might be alledged, that rather he grew troubled with choler, and, in a kind of exasperation, he despised his jury, though of the order of knighthood, and of the especial gentry, claiming the privilege of trial by the peers and baronage of the realm. So prevalent was that of his native genius and haughtiness of spirit, which accompanied him to his last, and till, without any diminution of change therein, it brake in pieces the cords of

his magnanimity; for he died suddenly in the Tower, and when it was thought the queen did intend his enlargement, with the restitution of his possessions, which were then very great, and comparable to most of the nobility.

HATTON.

SIR Christopher Hatton came to the court, as his opposite; Sir John Perrot was wont to say, "by the Galliard," for he came thither as a private gentleman of the Inns of Court, in a masque; and for his activity and person, which was tall and proportionable, taken into her favour. He was first made vice-chamberlain, and, shortly after, advanced to the place of lord-chancellor; a gentleman that, besides the graces of his person and dancing, had also the endowment of a strong and subtle capacity, and that could soon learn the discipline and garb, both of the times and court. And the truth is, he had a large proportion of gifts and endowments, but too much of the season of envy; and he was a mere vegetable of the court, that sprung up at night, and sunk again at his noon:

Flos non mentorum, sed sex fuit illa virorum.

EFFINGHAM.

MY Lord of Effingham, though a courtier betimes, yet I find not that the sunshine of his favour brake out upon him, until she took him into the ship, and made him high-admiral of England; for his extract, it might suffice, that he was the son of A. Howard, and of A. Duke of Norfolk.

And, for his person, as goodly a gentleman as the times had any, if nature had not been more intentive to complete his person, than fortune to make him rich; for, the times considered, which were then active, and a long time after lucrative, he died not wealthy; yet the honester man; though, it seems the queen's purpose was to tender the occasion of his advancement, and to make him capable of more honour; at his return from the Cadiz voyage and action, she conferred it upon him, creating him Earl of Nottingham, to the great discontent of his colleague, my Lord of Essex, who then grew excessive in the appetite of her favour, and the truth is so exorbitant in the limitation of the sovereign aspect, that it much alienated the queen's grace from him, and drew others together with the admiral to a combination, and conspire his ruin; and though, as I have heard it from that party (I mean the old admiral's faction) that it lay not in his proper power to hurt my Lord of Essex, yet he had more fellows, and such as were well skilled in the setting of the train. But I leave this to those of another age; it is out of doubt, that the admiral was a good, honest, and brave man, and a faithful servant to his mistress; and such a one, as the queen, out of her own princely judgment, knew to be a fit instrument in her service, (for she was a proficient in the reading of men, as well as books); and as sundry expeditions, as that aforementioned, and 88, do better express his worth, and manifest the queen's trust, and the opinion she had of his fidelity and conduct.

Moreover, the Howards were of the queen's alliance and consanguinity, by her mother, which swayed her affections, and bent it towards this great house; and it was a part of her natural propension to grace and support ancient nobility, where it did not intrench, neither invade her interest: from such trespasses, she was quick, and tender, and would not spare any whatsoever, as we may observe in the case of the Duke, and my Lord of Hertford, whom she much favoured, and countenanced, till they attempted the forbidden fruit: the fault of the last being, in the severest interpretation, but a trespass of incroachment; but in the first it was taken as a riot against the crown, and her own sovereign power, and as I

have ever thought, the cause of her aversion, against the rest of that house, and the duke's great father-in-law, Fitz-Allen, Earl of Arundel, a person in the first rank of her affections, before these and some other jealousies made a separation between them.

This noble Lord, and Lord Thomas Howard, since Earl of Suffolk, standing alone in her grace, and the rest in her umbrage.

PACKINGTON.

SIR John Packington was a gentleman of no mean family, and of form and feature no ways disabled, for he was a brave gentleman, and a very fine courtier, and of the time which he stayed there, which was not lasting, very high in her grace: but he came in, and went out, through disassiduity, drew the curtain between himself and the light of her grace, and then death overwhelmed the remnant, and utterly deprived him of recovery; and they say of him, that, had he brought less to her court, than he did, he might have carried away more than he brought, for he had a time on it, but [was] an ill husband of opportunity.

HUNSDOWN.

MY Lord of Hunsdown was of the queen's nearest kindred, and, on the decease of Sussex, both he and his son successively took the place of lord-chamberlain; he was a man fast to his prince, and firm to his friends and servants; and though he might speak big, and therein would be borne out, yet was he the more dreadful, but less harmful, and far from the practice of the Lord of Leicester's instructions, for he was downright; and I have heard those that both knew him well, and had interest in him, say merrily of him, "that his Latin and dissimulation were alike; and that his custom of swearing and obscenity, in speaking, made him seem a worse christian than he was, and a better knight of her carpet than he could be." As he lived in a roughling time, so he loved sword and buckler men, and such as our fathers were wont to call 'Men of their hands;' of which sort he had many brave gentlemen that followed him, yet not taken for a popular and dangerous person. And this is one that stood among the Togati, of an honest, stout heart; and such a one, that, upon occasion, would have fought for his prince and country, for he had the charge of the queen's person, both in the court and in the camp at Tilbury.

RAWLEIGH.

SIR Walter Rawleigh was one that, it seems, fortune had picked out of purpose, of whom to make an example, and to use as her tennis-ball, thereby to shew what she could do, for she tossed him up of nothing, and to and fro to greatness, and from thence down to little more than to that wherein she found him, a bare gentleman; and not that he was less, for he was well descended, and of good alliance, but poor in his beginnings: And for my Lord Oxford's jests of him for the jacks and upstarts, we all know it savoured more of emulation, and his honour, than of truth; and it is a certain note of the times, that the queen, in her choice, never took in her favour a mere viewed man, or a mechanic, as Comines observes of Lewis XI. who did serve himself with persons of unknown parents, such as were Oliver the barber, whom he created Earl of Dunoyes, and made him *ex secretis consiliis*, and alone in his favour and familiarity.

His approaches to the University and Inns of Court were the grounds of his improvement, but they were rather extrusions than sieges, or settings down, for he staid not long in a place; and, being the youngest brother, and the house diminished in his patrimony, he

foresaw his destiny, that he was first to roll through want and disability, to subsist otherwise, before he came to a repose, and as the stone doth by long lying gather moss. He was the first that exposed himself in the land-service of Ireland, a militia, which did not then yield him food and raiment, for it was ever very poor; nor dared he to stay long there, though shortly after he came thither again, under the command of the Lord Grey, but with his own colours flying in the field; having, in the interim, cast a mere chance, both in the Low-Countries, and in the voyage to sea; and, if ever man drew virtue out of necessity, it was he, and therewith was he the great example of industry; and though he might then have taken that of the merchant to himself,

Per mare, per terras, currit mercator ad Indos;

he might also have said, and truly, with the philosopher, *Omnia mea mecum porto*, for it was a long time before he could brag of more than he carried at his back; and when he got on the winning side, it was his commendation, that he took pains for it, and underwent many various adventures for his after-perfection, and before he came into the public note of the world; and thence may appear how he came up *per ardua;*

Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum;

not pulled up by chance, nor by any great admittance. I will only describe his natural parts, and these of his own acquiring.

He had, in the outward man, a good presence, in a handsome and well compacted person; a strong natural wit, and a better judgment, with a bold and plausible tongue, whereby he could set out his parts to the best advantage; and these he had by the adjuncts of some general learning, which by diligence he enforced to a great augmentation and perfection, for he was an indefatigable reader, by sea and land, and one of the best observers, both of men, and of the times; and I am somewhat confident, that, among the second causes of his growth, there was variance between him and my Lord General Grey, in his second descent into Ireland, which drew them both over to the council-table, there to plead their own causes; where what advantage he had in the case in controversy, I know not; but he had much the better in the manner of telling his tale, insomuch as the queen and the lords took no slight mark of the man, and his parts; for from thence he came to be known, and to have access to the lords: and then we are not to doubt how such a man would comply to progression; and whether or no, my Lord of Leicester had then cast a good word for him to the queen, which would have done him no harm, I do not determine; but true it is, he had gotten the queen's ear in a trice, and she began to be taken with his election, and loved to hear his reasons to her demands. And, the truth is, she took him for a kind of oracle, which nettled them all; yea those, that he relied on, began to take this his sudden favour for an alarm, and to be sensible of their own supplantation, and to project his, which made him shortly after sing,

'*Fortune, my foe, why dost thou frown?*'[72]

So that, finding his favour declining, and falling into a recess, he undertook a new peregrination, to leave that *terra infirma*[73] of the court, for that of the waves; and by declining himself, and by absence, to expel his, and the passion of his enemies; which, in court, was a strange device of recovery, but that he then knew there was some ill office done him; yet he durst not attempt to mend it, otherwise than by going aside thereby, to teach envy a new way of forgetfulness, and not so much as think of him. Howsoever, he had it always in mind, never to forget himself; and his device took so well, that in his return he came in as rams do, by going backward with the greater strength, and so continued, to the last, great in her favour, and captain of her guard: where I must leave him, but with this observation, though he gained much at the court, he took it not out of the exchequer, or

[72] [This old ballad is mentioned by Shakspeare, and adduced by Mr. Malone, in a note to the Merry Wives of Windsor.]

[73] Instability.

merely out of the queen's purse, but by his wit, and by the help of the prerogative; for the queen was never profuse in delivering out of her treasure, but paid most and many of her servants, part in money, and the rest with grace; which, as the case stood, was then taken for good payment, leaving the arrears of recompence due for their merit, to her great successor[74], who paid them all with advantage[75].

GREVILLE.

SIR Foulke Greville, since Lord Brooke, had no mean place in her favour, neither did he hold it for any short time, or term; for, if I be not deceived, he had the longest lease, the smoothest time, without rubs, of any of her favourites. He came to the court in his youth and prime, as that is the time, or never: he was a brave gentleman, and hopefully descended from Willoughby, Lord Brooke, and admiral to Henry the Seventh; neither illiterate, for we was, as he would often profess, a friend to Sir Philip Sidney, and there are now extant some fragments of his pen, and of the times, which do interest him in the muses, and which shew in him the queen's election had ever a noble conduct, and it motions more of virtue and judgment, than of fancy.

I find, that he neither sought for, nor obtained any great place, or preferment in court, during all his time of attendance; neither did he need it, for he came thither backed with a plentiful fortune, which, as himself was wont to say, was then better held together by a single life, wherein he lived, and died a constant courtier of the ladies[76].

ESSEX.

MY Lord of Essex, as Sir Henry Walton[77] notes him, a gentleman of great parts, and partly of his times and retinue, had his introduction by my Lord of Liecester, who had married his mother: a tie of affinity, which, besides a more urgent obligation, might have invited his care to advance him, his fortunes being then, through his father's infelicity, grown low; but that the son of a Lord Ferrers of Chartly, Viscount Hertford, and Earl of Essex, who was of the ancient nobility, and formerly in the queen's good grace, could not have room in her favour, without the assistance of Leicester, was beyond the rule of her nature; which (as I have elsewhere taken into observation) was ever inclinable to favour the nobility. Sure it is, that he no sooner appeared in court, but he took with the queen and the courtiers; and, I believe, they all could not choose but look through the sacrifice of the father on his living son, whose image, by the remembrance of former passages, was a fresh leak, the bleeding of men murdered, represented to the court, and offered up as a subject of compassion to all the kingdom.

There was in this young lord, together with a goodly person, a kind of urbanity and innate courtesy, which both won the queen, and too much took up the people to gaze on the new adopted son of her favour: and as I go along, it will not be amiss to take into observation two notable quotations. The first was a violent indulgence of the queen (which is incident to old age, where it encounters with a pleasing and suitable object) towards this great lord, which argued a non-perpetuity; the second was a fault in the object of her

[74] James the First.

[75] He, dishonourably, cut off this good servant's head, and seized upon his estate.

[76] [If this assertion was founded, Lord Brooke must have been a very antiquated gallant, since he lived to be 74: at which age he was murdered by one of his own domestics, who thought himself inadequately recompensed for his services. See Noble Authors, vol. ii.]

[77] [Read *Wotton:* for whose Parallel between the Earl of Essex and Duke of Buckingham, see Reliquiæ Wottonianæ]

grace, my Lord himself, who drew in too fast like a child sucking on an over-uberous nurse: and had there been a more decent decorum observed in both or either of these, without doubt the unity of their affections had been more permanent, and not so in and out, as they were, like an instrument well tuned, and lapsing to discord.

The greater error of the two, though unwilling, I am constrained to impose on my Lord of Essex, and rather on his youth, and none of the least of the blame on those that stood sentinels about him, who might have advised better; but that like men, intoxicated with hopes, they likewise had sucked in with the most of their lord's receipts, and so, like Cæsars, would have all or none: a rule quite contrary to nature and the most indulgent parents, who, though they may express more affection to one in the abundance of bequeaths, yet cannot forget some legacies, and distributives, and dividends to others of their begetting; and how hurtful partiality is, and proves, every day's experience tells us, out of which common consideration, they might have framed to their hands a maxim of more discretion, for the conduct and management of their new graved lord and master.

But to omit that of infusion, and to do right to truth, my Lord of Essex, even of those that truly loved and honoured him, was noted for too bold an ingrosser, both of fame and favour; and of this (without offence to the living, or treading on the sacred grave of the dead,) I shall present the truth of a passage, yet in memory.

My Lord of Mountjoy, who was another child of her favour, being newly come, and then but Sir Charles Blount (for my Lord William, his elder brother, was then living) had the good fortune to run one day well at tilt, and the queen was therewith so all pleased, that she sent him, in token of her favour, a queen at chess in gold, richly enamelled, which his servants had, the next day, fastened unto his arm, with a crimson ribband; which my Lord of Essex, as he passed through the privy-chamber, espying, with his cloke cast under his arm, the better to command it to the view, enquired what it was, and for what cause there fixed? Sir Foulke Greville told him, "It was the queen's favour, which the day before, and next after the tilting, she had sent him:" whereat my Lord of Essex, in a kind of emulation, and as though he would have limited her favour, said, "Now, I perceive, every fool must have a favour." This bitter and public affront came to Sir Charles Blount's ear, at which he sent him a challenge; which was accepted by my lord, and they met near Marybone Park, where my lord was hurt in the thigh, and disarmed. The queen, missing of the men, was very curious to learn the truth, but at last it was whispered out; she sware "By God's death, it was fit, that some one or other should take him down, and teach him better manners, otherwise there would be no rule with him:" and here I note the imminution of my lord's friendship with Mountjoy, which the queen herself did then conjure.

Now for his fame we need not go far; for my Lord of Essex, having borne a grudge to General Norris, who had unwittingly offered to undertake the action of Britanny, with fewer men than my lord had before demanded; on his return with victory, and a glorious report of his valour, he was then thought the only man for the Irish wars; wherein my Lord of Essex so wrought, by despising the number and quality of the rebels, that Norris was sent over with a scanty force, joined with the relicks of the veteran troops of Britain of set purpose, and as it fell out, to ruin Norris; and the Lord Burrows, by my Lord's procurement, sent at his heels, and to command in chief, and to convey Norris only to his government at Munster; which aggravated the great heart of the general, to see himself undervalued and undermined, by my Lord and Burrows, which was, as the proverb speaks, *juvenes docere senes.*

Now my Lord Burrows in the beginning of his prosecution died, whereupon the queen was fully bent to send over my Lord Mountjoy; which my lord of Essex utterly misliked, and opposed with many reasons, and by arguments of contempt towards Mountjoy (his then professed friend and familiar): so predominant was his desire to reap the whole honour of closing up that war, and all others; now the way being paved, and opened, by his own workmanship, and so handled, that none durst appear to stand in the place, at last, and with much ado, he obtained his own ends, and therewith his fatal destruction, leaving the queen and the court, where he stood impregnable, and firm in her grace, to

men that long had sought and waited their times to give him a trip, and could never find any opportunity, but this of his absence, and of his own creation; and those are true observations of his appetite and inclinations, which were not of any true proportion, but hurried and transported, with an over-desire and thirstiness after fame, and that deceitful fame of popularity: and, to help on his catastrophe, I observe likewise two sorts of people, that had a hand in his fall. The first was the soldiery, which all flock unto him, as it were foretelling a mortality, and are commonly of blunt and too rough counsels, and many times dissonant from the time of the court and state; the other sort were of his family, his servants and his own creatures, such as were bound by safety, and obligations of fidelity, to have looked better to the steering of that boat, wherein they themselves were carried, and not to have suffered it to fleet, and run on ground, with those empty sails of tumour of popularity and applause; methinks one honest man or other, which had but the brushing of his clothes, might have whispered in his ear, "My lord, look to it; this multitude, that follows you, will either devour you, or undo you; do not strive to over-rule all, for it will cost hot water, and it will procure envy; and if needs your genius must have it so, let the court and the queen's presence be your station, for your absence must undo you." But, as I have said, they had sucked too much of their lord's milk, and instead of withdrawing they drew[78] the coals of his ambition, and infused into him too much of the spirit of glory; yea, and mixed the goodness of his nature with a touch of revenge, which is evermore accompanied with a destiny of the same fate. Of this number, there were some of insufferable natures about him, that towards his last gave desperate advice, such as his integrity abhorred, and his fidelity forbad, amongst whom Sir Henry Walton notes, without injury, his secretary Cuffe[79], as a vile man and of a perverse nature. I could also name others, that, when he was in the right course of his recovery, settling to moderation, would not suffer a recess in him; but stirred up the dregs of those rude humours, which by times and his affections out of his own judgment, he thought to repose, and give them a vomit. And thus I conclude this noble lord, as a mixture between prosperity and adversity, once a child of his great mistress's favour, but a son of Bellona.

BUCKHURST.

MY Lord of Buckhurst was of the noble house of Sackvilles, and of the queen's consanguinity, or as the people then called him Fill-sacks, by reason of his great wealth, and the vast patrimony left to his son, whereof in his youth he spent the best part, until the queen, by her frequent admonitions, diverted the torrent of his profusion: he was a very fine gentleman, of person and endowments, both of art, and nature, but without measure magnificent, till on the turn of his honour, and the alloy, that this yearly good counsel had wrought upon those immoderate courses of his youth, and that height of spirit inherent to his house; and then did the queen, as a most judicious, indulgent prince, who when she saw the man grown settled and staid, gave him an assistance, and advanced him to the treasurership, where he made amends to his house, for his mis-spent time, both in the increasement of his estate and honour, which the queen conferred upon him, together with the opportunity to make himself, and thereby to shew that this was a child that should have a share in her grace.

They much commend his elocution, but more the excellency of his pen; for he was a scholar, and a person of a quick dispatch, faculties that yet run in the blood: and they say of him, that his secretaries did little for him, by the way of indictment[80], wherein they

[78] *al.* blew.

[79] [Henry Cuffe was executed at Tyburn for conspiring with the Earl of Essex against the queen, &c. Vid. Athen. Oxon. I. 308.]

[80] [i. e. Enditement, or writing.]

could seldom please him, he was so facete and choice in his phrases, and style; and for his dispatches, and for the content he gave to suitors, he had a decorum seldom put in practice; for he had of his attendance that took into a roll the names of all suitors, with the date of their first addresses: so that a fresh man could not leap over his head, that was of a more ancient edition, excepting the urgent affairs of the state.

I find not, that he was any way insnared in the factions of the court, which were all his time strong, and in every man's note; the Howards and the Cecills of the one part, and my Lord of Essex, &c. on the other; for he held the staff of the treasury fast in his hand, which made them, once in a year, to be beholden to him: and the truth is, as he was a wise man and a stout, he had no reason to be a partaker, for he stood sure in blood and in grace, and was wholly intentive to the queen's service; and such were his abilities, that she might have more cunning instruments, but none of a more strong judgment and confidence in his ways, which are symptoms of magnanimity, whereunto methinks this motto hath some kind of reference, *Aut nunquam tentes, aut perfice.* As though he would have charactered, in a word, the genius of his house, or express somewhat of a higher inclination, than lay within his compass: that he was a courtier is apparent, for he stood always in her eye, and in her favour.

MOUNTJOY.

MY Lord Mountjoy was of the ancient nobility, but utterly decayed in the support thereof,—patrimony, through his grandfather's excess, his father's vanity in search of the philosopher's-stone, and his brother's untimely prodigality; all which seemed, by a joint conspiracy, to ruinate the house, and altogether to annihilate it. As he came from Oxford, he took the Inner-Temple in the way to court, whither he no sooner came, but he had a pretty kind of admission, which I have heard from a discreet man of his own, and much more of the secrets of those times: he was then much about twenty years of age, brown-haired, of a sweet face, and of a most neat composure, tall in his person; the queen was then at Whitehall, and at dinner, whither he came to see the fashion of the court, and the queen had soon found him out, and, with a kind of an affected favour, asked her carver who he was? He answered, he knew him not; insomuch that an enquiry was made, one from another, who he might be, till at length it was told the queen, he was brother to the Lord William Mountjoy. Thus enquiry, with the eye of her majesty fixed upon him, as she was wont to do, and to daunt men she knew not, stirred the blood of the young gentleman insomuch as his colour went and came; which the queen observing, called unto him, and gave him her hand to kiss, encouraging him with gracious words and new looks, and so diverting her speech to the lords, and ladies, she said, "that she no sooner observed him, but she new there was in him some noble blood;" with some other expressions of pity towards his house: and then, again demanding his name, she said, "Fail you not to come to the court, and I will bethink myself, how to do you good;" and this was his inlet, and the beginning of his grace: where it falls into consideration, that, though he wanted not wit nor courage, for he had very fine attractives, as being a good piece of a scholar, yet were those accompanied with the retractives of bashfulness, and natural modesty, which, as the wave of the house of his fortune then stood, might have hindred his progression, had they not been reinforced by the infusion of sovereign favour, and the queen's gracious invitation; and that it may appear how he was, and how much that heretick, necessity, will work in the directions of good spirits, I can deliver it with assurance, that his exhibition was very scanty, until his brother died, which was shortly after his admission to the court; and then was it no more but a thousand marks *per annum*, wherewith he lived plentifully, and in a fine garb, and without any great sustentation of the queen, during all her times.

And, as there was in nature a kind of backwardness which did not befriend him, nor suit with the motion of the court, so there was in him an inclination to arms, with an humour of travelling and gadding abroad, which had not some wise men about him laboured to remove,

and the queen laid in her command, he would, out of his own native propension, have marred his own market; for, as he was grown by reading (whereunto he was much addicted) to the theory of a soldier, so was he strongly invited, by his genius, to the acquaintance of the practice of the war, which were the causes of his excursions; for he had a company in the Low-countries, from whom he came over with a noble acceptance of the queen; but somewhat restless in honourable thoughts, he exposed himself again and again, and would press the queen with pretences of visiting his company so often, till at length he had flat denial; yet he struck over with Sir John Norris into the action of Britanny, which was then a hot and active war, whom he would always call his father, honouring him above all men, and ever bewailing his end; so contrary he was in his esteem and valuation of this great commander to that of his friend, my Lord of Essex; till at last the queen began to take his digressions for contempt, and confined his residence to the court[81], and her own presence; and, upon my Lord of Essex's fall, so confident she was of her own princely judgment, and the opinion she had conceived of his worth and conduct, that she would have this noble gentleman, and none other, to bring in the Irish wars to a propitious end; for it was a prophetical speech of her own, "That it would be his fortune and his honour, to cut the thread of that fatal rebellion, and to bring her in peace to the grave:" wherein she was not deceived; for he atchieved it; but with much pains and carefulness, and [not] without the forces and many jealousies of the court and times, wherewith the queen's age and the malignity of her settling times were replete. And so I come to his dear friend in court, Secretary Cecill, whom, in his long absence, he adored as his saint, and counted him his only Mecenas, both before, and after his departure from court, and during all the time of his command in Ireland; well knowing, that it lay in his power, and by a word of his mouth, to make or mar him.

ROBERT CECILL.

SIR Robert Cecill, since Earl of Salisbury, was the son of Lord Burleigh, and, by degrees, successor of his places and favours, though not of his lands; for he had Sir Thomas Cecill his elder brother, since created Earl of Exeter: he was first, secretary of state, then master of the court of wards, and in the last of her reign, came to be lord-treasurer: all which were the steps of his father's greatness, and of the honour he left to his house. For his person, he was not much beholden to nature, though somewhat for his face, which was the best part of his outside. For his inside, it may be said (and without offence) that he was his father's own son, and a pregnant precedent in all his discipline of state. He was a courtier from his cradle, which might have made him betimes; but he was at the age of twenty and upwards, and was far short of his after-proof, but exposed, and by change of climate, he soon made show, what he was and would be.

He lived in those times, wherein the queen had most need and use of men of weight; and, amongst many able ones, this was chief, as having taken his sufficiency from his instruction, who begat him the tutorship of the times and court, which were then academies of art and cunning. For such was the queen's condition, from the tenth, or twelfth of her reign, that she had the happiness to stand up, (whereof there is a former intimation,) environed with many and more enemies, and assaulted with more dangerous practices, than any prince of her times, and of many ages before: where we must not, in this her preservation, attribute it to human power, for that, in his own omnipotent providence, God ordained those secondary means as instruments of the work, by an evident manifestation of the same work, which she acted; and it was a well-pleasing work of his own, out of a peculiar care he had decreed the protection of the work-mistress, and, thereunto, added his abundant blessing upon all and whatsoever she undertook: which is an observation of satisfaction, to myself, that she was in the right; though, to others, now breathing under the same form and frame

[81] As related before, in the account of Secretary William Cecill.

of her government, it may not seem an animadversion of their worth. But I leave them to the peril of their own folly, and so come again to this great minister of state, and the staff of the queen's declining age; who, though his little, crooked person could not promise any great supportation, yet it carried thereon a head, and a head-piece, of a vast content; and therein, it seems, nature was so diligent to complete one and the best part about him, as the perfection of his memory and intellectuals: she took care also of his senses, and to put him in *lynceos oculos*, or, to pleasure him the more, borrowed of Argus, so to give unto him a prospective sight: and, for the rest of his sensitive virtues, his predecessor, Walsingham, had left him a receipt to smell out what was done in the conclave.

And his good old father was so well seen in mathematics, that he could tell you, throughout Spain, every part, every port, every ship, with its burthen; whither bound, what preparations, what impediments for diversion of enterprises, counsel, and resolution; and, that we may see, as in a little map, how docible this little man was, I will present a taste of his abilities.

My Lord of Devonshire, upon certainty that the Spaniards would invade Ireland with a strong army, had written very earnestly to the queen and to the council, for such supplies to be timely sent over, that might enable him both to march up to the Spaniard, if he did land, and follow on his prosecution without diverting his intentions against the rebels. Sir Robert Cecill, besides the general dispatch of the council (as he often did) writ thus in private, for these two then began to love dearly:

'My Lord, out of the abundance of my affection, and the care I have of your well-doing, I 'must in private put you out of doubt or fear, for I know you cannot be sensible, otherwise 'than in the way of honour, that the Spaniards will not come unto you this year; for I 'have it from my own, what his preparations are in all his parts, and what he can do; for, 'be confident, he beareth up a reputation by seeming to embrace more than he can gripe; 'but, the next year, be assured, he will cast over to you some forlorn troops, which, how 'they may be reinforced beyond his present ability, and his first intention, I cannot, as yet, 'make any certain judgment; but I believe, out of my intelligence, that you may expect 'the landing in Munster, and (the more to distract you) in several places, as, at Kinsale, 'Beerhaven, and Baltimore; where, you may be sure, coming from sea, they will first for-'tify, and learn the strength of the rebels, before they dare take the field. Howsoever, as 'I know you will not lessen your care, neither your defences, whatsoever lies in my power 'to do you and the publick service, rest thereof assured.'

And to this I could add much more, but it may (as it is) suffice to present much of his abilities in the pen, that he was his craftsmaster in foreign intelligence, and for domestic affairs. As he was one of those that sat at the helm to the last of the queen, so was he none of the least in skill, and in the true use of the compass; and so I shall only vindicate the scandal of his death, and conclude him: for he departed at St. Margaret's, near Marlborough at his return from Bath, as my Lord Vice-chamberlain, my Lord Clifford, and myself, his son, and son-in-law, and many more, can witness. But that, the day before, he swooned on the way, and was taken out of his litter, and laid into his coach, was a truth, out of which that falsehood, concerning the manner of his death, had its derivation, though nothing to the purpose, or to the prejudice of his worth.

VERE.

SIR Francis Vere was of that ancient, and of the most noble extract of the Earls of Oxford; and it may be a question whether the nobility of his house, or the honour of his atchievments, might most commend him, but that we have an authentic rule:

Namgenus et proavos et quæ nos fecimus ipsi,
Vix ea nostra voco.——

For, though he was an honourable slip of that ancient tree of nobility, which was no

disadvantage to his virtue, yet he brought more glory to the name of Vere, than he took of blood from the family[82].

He was, amongst all the queen's swordsmen, inferior to none, but superior to many; of whom it may be said, To speak much of him were the way to leave out somewhat that might add to his praise, and to forget more than would make to his honour.

I find not that he came much to the court, for he lived almost perpetually in the camp: but, when he died, no man had more of the queen's favour, and none less envied, for he seldom troubled it with the noise and alarms of supplications; his way was another sort of undermining.

They report that the queen, as she loved martial men, would court this gentleman, as soon as he appeared in her presence; and surely he was a soldier of great worth and command, thirty years in the service of the states, and twenty years over the English in chief, as the queen's general: and he that had seen the battle of Newport, might there best have taken him, and his noble brother[83] the Lord of Tilbury, to the life.

WORCESTER.

MY Lord of Worcester[84] I have here put last, but not least in the queen's favour; he was of the ancient and noble blood of the Beauforts, and of her[85] grandfather's kin, by the mother, which the queen could never forget, especially where there was an incurrence of old blood with fidelity, a mixture which ever sorted with the queen's nature; and though there might hap somewhat in this house, which might invert her grace, (though not to speak of my lord himself, but in due reverence and honour,) I mean contrariety or suspicion in religion; yet the queen ever respected his house, and principally his noble blood, whom she first made master of her horse, and then admitted him of her council of state.

In his youth (part whereof he spent before he came to reside at court) he was a very fine gentleman, and the best horseman and tilter of the times, which were then the manlike and noble recreations of the court, and such as took up the applause of men, as well as the praise and commendation of ladies; and when years had abated those exercises of honour, he grew then to be a faithful and profound counsellor: and as I have placed him last, so was he the last liver of all her servants of her favour, and had the honour to see his renowned mistress, and all of them, laid in the places of their rests; and for himself, after a life of very noble and remarkable reputation, and in a peaceable old age, (a fate that I make the last, and none of my slightest observations,) which befel not many of the rest, for they expired like unto a light blown out with the snuff stinking, not commendably extinguished, and with an offence to the standers-by.

And thus I have delivered up my poor essay, or little draught of this great princess and her times, with the servants of her state and favour. I cannot say I have finished it, for I know how defective and imperfect it is, as limbed only in the original nature, not without the active blessings, and so left it as a task fitter for remoter times, and the sallies of some bolder pencil to correct that which is amiss, and draw the rest up to life, than for me to have endeavoured it. I took it in consideration, how easily I might have dashed into it much of the stain of pollution, and thereby have defaced that little which is done; for I

[82] [Sir Francis and his brother Sir Horace, were the sons of Geffrey Vere, and grandsons of John 15th Earl of Oxford. Both brothers were trained to a military profession: and both lived in war much honoured (says Fuller) and died in peace much lamented. See Worthies of Essex.]

[83] Horatio.

[84] [Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester of his family, and ancestor to the Dukes of Beaufort. He was one of the most complete gentlemen of his time, and excelled in those gallant exercises which then constituted so material a part of an accomplished courtier. He had abilities also for the performance of important public services, but preferred the comforts of an ample patrimony, to the precarious fortunes of a statesman's life. See Lodge.]

[85] Elizabeth's.

profess I have taken care to master my pen, that I might not err *animo*[86], or of set purpose discolour each or any of the parts thereof, otherwise then in concealment. Haply, there are some who will not approve of this modesty, but will censure it for pusillanimity, and with the cunning artist attempt to draw their line further out at length, and upon this of mine, which way (with somewhat more ease) it may be effected, for that the frame is ready made to their hands; and then haply I could draw one in the midst of theirs, but that modesty in me forbids the defacements in men departed, their posterity yet remaining, enjoying the merit of their virtues, and do still live in their honour. And I had rather incur the censure of abruption, than to be conscious and taken in the manner, sinning by eruption, or trampling on the graves of persons at rest, which living we durst not look in the face, nor make our addresses unto them, otherwise than with due regard to their honours, and reverence to their virtues.

[86] Willingly.

The Nicker Nicked: or, The Cheats of Gaming discovered. The Third Edition.

Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.

Licensed November 4, 1668. Printed in the year 1669.

[Quarto, containing Nine Pages.]

LEATHERMORE'S Advice concerning GAMING.

GAMING is an enchanting witchery[1], begot betwixt idleness and avarice; which has this ill property above all other vices; that it renders a man incapable of prosecuting any serious action, and makes him unsatisfied with his own condition: he is either lifted up to the top of mad joy with success, or plunged to the bottom of despair by misfortune; always in extremes, always in a storm.

Hannibal said of Marcellus that *nec bonam, nec malam ferre potest*, i. e. 'he could be quiet neither conqueror nor conquered.' Thus (such is the itch of play) gamesters neither winning, nor losing, can rest satisfied; if they win, they think to win more; if they lose, they hope to recover.

One propounded this question, 'Whether men, in ships at sea, were to be accounted amongst the living or the dead; because there were but few inches betwixt them and drowning?' The same query may be made of great gamesters, though their estates be never so considerable, Whether they are to be esteemed poor or rich; since there are but a few casts at dice, betwixt a person of fortune (in that circumstance) and a beggar?

But speculation in this particular will not be convincing, unless we shew somewhat of the modern practice; we must therefore lay our scene at the Ordinary, and proceed to our action.

Betwixt twelve and one of the clock, a good dinner is prepared by way of ordinary, and some gentlemen of civility and condition oftentimes eat there, and play a while for recreation after dinner, both moderately, and most commonly without deserving reproof.

Towards night, when ravenous beasts usually seek their prey, there come in shoals of hectors, trepanners, gilts, pads, biters, prigs, divers, lifters, kidnappers, vouchers, mill-kens, piemen, decoys, shop-lifters, foilers, bulkers, droppers, gamblers, donnakers, crossbiters[2],

[1] See "a Letter from a Minister to his Friend, concerning the Game of Chess," vol. 1. p. 484.

[2] [Those readers who wish for a further illustration of these cant terms, may consult Grose's classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue.]

&c. under the general appellation of rooks; and in this particular it serves as a nursery for Tyburn, for every year some of this gang march thither! One Millard was hanged in April 1664, for burglary; and others since.

When a young gentleman or apprentice comes into this school of virtue, unskilled in the quibbles and devices there practised, they call him a lamb; then a rook (who is properly the wolf) follows him close, and engages him in advantageous bets, and at length worries him, that is, gets all his money, and then they smile and say, 'The lamb is bitten.'

Of these rooks, some will be very importunate to borrow money of you, without any intention of repaying, or to go with you seven to twelve, half a crown, and take it ill if they are refused; others watch, if, when you are serious at game, your sword hang loose behind, and lift that away; others will not scruple, if they espy an opportunity, directly to pick your pocket; yet, if all fail, some will nim off the gold buttons of your cloak, or steal the cloak itself, if it lie loose; others will throw at a sum of money with a 'dry fist,' as they call it; that is, if they nick you, it is theirs; if they lose, they owe you so much, with many other quillets: or, if you chance to nick them, it is odds they wait your coming out at night, and beat you as one Cock was served in June, 1664.

Blaspheming, drunkenness, and swearing, are here so familiar, that civility is, by the rule of contrarieties, accounted avice. I do not mean swearing, when there is occasion to attest a truth, but upon no occasion; as, 'God damn me, how dost? What a clock is it, by God?' &c. Then, before two hours are at an end, some one who has been heated with wine, or made choleric with loss of his money, raises a quarrel, swords are drawn, and perhaps the boxes and candlesticks thrown at one another; and all the house in a garboil, forming a perfect type of hell.

Would you imagine it to be true? That a grave gentleman, well stricken in years, insomuch as he cannot see the pips of the dice, is so infatuated with this witchery, as to play here with others' eyes; of whom this quibble was raised, 'That Mr.—— such a one plays at dice by the ear.' Another gentleman, stark blind, I have seen play at hazard, and sure that must be by the ear too.

Late at night, when the company grows thin, and your eyes dim with watching, false dice are often put upon the ignorant, or they are otherwise cozened with topping, or slurring, &c. And, if you be not vigilant, the box-keeper shall score you up double or treble boxes, and, though you have lost your money, dun you as severely for it, as if it were the justest debt in the world.

There are yet some genteeler and more subtle rooks, whom you shall not distinguish by their outward demeanour from persons of condition; and who will sit by, a whole evening, and observe who wins; and then, if the winner be bubbleable, they will insinuate themselves into his acquaintance, and civilly invite him to drink a glass of wine; wheedle him into play, and win all his money, either by false dice, as high fullams[3], low fullams, 5, 4, 2, s. &c.; or by palming, topping, knapping, or slurring; or, in case he be past that classis of ignoramusses, then by crossbiting, or some other dexterity, of which they have variety unimaginable. Note by the way, that when they have you at the tavern, and think you a sure bubble, they will many times purposely lose some small sum to you the first time, to engage you more freely to *bleed* (as they call it) at the second meeting, to which they will be sure to invite you.

A gentleman, whom ill fortune had hurried into passion, took a box and dice to a side-table, and there fell to throwing by himself; at length swears with an emphasis,——'Damme, now I throw for nothing, I can win a thousand pounds; but when I play for money, I lose my a—e.'

If the house find you free to the box, and a constant caster, you shall be treated below with suppers at night, and cawdle in the morning, and have the honour to be styled, 'A

[3] [False dice having formerly been made at Fulham, are thence sa d to have been called 'high and low Fullams,' or Fulhams. The high ones were the numbers 4, 5, and 6. See Mr. Douce's note on the term *Fullam*, in Shakspeare's Merry Wives of Windsor, act. i. sc. 3.]

lover ofthe house,' whilst your money lasts, which certainly will not be long; for, as the Lamiæ destroyed men, under pretence of kindness, so it is here.

In a word, this course of life shall afford you so many affronts, and such a number of vexations, as shall, in time, convert both your soul and body into anguish; and anguish, in some, has turned to madness. Thus one Bull, a young fellow, not many years since, had, by strange fortune, run up a very small sum to fifteen-hundred pounds, and put himself into a garb accordingly; could not give over, played on, fortune turned, lost it all, run mad, and so died.

If what has been said, will not make you detest this abominable kind of life; will the almost certain loss of your money do it? I will undertake to demonstrate, that it is ten to one you shall be a loser at the year's end, with constant play upon the square.——If then twenty persons bring two-hundred pounds a-piece, which makes four-thousand pounds, and resolve to play, for example, three or four hours a day, for a year; I will wager the box shall have fifteen-hundred pounds of the money, and that eighteen of the twenty persons shall be losers.

I have seen (in a lower instance) three persons sit down at Twelve-penny In and In, and each draw forty shillings a-piece; and, in little more than two hours, the box has had three pounds of the money, and all the three gamesters have been losers, and laughed at for their indiscretion.

At an ordinary, you shall scarce have a night pass without a quarrel, and you must either tamely put up an affront, or else be engaged in a duel next morning, upon some trifling insignificant occasion, pretended to be a point of honour.

Most gamesters begin at small game, and, by degrees, if their money, or estates, hold out, they rise to great sums; some have played first all their money, then their rings, coach and horses, even their wearing-clothes and perukes; and then, such a farm; and at last, perhaps, a lordship. You may read in our histories[4], how Sir Miles Partridge played at dice, with King Henry the Eighth, for Jesus Bells, so called, which were the greatest in England, and hung in a tower of St. Paul's church; and won them; whereby he brought them to ring in his pocket; but the ropes afterwards catched about his neck, for, in Edward the Sixth's days, he was hanged for some criminal offences.

Consider how many persons have been ruined by play. Sir Arthur Smithouse is yet fresh in memory: he had a fair estate, which, in a few years, he so lost at play, that he died in great want and penury. Since that, Mr. Ba——, who was a clerk in the Six-Clerks office, and well cliented, fell to play, and won by extraordinary fortune two-thousand pieces in ready gold; was not content with that, played on, lost all he had won, and almost all his own estate; sold his place in the office, and at last marched off to a foreign plantation, to begin a new world with the sweat of his brow. For that is commonly the destiny of a decayed gamester, either to go to some foreign plantation, or to be preferred to the dignity of a box-keeper.

It is not denied, but most gamesters have, at one time or other, a considerable run of winning, but (such is the infatuation of play) I could never hear of a man that gave over a winner, (I mean, to give over so as never to play again;) I am sure it is *rara avis:* for, if you once 'break bulk,' as they phrase it, you are in again for all. Sir Humphry Foster had lost the greatest part of his estate, and then (playing, as it is said, for a dead horse,) did, by happy fortune recover it again; then gave over, and wisely too.

If a man has a competent estate of his own, and plays whether himself or another man shall have it, it is extreme folly: if his estate be small, then to hazard the loss even of that, and reduce himself to absolute beggary, is direct madness. Besides, it has been generally observed, that the loss of one hundred pounds shall do you more prejudice, in disquieting your mind, than the gain of two hundred pounds shall do you good, were you sure to keep it.

[4] Stowe's Survey, p. 357.

Consider also your loss of time, which is invaluable, and remember what Seneca says—*Nulla major est jactura, quam temporis amissio*[5].

Lastly, consider the great damage the very watching brings to your health, and in particular to your eyes (for gamesters work most by night) confirmed by this distich:

Allia, vina, Venus, fumus, faba, lumen et ignis,
Ista nocent oculis, sed vigilare magis.

A penitent Sonnet, written by the Lord Fitz-Gerald[6] (a great Gamester) a little before his death, which was in the Year 1580.

BY loss in play, men oft forget
The duty tney do owe
To Him, that did bestow the same,
And thousand millions moe.
I loath to hear them swear and stare,
When they the *Main* have lost,
Forgetting all the *Byes*, that wear
With God and Holy Ghost.
By *Wounds* and *Nails* they think to win,
But truly 'tis not so;
For all their frets and fumes in sin,
They moneyless must go.

There is no wight, that us'd it more
Than he that wrote this verse,
Who cries *Peccavi* now, therefore,
His oaths his heart do pierce.
Therefore example take by me,
That curse the luckless time
That ever Dice mine eyes did see,
Which bred in me this crime.
Pardon me for that is past,
I will offend no more
In this most vile and sinful cast,
Which I will still abhor.

[5] 'The greatest loss is the loss of time.'

[6] [This Lord Fitzgerald, of Offalug, in Ireland, was eldest son to the Earl of Kildare, and died at the age of twenty-one. The "penitent sonnet," or *cygnea oratio*, here inserted, was first printed among the epitaphs of Richard Stanyhurst, at the end of his strange version of the first four books of Virgil's Æneid, 1583; with a prose panegyric, and a metrical epitaph upon this profligate Lord, in English hexameters. See a further account of the book in Censura Literaria, vol. iv.]

A Dialogue betwixt Sam, the Ferry-man of Dochet, Will, a Water-man of London, and Tom, a Barge-man of Oxford. Upon the King's calling a Parliament to meet at Oxford.

London, printed in 1681.

[Quarto, containing Twenty-nine Pages.]

This pamphlet seems to have been written by a friend of the Duke of York's; who, in a merry conversation, endeavours to defend his right to the crown, and burlesque the proceeding of the parliament, which had openly opposed a Popish successor to the crown of England; for which they were prorogued at first; and because the City of London, three days after, addressed his majesty for the sitting of the parliament, on the day appointed, that they might effect the great affairs begun therein, he dissolved them by proclamation, on the eighteenth of January; and, at the same time, summoned another to meet at Oxford, the twenty-first of March, to shew his anger the more against the City of London.

But, to the king's great sorrow, upon the return of the writs, he found that he must meet almost all the same members at Oxford as he had dissolved at Westminster, who now were encouraged to make a more noble stand, against all invasions on the protestant religion and the liberties of the people; for, immediately after this parliament was new elected, they received proper instructions from their electors, and assurance to be supported in their just maintenance of the protestant cause, with their lives and fortunes.

Yet the calling the parliament to sit at Oxford gave the protestant party great uneasiness, fearing that the king intended, by his soldiers, to force them to a compliance to such things, as would injure the nation; therefore the Earl of Essex, attended by fifteen lords, delivered his majesty a petition against it; declaring amongst other reasons, "that neither lords nor commons could be safe at Oxford, but would be daily "exposed to the swords of the papists, and their adherents, too many of which had "crept into his majesty's guards."

The king returned no answer, but frowned upon the lords; consequently the parliament met, but the members came with armed retinues; and in particular, those for the city of London came with a numerous body of well-armed horse, with ribbands in their hats, bearing this motto, "No popery, no slavery."

The first vote of this house, after choosing a speaker, was for printing the votes for the information of the people; then ordered the Exclusion-bill to be brought in; but after it had been once read, and none but Sir Leoline Jenkins spoke against it; the king, coming on a sudden, sent for the commons to the house of lords, and dissolved them, when they had sat but seven days; and called no more, but ruled, not only without a parliament, but with an absolute power.

Sam. HOW now, Will, how comes this kindness betwixt thee and Tom, the barge-man? last time I saw you together at Dochet, you were for heaving stones at one another's heads.

Will. O, that is long since, and utterly forgot; we are now good friends.

Tom. God-a-mercy horse, this rogue Will was tugging up stream, whilst his oars were ready to break at Way-bridge, and, seeing us come up with three good horses towing our punt, his stomach came down, and he begged most devoutly to give him a tow at Windsor: not a word of the bell-wether, or any of his usual compliments. I took mercy on the poor rogue, and let him fasten his wherry to us; and I think in my heart, the whelp has eaten us half a stone of beef to-day.

Will. Upon the honest word of a water-man, Tom, I never eat daintierbeef in my life, nor better mustard, but not one mouthful of mutton was to be seen.

Tom. Sirrah, one word more of mutton, and off you go; you cannot forbear your roguery.

Sam. But, prithee, Will, whither art thou making at this time of the year?

Will. Why, faith, Sam, thou knowest I follow the court for the most part, and now I am going before it, and intend to get a good birth at Oxford: Acquaintance is a main matter with a water-man; besides, here is honest Tom, promises me lodging at his house; and, when he goes for London, his wife and I can make as merry, as if he were gone an East-India voyage.

Tom. But, I hope, there will be another voyage found out; they say the king will make us a way west-ward to Bristol, for our barges, and has sent for Dutchmen that can make boats go by land as well as by water, and then Bristol will be London. The saucy rogues the other day at Queen-Hithe, were ready to brain us; and threatened to fire the barges, because we belonged to Oxford. If the king would take my counsel, he should come no more amongst them, for one seven years; I would make the proud rogues know themselves better.

Sam. I am not for that, Tom, neither; for that would quite spoil our ferry: when all is done, London is London.

Tom. And will be London; that is, a nest of unthankful rogues, that hate us country-gentlemen, though they get all they have by us: What would London be worth, if it were not for the country? And faith, since all the wealth of the country is gotten thither, by the king's living so long amongst them, I hope his majesty will even now live in the country, till their money be brought into the country again.

Sam. I could agree well enough to all thou sayest, but only for this ferry; and that would quite be ruined, if the king should leave London.

Tom. For that, if the Dutchmen come, they will dig so many cuts to make the Thames run from our town to Bristol, I warrant thee, thou mayest get a new ferry, and better than this, upon some of those new cuts.

Sam. But dost think the king will keep his court at Oxford any long time? I heard our parson say, for all this, the parliament would not be held at Oxford, because there was a parliament once held there, and it was called, 'The mad parliament.'

Tom. Thou mayst tell the parson from me, that there have been many parliaments held at London, that have been worse than mad; and it is well, if this last was not the maddest that ever was yet.

Sam. I must confess there was a strange touse, whilst they were sitting. Our townsmen of Windsor would have talked so, of the brave acts they were a making, and what good they would have done to the commonalty, and how they would have handled the courtiers; and abundance more than I can remember, thou wouldst have admired: but to say truth, this town of Windsor, though they be our neighbours, is as roguish a place as any is in England. If I were worthy to advise the king, I would make a great wall betwixt the castle and the town, that should reach down to the river on the one side, and down to old Windsor on the other side; and never a gate through it, but for the king's conveniency to go a hunting into the great park, or the duke into the forest, and shut at all other times. Then would I build a new town, to entertain the king's court, should reach to the ferry.

Will. Still, still, this ferry is the burthen of the song.

Sam. But, prithee, Will, tell us what this parliament would have done for the good of the commonalty that is talked on so much; thou carriedst parliament-men, in thy boat every day, and I know, thou hast heard all their speeches: I have heard them make speeches, as they have passed over here at our ferry-boat.

Will. Thou art in the right of that, for there is not one member (for so we call them at London) of forty, but they are still making speeches: I heard one of them make a speech to deaf Hugh, an old sculler, from Westminster-stairs to the Temple. Hugh nodded at him now and then, and he went on as politicly as if he had been in the house all the while. When they landed at the Temple, where I also landed my fare, he bid Hugh give him three pence, but, wanting change, he asked me for three pence; but, I having never a three-pence, says the member to Hugh, "I see thou art a right Englishman, a good protestant, and, I dare say, hatest the popish successor with all thy heart, and, therefore, I will give thee the whole six-pence."

Sam. It was well he had the wit to nod at him, being he could not hear him.

Will. So it was, and that was enough; for I dare say, a nod, now and then, would have continued the speech to Gravesend. O, our water-men have thousands such stories as these of their worships; they were, for the most part, so full of it, they could not hold it in.

Sam. But, prithee, Will, tell us what thou heardest they did in the house as well as out.

Will. Well, in the first place, they kept a rehearsal at the Sun-tavern, on the back of the Exchange, a long time before they sat.

Sam. A rehearsal! what is that?

Will. Why, as the players rehearse or act over the play in the morning, which they intend to play in the afternoon; so did they make their speeches, and set all their matters in order in the tavern, before they met in the house.

Sam. Methinks, if it were needful for a parliament to have such a rehearsing, his majesty should provide them a place to rehearse in. It is not very handsome, in my mind, that the

matters, which concern his majesty and the kingdom, should be meddled with in a tavern.

Will. It is very true: but the master of the house, he got well by them; and the drawers of that house are become notable boys, they can talk of state affairs, it would do your heart good to hear them; and for any thing that I know, when these boys come to set up for themselves, and keep taverns in the city, they may be the fittest men they will have to serve in parliament; they will now, as young as they are, make fine speeches to their fellow prentices, when any rout of them meets together, and have their lessons full ready on any occasion; and will back a petition of the common-hall to the purpose.

Sam. A pox on them, it is such work as this, that makes the king leave London, and will undo us all at Dotchet. But this is all still *out* of the house.

Will. It is impossible I should tell you a tenth part of what they did *in* the house; but the remembrance of men and things, they fell upon, will put me in mind best; and therefore the first, I think on, is the king's majesty, (God bless him!) him they cried *Nochell.*

Sam. What, as Gaffer Block of our town cried his wife?

Will. I do not know what he did; but they voted, that nobody should either borrow or lend, nor sell or buy with him, under pain of their displeasure.

Sam. This is almost as ill as the parson said of the gun-powder treason-day, that the Pope would have done with Queen Elizabeth, for he forbad any body to borrow or lend with her, sell or buy, eat or drink; nay, he forbad her to come in either church or market.

Will. But then, to make him amends, they took care to kill him an old lean lord at Christmas; and that is all I remember they have done for him since they met.

Sam. What did they then do?

Will. Next, they took the duke into handling.

Sam. And what would they do with him?

Will. They would have taken away his birth-right: whatever he had done to them, I know not; but they were resolved to have worried him.

Sam. What was it provoked them so much against him?

Will. They said he was a Papist, and was for the Pope and the plot[1]; but the truth on it is, I think the true reason of their cruelty was, because he put his brother in mind who were and had been rogues, and were sure to prove so in the end: and for this they would never forgive him; and, with talking with one another, they were got to that pass, they mattered not what they said; for they were permitted so long, they thought nobody durst gainsay them.

Sam. Why, I thought no man living durst have meddled with any of the blood royal.

Will. Thou art a fool; did not they behead the last king, and keep this banished a long time? And all that was still a house of commons.

Sam. What would they have done with the duke, thinkest thou?

Will. Hanged him if they could have catched him; but, being he was out of their reach, have taken away all his means, and all he was ever like to have, if (which God forbid!) he should have survived the king.

Sam. They were very bold.

Will. Thou mayest swear that; when the fore-man of old Townsend's shop, a blind scrivener, was so bold as to speak a saucy speech against his highness.

Sam. What was he, a prentice?

Will. No, he was out of his time, and had set up for himself.

Sam. Why, I thought no such handicraftsmen had ever been chosen members.

Will. Any body that has money to pay for drink, gentle or simple, that will spend his guineas upon some town in the west country, is good enough. For I will tell thee, as I heard Squire Kite's huntsman say, that he cared not for above three or four couple of hunting dogs amongst twenty couple, so they would give their tongues, and go along with those that were hunters; no more do they, in the parliament, care whether the greatest part of their members have any wit, or none at all, so that they will vote with the old ones.

[1] Oaets's plot.

Tom. Well, though it was sore against my will, I was pressed once into the service when the duke was our admiral; and, I dare swear, never a man in the fleet had a better heart than he.

Will. Pox on you, rogue, you staid but one bout, and run away; but we that staid, and were in both the Holland's wars, know the duke well enough: and let them do what they will at Westminster, I am sure all the seamen and watermen in England will be for him, against any body, but the king, God bless him!

Tom. And, I am sure, he will never be a rebel, as many of those, that are his enemies, have been.

Will. Rebel! they would like him better, if he would stand in the king's face, and do what he pleased, whether the king pleased or not; doest not see how they love D. M.[2] for coming home, whether the king would or no?

Tom. Well, I hope to see the duke at Oxford; and there he will be welcome, I dare say, let London and the devil say what they will.

Sam. For London, surely, it is not London that does all these ill things you talk of.

Tom. Thou art in the right of that, for I never heard that the houses met together to petition or raise tumults; there is no fault in the place; it is some roguish people that live in it, whom nothing will ever make better subjects than they have been. I have known them long enough.

Sam. But, prithee, Will, go on with thy story.

Will. Now I think on it, I should have told you, that I am now going to say, first of all, that is, what they would have done about the church; for I have heard, the church should take place of both the king and the duke.

Sam. Ay, but not of the law, for I know a wise man, as any in Buckinghamshire, an attorney, that says, 'That the law was above both church and king.'

Will. Why, then, according to that rule, I should first have begun with the law.

Tom. No matter, amongst us we are not so punctual; go on, now thy hand is in, with the church.

Will. As for the church, I carried a member up to Putney, and he told me, they had resolved to overhaul all the nine-and-thirty Conditions of the church, and that they had already heaved away three and a half of them.

Sam. Belike, if they had gone on, they would have hove away most of them; three and a half, in one day, was a great step.

Will. No, I don't believe they would have hove them all away, but they would quite have new moulded them so, that one should scarce have known them. Have not I seen an old ship, that has been a long time at sea, when she has been in the dock, her rigging over-hauled and tarred, new painted, carved and gilt, a man, that has sailed in her, could scarce have known her.

Sam. Thou art in the right of that; and, I do believe, that the church was grown very old, and much decayed, and had need of repairing; and it would never be done but by a parliament. I was at Uxbridge, last Sabbath-day, and there, at the meeting, the minister said, 'That the best church in the world should be repaired once in a hundred years; 'and that the church we now have, was *repaired* (but he had another word for it) about 'an hundred and forty or fifty years since.'

Tom. Was it not *reformed?* The scholars at Oxford talk much of that reformation.

Sam. Ay, ay, it was reformed, that he said; and that the church (but more especially the churchmen) should be reformed.

Will. Besides, this member told me, the parsons must use the surplice no more.

Sam. That was only for the good of the woollen manufacture. I carried a clothier over the ferry, not long since, that said they were hereafter to wear flannel surplices, and the bishops were to wear white crape, instead of lawn sleeves.

Will. And then for the bishops'-courts, that as we call the bawdy-court, they would have mauled those rogues to some purpose.

[2] The Duke of Monmouth.

Tom. A pox on them, they made me pay above five pounds about a bastard, a whore laid to me, that a scholar at Oxford got, I dare say; for I kept reckoning, and the child was got when I was gone down with the barge to London; and for want of a flash[3], we lay above ten weeks before we came again.

Will. It seems thou deservedst for it, however.

Tom. That which troubled me most, was, that I must have done penance in a white sheet, and then my wife, and all my friends, would have known it; and so, faith I was forced to borrow the monies, and make my peace with them. And, after all, they would have had ten shillings more, for a piece of parchment, no bigger than my hand: I was even glad to pay them a noble to get clear of them.

Will. As far as I could understand, they would have taken these courts away, and have made the bishops poor gentlemen: they would have clipped their wings, if not quite starved them. O, this member, as we passed by Lambeth-house, shaked his head at it, and said, 'There are rags of popery kept there:' and so did he at Fulham, when I landed him at Putney.

Sam. What did he mean by that?

Will. Why, the Archbishop of Canterbury lives at Lambeth, and the Bishop of London hath a country-house at Fulham.

Sam. Well, but, Will; thou saidst, they would also have had a fling at the law.

Will. For any thing of the law itself, I heard not so much of it; but they were in hand, to have reckoned with almost all the judges in Westminster-Hall, some for one fault, and some for others.

Sam. What had the judges[4] done?

Will. Whether they had strained a pin, to do something extraordinary for the king and the court, I know not; but the main matter was, that most of the talkative men of the house were lawyers, and the only way for them to get preferment was, by turning out of the judges, that they might get into their places.

Tom. I think, in my conscience, these lawyers are the very bane of the kingdom: for they are so accustomed to talk against their consciences for monies, at Westminster-Hall; that, when they come to talk in the house, it is the same thing: so that, whatever they think for their advantage, they never want broad consciences, nor smooth tongues, to drive on to the utmost.

Sam. Pray thee, Will, tell me one thing. Are not these lawyers the men, that either do, or should understand the law?

Will. No doubt of it.

Sam. Well then, when the rebellion was begun and carried on in our king's father's time, and in his own; did not the lawyers know, that the war was contrary to the law?

Will. Certainly they did.

Sam. Then do I say, That as many lawyers as sided with the rebels, in those days, deserve yet to be hanged for what they did then.

Will. O, but they were wise enough for that: for they got the act of Oblivion, to pardon, not only their faults by-passed, but those that were to come; and abundance of those very men, that talked the people into that rebellion, are yet living, and as willing to do mischief, as ever they were.

Sam. It goes beyond my understanding, how and why they are admitted to abuse the people at this rate; for, if they can set poor ignorant men on a mischief, for which they may be hanged, and can talk themselves off again, it is time for poor men to have a care.

Will. I am of this mind, that had I been the king's adviser, when he forgave all the rebels, I would not have forgiven one lawyer; for they could not plead ignorance.

[3] A sufficient depth of water.

[4] Amongst whom, was the Chief Justice Scroggs, who endeavoured to stifle the belief of the plot; discouraged the evidences, dismissed the grand jury, that should have presented the Duke of York; and unjustly prosecuted those that writ in defence of their religion, laws, king, and country.

Sam. And that it was a rebellion is clear; for, if it had not been, what need was there of an act of oblivion?

Will. Thou art in the right of that too.

Sam. Nothing troubles me so much, as that these lawyers are not only lawyers to follow and maintain the law; but they can make what they will to be law, and what they like not to be no law. Nay, they will hang the honestest man in England, and find law for it; and save the greatest knave, and find law for that too.

Tom. Did not Judge Bradshaw pronounce sentence against King Charles, and Coke plead against him? And both these were great lawyers. Nay, and a bungling lawyer, that is a justice of the peace, at the quarter-sessions, will take upon him to talk more than all the bench, and be very angry at any justice that dares oppose any thing he says.

Will. There is reason for that; for there is not one lawyer of twenty, but is certainly *bribed* (though they call it *feed,*) of one party in all controversies, at the sessions, and frequently both. O, they make great gains at a sessions; for there they are both judge and lawyer, and all goes as they will.

Sam. I'll tell thee, for that I had a wrangling quarrel once with a drunken fellow at the ferry; and, upon some words, I up with the boat-hook, and broke his head. He went and fetched a warrant for me: I was advised to go myself to the same justice, being a lawyer, and bind myself over: which I did, and would have given his worship an angel; for so my friend advised me. He said, he would take no monies upon that account; for, indeed, it seemed, he had taken before from my adversary; but he said, if I would give any thing to his wife, I might. Upon which, I sent a fat wether, worth a mark, in the night-time to her Worship: and, within two days, both he and I were sent for before Mr. Justice; and after he had talked a great deal of law, and seemed angry with us both, he made us good friends, and got both our monies.

Will. There may a thousand stories be told of them. I hope, at one time, both the king and the kingdom will see what they are, and never let them have more to do, than with matters of law; and then those that employ them may take the mends[5] in their own hands, as I do when I go to the ale-house; for all mischief principally comes from them.

Tom. A pox and plague light on them, they will never be quelled; for they have always either one or other great lawyer in power with the king, and that keeps them up: so let us talk no more of them. What did the parliament next fall upon, honest Will; thou hast a pure memory?

Will. They would have banished a plain bundance of courtiers and privy-counsellors; and, without any more ado, sent to the king, to desire him (they called it *humbly)* to turn them out of his service[6].

Sam. But did they tell any good cause, why they would have him turn them away?

Will. None at all, but because they liked them not.

Sam. That was an *humble* trick indeed; but sure they had some reason for what they did.

Will. For no reason, but because they were in favour with the king, and themselves would have their places. Nay, there be some of those men they complained of, were as ready to complain of those were in place before, (such as the last treasurer, and the like,) as these are now against those they would have turned off; for, in all these parliament-doings, and peaching one another, it is not for faults done against the king or the government, but against the House of Commons.

Sam. But, I hope, these noblemen are not turned out of their services; are they?

Will. No, they have escaped this bout; how they will do at the next at Oxford, time will shew.

[5] [For *amends*. The phrase here used seems to have been proverbial. See Reed's Shaksp. XV. 238.]

[6] This, I apprehend, refers to the Earl of Halifax, who was the champion in the house of lords against the bill for excluding the Duke of York from the crown; 'for which, (says Burnet,) when the bill was thrown out, 'the commons voted an address to the king to remove Halifax from his councils, and presence, for ever.'

Tom. If they escaped at London, I'll warrant them at Oxford; no man is condemned there, but he has (as the scholars call it) *pro* and *con* for it: but, was that all their faults, that they were in favour with his majesty?

Will. God help thee, dost thou not know, that it is a sufficient parliament-crime to be a favourite? I have heard my father say, that he wore the old Duke of Buckingham's cloth, and was master of his barge; and that there was one parliament, before I was born, would have hanged him: but the devil a fault could they find, but his being in mighty favour. So the king would not let him suffer.

Sam. But they put away my Lord Strafford; I can remember that myself; and, they say, because they could find no law to condemn him, they made a law[7].

Tom. So then, he suffered for breaking a law before it was made.

Will. So he did.

Tom. That is as much as to say, that if the parliament have a mind to hang a man, or undo him, if they have not sufficient law, or matter to do it, they will make some: God bless me, and mine, out of their clutches!

Will. But I have heard, they were so civil, as when they made this law against the Earl of Strafford, they then made it so, that no more should suffer by the same law.

Sam. That was very kindly done to him indeed: I would rather, if I had been in his clothes, they would have saved me, and hanged who they would beside.

Will. This shews plainly they had a particular malice; and then down all must go, right or wrong. There are some of those old dogs yet alive that hunted him to death, and would as willingly give their mouth for making away more noblemen.

Tom. I have heard many say, the king[8] repented himself at Oxford, that he consented to the earl's death.

Will. But those rogues, that procured his death, never repented at all, nor do not yet. Nay, they have taught some young whelps to be as good blood-hounds as themselves. A man has a brave time, that should come to be tried for his life in any court, and have half a dozen of these to chase him out of the world.

Sam. It is strange the noblemen do not stand for one another against those lawyers, who, if they might have their wills, would hang them all: especially, being there is no body of the jury, when the lords are to be tried, but lords.

Will. They had such a power when my Lord Strafford was headed, that neither the king, nor the lords, durst stand against them. They made routs of prentices to run down to Westminster, and call out for *justice*[9], and threaten all those lords that would have saved him: and, in the end, they had his blood.

Tom. I have heard many say, that there were very few of those many that prosecuted the earl, but they were after ring-leaders in the rebellion against the king, and continued so to his death, as violent against him, as they were against the earl; and against our king that now is, (God bless him!) till the soldiers and seamen joined with Monk to bring him in again.

Sam. And yet, I'll warrant thee, these were as ready to welcome home his majesty, and make show of their duty and affection to him, as his best friends.

Will. Ay, and pretended they had as much a hand in his restoration, as the General[10] that brought him in: and talked themselves not only out of the faults they had committed, but by bribery, and means of some lawyers that had been abroad with the king, they got suddenly into such favour; that a round-headed lawyer had more power than a cavalier-colonel that fought for the king all through the war. And so they have carried it ever since;

[7] [Pym and the puritan party impeached Lord Strafford of high treason at the bar of the house of lords, but not being able to make good their charge, according to the common laws of the land, they proceeded against him by a bill of attainder, which passed through both houses, though not without difficulty.]

[8] Charles the First.

[9] [The rabble of London, led on by Cornelius Burgess, a puritan D. D. flocked to Westminster, crying "Justice, Justice, against the Earl of Stafford:" then rifled Westminster Abbey, and insulted the king at White-hall.]

[10] Monk.

and now thou mayest see what they have brought it unto, at long run; for nothing but the ruin and death of a great number of the king's courtiers and counsellors will please them.

Tom. They will not stay there, if they have leave to go on: the old game must be played over again. But, I hope, the king's calling them, at our town of Oxford, will mend this matter: for I have heard hundreds say, that, if his father had called the Rump-parliament thither, instead of Westminster, there had not been so much mischief done as there was. But pray thee, Will, was this all they did?

Will. This; no, not the hundred part. For any one man's fault or suspicion, that he was against them, they would have ruined a whole country. There was a Welch nobleman, I know not his name, that they had a spite to, that was steward of a great wapentake-court in Wales; and out of malice to him, they would have taken that court away, though it was a great benefit to all that quarter of the country. Nay, there was one day a member so angry at a waterman, for asking an unsual fare, for bringing him from some place in the West-country, that he said, he would have a bill brought into the house, for his sake, to restrain the numbers of waterman; and that all the wherries that go upon the river, should be forced to take a licence, and should be figured on the back board, as the hackney-coaches are. Upon which, the waterman civilly replied, that, "God bless the king! he hoped, that being a Freeman of Waterman's-Hall, they could never make him take a licence." With that the member said, "Sirrah, for your sake and such saucy rogues as you are, we will have that Waterman's-Hall pulled down, as well as we pulled down the court of the Marshes of Wales." That was the court I was talking of.

Tom. I hope, thou heardest them say nothing of the Western barges, Will, didst thou?

Will. No, hang you, you are below their consideration; but they talked much about seamen, and the fleet, and against soldiers: and then, for the Papists, they would have utterly destroyed them. And no great matter if they had; for those rogues have been the occasion of all this poder has been, even since the beginning of these times: and, they say, they fired the city, and brought the plague out of France, and set it amongst us at London.

Sam. How should that be? For when the visitation began at London, I heard of no plague in France.

Will. But I heard a doctor, one of the royal society, say, as I carried him once, "There be rogues, that will bring bottles of infected air with them, if it were out of Turky, that, as soon as they are opened, will infect a whole house; then they take an antilope[11], that no infection can touch themselves." And that some Papists did this, I have heard a justice in the city took examinations upon it, and it was proved.

Tom. But what would they have done against the Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, and Quakers? The scholars at Oxford say, those are as great enemies to the church and the university, as the Papists.

Will. They would have made them as good Protestants as any is in Oxford.

Tom. Which way must this have been?

Will. Why, they would have made the church-men have left out some of their prayers, and given over the surplice, and some other Popish tricks; and then they would have come to church, and been all one.

Tom. That is, the church-men must have become Presbyterians, and then all would have been right.

Will. Indeed, I think they would have yielded much to the bishops, for they were bloody mad at them: and I think, if they had sitten till now, they would have sent them to the church from the house, to pray to God; but not to have letten them prate any more to the house of lords.

Tom. It will be good for them to talk no such talk at Oxford; the bishops are in great power amongst the scholars.

Will. Then, as to their own members, they turned them out, and took others in, at their will and pleasure; and, if they made any fault, they expelled them; and, where-ever any

[11] Igtorantly, for an *antidote*.

stood in competition for any town, him they knew would give his vote along with them was admitted, right or wrong. And then they terrified all the sheriffs, mayors, and bailiffs in the kingdom, besides abundance of gentlemen, and other honest countrymen. For, on the least complaint of any man's misdemeanour, or information from any member, immediately a serjeant at arms was sent for them, and so much a mile and hour paid, and down on their marrow-bones to their worships, and a sound scolding from Mr. Speaker; or else to the Tower, or the Gatehouse, they went. The king (God bless him!) never took a quarter of that state on him, they did.

Sam. It seems, they would have all the world to ask them forgiveness, whether they made them any fault, or not; and they themselves would ask nobody pardon for what they had done.

Will. It was brought to that pass, that two foot-boys boxing one day in the Palace-yard, he that was beaten proved to belong to a member, and told the other boy, "If he knew his master, he would cause him to be sent for in custody, for keeping such a rogue as he was, that had committed a breach of privilege, in beating a member's servant." The boy replied, "If it would do him any kindness, he would beat him again, and tell him his master's name into the bargain; and would lay him a crown, that though his master should bid the speaker, and all the house of commons, kiss his ——, they durst not send a serjeant at arms for him." The beaten boy, much nettled at his speech, laid down his money, as the other did: "Now (said the boy) my master is the king of France, and I am come over, with some of his servants, to fetch horses out of England; go bid thy master and the house of commons send a serjeant at arms to fetch him over."

Sam. Before my heart, it was a good answer; I hope he won his monies.

Will. So he did; but it was put into a waterman's hands, and, when it was demanded, says the beaten boy, "Sirrah, give it him, if you dare: if his master be the king of France, I'll make you answer it before the house of commons." The waterman durst do no other but give either their own monies. There is no contending with parliament-men, or parliament-men's men, nor boys.

Tom. And yet I know a bailiff has nabbed several of them, and matters not a straw to arrest any member of the last parliament.

Will. That's nothing, they are now no parliament-men; but let's see, if that stout fellow dare nab any of them, when they are new chosen.

Tom. That I don't know.

Will. O, those that are in any danger of bailiffs, are mighty cunning at their times, and know their hits to a minute; they appear abroad at London, a certain number of days before the sitting of the house, as sure as swallows against warm weather; and, after the sessions, they are *presto, begone*, not one to be seen, except it be, that we chance to carry them by water from the Temple, or White-Friars, to Scotland-Yard: they have a strong garrison in either of those places out of privilege-time, as they call it.

Sam. Well, but pray thee, Will, let us have it all out, what they did.

Will. It is impossible, as I told thee, for me to tell a quarter what the did; they stopped Irish, Scotch, and Welch cattle, from coming to the city; and pork, mutton, veal, and lamb, from any of those places; and it was said, if they had sat long enough, they would have stopped Essex calves, and Hampshire hogs.

Tom. And yet the city still doats upon these parliaments.

Will. Nay, they would have made such laws about wearing of cloth and woollen stuffs, as would have beggared an hundred-thousand souls, that are silk-weavers, silk-dyers, and such like.

Will. What matter they? If they can but find a way to make acts to set their grounds dearer, and rack their poor tenants, they care not if half of the kingdom starve.

Sam. And yet they talk so much for the general good, and against the absolute power of the king and the court. How can they make this out?

Will. They call that power, which they themselves both do act by, and would govern

all by, the liberty of the subject; though no subject, but a few members, have any liberty at all. But, if his majesty (God bless him!) should act by the same power, and do the same things, which they do; then they call the same power flat downright tyranny.

Tom. Dost not thee remember, Will, one day the last summer, when our barge lay against York-stairs, there was a great noise about the head-bailiff of Westminster's breaking into an Embassender's House, to seize upon some goods, which belonged to a man that was condemned to be hanged at Tyburn; and, upon complaint of the Embassender to the king, the said bailiff was taken and clapped into the Tower; and every body said he would be hanged, at the least, for breaking the common law of all nations. But the next news we heard was, that he had got some sort of a warrant, was made by the long parliament, that set him at liberty within three hours after he was committed.

Will. I remember the time very well; they call those warrants *habeas corpuses*, and they will fetch a prisoner, committed by the king out of any jail in England; but not one committed by the house of commons; and this they call *privilege of parliament.*

Tom. All these gentlemen, that were fetched up by messengers and serjeants, they might, by the common law, have chosen whether they would have come or not. There was a knight in our county, at Oxford, that was sent for by a messenger; and he told the messenger, he had something else to do, and would not come, and said he would justify it.

Will. Surely, this was just about the time they were dissolved, otherwise he durst not have been so bold.

Tom. He said he had been a member himself many years, and knew no law to compe any man to come before the house of commons, unless he had a mind himself; and therefore they sent to the king, to get his majesty's proclamation to fetch him before them.

Will. So then his majesty's proclamation, issued out at the desire of the commons, is of force; but, when sent out by himself, is worth nothing at all.

Sam. Why so?

Will. Because I remember, there were several sent for in custody, for obeying the king's proclamation against petitions, and brought to their knees. If, therefore, that had been a good proclamation, why should any body have suffered for it? And, for any thing I know, if his majesty should have made a proclamation to fetch up that knight, or any body that disobeyed their messenger, it had deserved as much to have been disobeyed, as that against petitions; unless the house of commons can make a proclamation contrary to law a good one, as this would have been. For, what need had they of the king's proclamation, if there had been law to have fetched those men before them?

Tom. Now, if those men, that were fetched up, did dare to sue, and the lawyers did dare to do their office, and the judges did dare to give judgment, I am of opinion, they might bring actions of false imprisonment against the messengers that fetched them up. For, if they had not full power to punish those, who did not obey them; then surely those who were fetched, had wrong done them.

Sam. But I dare assure thee, neither lawyer, nor judge, dare meddle with any such matter. If any of these gentlemen would be so venturesome, they will find no law to stand against the votes of the commons; till they find they are as much brought under, as they say, Henry the Eighth brought them: they durst not prate in his days, as now they do.

Will. What did he do?

Tom. I have heard a fellow of Maudlin College say, he tumbled[12] them, and made them do what he would himself, and not what they had a mind to; and not a word of tyranny, or arbitrary power.

Sam. But, pray thee, Will, some more of their doings.

Will. I have told thee, it is without end; and therefore I will tell thee the last thing they did; which was this: they voted, that, if any man advised his majesty to prorogue them

[12] Ignorantly, for *humbled.*

upon any account, but to disinherit the duke; he was an enemy to the king and kingdom; nay, he was a pensioner to the French king.

Tom. What, whether he ever received any money from the French king, or no?

Will. Ay, though he never received a penny of money from him, or any body else, by his means or order.

Sam. For any thing I know, they might as well have said that he had been my lord mayor's bull-rider. I have often heard say, that a parliament can make a man into a woman; and now, I see, they can make a man into a pensioner of France, though he be none.

Tom. What, then, was done?

Will. That very day, notwithstanding all this, they were prorogued.

Tom. Then, surely, they will say, either they were prorogued by the advice of somebody, who, for that advice, is a pensioner; or, if his majesty prorogued them on his own head, then they will think, though they dare not say, that he himself is a pensioner.

Will. And, within a few days after, they were dissolved, and another ordered to be called at your town of Oxford.

Tom. Well, for all that Sam's parson said, there was a parliament called at Oxford, that was called the mad parliament, yet will I be hanged, if ever that was half so mad, as this thou hast told us of; for, according to thy tale, this parliament let nothing escape them. To his majesty they would have given nothing, nor let any body lend him any thing, but would get from him what they could. From the duke they would have taken his birthright; the church and religion they would have cast in a new mould; the bishops and clerks they would have new-fashioned, if not utterly laid aside; banished many of the nobles; taught the judges of Westminster-hall new laws, and made them pay for practising the old; terrified most of the loyal gentry of the kingdom with serjeants, messengers, and expensive journeys; the same with mayors, sheriffs, and bailiffs; fault or no fault, taken away courts and privileges from several shires, to their great harm, to revenge themselves of particular men; not only hindered Irish cattle, and other provisions, from the city, but beggared many thousands of families of silk-weavers, and other poor handicrafts-men.

Sam. Nay, these very men were got to that height, they would have abused any body they met with, gentle or simple; not paid a farthing for crossing the ferry, but said, they were *frank* in parliament-time, as their masters' letters were at the post-house.

Tom. Was not this, then, as mad a parliament as that parliament they talk on at our town? If this next prove a madder than the last, if it sit at our town, I will give any man leave to hang me at the mast of my barge.

Sam. For all this, I believe they will not sit at Oxford; for, they say a many noblemen[13] have petitioned the king's majesty against it.

Will. And I can tell thee, his majesty said, "They should sit at Oxford for all that."

Tom. Pray thee, who were these noblemen that petitioned?

Will. I cannot tell thee, who they were, by their names; but he, that was the Rump's first general, delivered it.

Sam. He! Thou art a fool, Will; he is dead at least thirty years since. I remember I have seen him, as if he had been alive, in a buff coat amongst the tombs at Westminster.

Will. Well, I am sure he bears the same name[14], and, probably, it may be his son; for this man follows that man's steps. Then there was him that was general of the horse to the Rump; that, I am sure, is the very man himself, and another lord, that sat in the Rump house of commons, with a blue garter about him; a thing that was never done before.

Tom. That cannot be; I remember that lord myself; he is dead, I am confident.

Will. It may be, then, it was his son. There was, besides, another; whose father, some say, beheaded the king: but, if he did not, it is certain he was in disguise on the scaf-

[13] See the Introduction. [14] The Earl of Essex.

fold. And then he, that set them on all this, as it is talked, is a little, lame, purblind lord, that has been a man in all the times ever since the first rebellion, and still turned time enough to save himself, though others were hanged for the same fact. He now sets them upon all the mischiefs done; and, if he live to it, will leave them in the lurch.

Tom. That is old usual with him; and yet he is no better than those that stood it out to the last, and deserved hemp many a fair year since.

Will. He will come to it yet; for all his cunning, the devil will cozen him at last. All the rest were convenanters, or their sons, except one or two disguised lords.

Tom. I hope his majesty will remember what these men did with his father, and not be advised by any such.

Sam. Well, when all this is said, I am still of opinion, London is the fittest place in the kingdom for a parliament; for there every body finds their conveniency. His majesty his house at Whitehall, the nobles their own houses, the members convenient accommodation of lodgings, and every body their ease.

Tom. I question whether too much conveniency for parliaments be not hurtful to business: for, when they are less commodiously served, they will mind their business the better, and make more haste with their work, that they may get so much sooner home. Not but that I know, they may have all conveniences at our town, and sufficient accommodation for all the followers of a parliament, that are requisite to attend it.

Will. The plain truth is, there are now-adays abundance of people do follow parliaments, over what there used to be in former times, as I have heard people say. And this London has such new buildings, that it lodges them all conveniently, if they were five times as many.

Tom. Thou art in the right of it, Will, that there does more people follow the parliaments a late time, than formerly; that is, the scoundrel rabble of London, who are ready and have been these forty years, to back any seditious petition; and to come down to Westminster and Whitehall, like a land-flood in our river, that threatens all the country. These, encouraged by discontented members, when they cannot get the lords to join in their malicious acts, threaten no less now, than they did to his majesty's father, God bless him! And I think it no great loss, if these gentlemen be left at home to mind their trades at London.

Sam. But the scholars of Oxford are thought, by many, will be as unmannerly as the prentices in London.

Tom. I will tell thee, Sam, if the parliament will behave themselves as they ought, to the king's majesty, and the royal line, and offer no injury to the church, bishops, clergy, university, nor scholars, and give the king his reasonable requests, I will warrant thee, the scholars will be as civil as can be; but, by my faith, if they find either the church, or themselves touched upon, it will be a hard matter to rule them. They are like seamen, one and all.

Sam. Still I am for old London: thou knowest the king has borrowed many hundred-thousand pounds of the city, and the East-India company, and never needed to want monies for a fair word to the city.

Tom. It is very true; but he always paid double interest for what he had of them: so that it was a greater courtesy to the city to lend it, than to the king to have the loan. But now the business is over, they will lend no more money, but upon parliament-security. Had they continued to have been the same city they were in 1660, and some years after, I believe the king would never have removed the parliament to Oxford; but, since they now are become that city they were in 1640, I think the king does wiser to remove the parliament to Oxford, that true, loyal city, where every man loves the name of the king, and that shewed so much fidelity to his father. Then let the parliament and the factious city of London send him to Oxford, as they did his father.

Will. Then let us all go to Oxford, and pray for the good success of this parliament.

A second Discourse betwixt Sam, the Ferryman of Dochet, Will, the Waterman of London, and Tom, the Bargeman of Oxford, upon the coming of the two last down the River from Oxford.

Sam. HOW does all our friends at the court at Oxford? It is strange, Will, thou shouldst come again so soon.

Will. Thou knowest, I told thee I mostly follow the court; and 'faith, at this time, he had been a cunning man that had gone before it; his majesty gave not so good warning of his return to London, as he did of his going to Oxford.

Sam. But what says Tom, now, to his mad parliament? I hope he has no reason to complain of this parliament.

Tom. But the town of Oxford will have reason to complain, while they live: but the best on it is, some Londoners will have houses to set in Oxford, at as good rates as they took them. Had his majesty made a cocking or a hunting match at Oxford, he had done it a better turn, than to have brought such guests as these were.

Will. I heard some say, they were so mad they were called from London, that they resolved to do something at Oxford, should make them be suddenly sent away again; and so bilk the town of their expectation.

Sam. They say the town much mattered not the court, and the mayor and the aldermen of Oxford, were as much against it, as the common-council is at London.

Tom. O! that is, because the university is so much for the king, God bless him! and his household: for this is a certain rule, if the university be for the court, the town will be for the country, as they call it. Nay, if the university be for Jesus Christ, the town holds themselves obliged in conscience to be for the Devil.

Sam. But still, Tom, this does not answer what thou saidst of this parliament, which thou wouldest warrant would do such brave things, if they sat at Oxford.

Tom. I must confess I was mistaken, as my father was before me: for he took once a London boy to be his prentice; and though he knew him to be a little light-fingered, and given to lying and swearing, yet he hoped, if he could get him to Oxford, he could cure him; and took infinite care and pains about him, and daily told him what would be the end of him, if he would not lay aside his London tricks, and become a downright, honest Oxford bargeman; but all in vain, what was bred in the bone would never be out of the flesh. He fell, by little and little, to downright thieving, and hanged he was in the end: and, as my father afterwards learned, the rogue's father and grandfather, and many of his kindred, had been thieves before him.

Will. What's all this to the purpose? what have either we or the parliament to do with thy father or his thievish prentice? He was not the first bargeman by a hundred, that have been hanged.

Sam. Well said, Will, here's a precious story indeed, and nothing to the purpose.

Tom. You do not know the meaning, I perceive, of a parable or an Æsop's fable; when ye have taught these shavers at London, with your rehearsals[15], and at Westminster with their votes, resolves, and stories, to nose their master and abuse their fellows, then you send them down to Oxford, to be cured of the R—— when it is too late. They are no more to be reclaimed than a sheep-worrier; nor will any thing cure them, but that which cured my father's prentice: now there's the precious story you talked of so much. And yet, for all this, you cannot dash us in the teeth with any Oxford acts of parliament. Had their noses been kept to the grindle-stone as close at Westminster, as it was at Oxford, they would not have been so high in the instep. I was sure, if they sat at Oxford, they must either make good acts or none at all.

[15] See before, p. 113.

Sam. A will have it but one way or other; these Oxford rogues learn to wrangle of the boys, and will never yield, right or wrong.

Will. Well, but for all his bragging, there was that done at this parliament at Oxford, was never done at Westminster.

Tom. Pray thee, what was that?

Will. There was as near a lye, not to be the downright lye, given to the king as heart could think.

Sam. How so, man?

Will. I will tell thee, for example's sake. If I should say, it is an unwarrantable thing for any man to pull down Windsor great park pale, and ride through to Bagshot market; if thou sayest this is a warrantable trick, though all the world knew the contrary, does not thee come very near to give me the lye; what thinkest thou by this?

Sam. Surely he, that did this, had his breeding at Billingsgate, or at Hog-Norton.

Tom. But, if he had a foul tongue, he had a good pair of heels, for he gave ground a hundred miles in a very few hours.

Will. That was but to be out of the way, while the thing was hot, it will quickly be forgot; I'll warrant thee, once in a short time, I shall see this very man[16] come in his coach to Westminster-Hall, with a quoif on, if not a red gown. Such mannerly behaviour, as this, has been an only way to preferment.

Tom. But, I think, he better deserves to go up Holbourn in a wooden chariot, and have a horse night-cap put on at the farther end.

Will. These kind of people do no more matter what they say, than a dog does that has stolen a joint of meat from the hook; they only run away for a while, and when they think all is quiet, and forgotten, then they come again with as much confidence, as if they had never done no mischief at all.

Sam. The reason of this is, because they never light of the whip for their roguery; and so escaping scot-free makes them so bold.

Will. Ay, ay, let a man suffer a prentice to prate and talk, and, the next, he gives you two words for one; and then, if you offer to correct him, have at your ears. Black Tom of Lambeth, that was an honest, good fellow, as ever took an oar by the end, suffered his prentice so long, that, when he would have corrected him, it was too late; and, being a lusty young rogue, he threw him over-board into the Thames; and, had not I come by, by chance, he had been drowned.

Tom. Nay, nothing madded me so much, as that the house of commons praised this fellow, and ordered him thanks for his compliment he made.

Will. O brave Oxford still; for, at Westminster, they always used to have so much good manners, as to give his majesty thanks for his speech, whether it pleased them, or not; and now they thank a man that gives him the lye.

Sam. But pray, my masters, what did they do that little time they sat; or, at least wise, what would they have done?

Tom. I will tell thee. Thou sayest, the parson told thee of a parliament once at Oxford, was called the mad parliament; I think this may be called the foolish and k—vish parliament: they were in hand to make such a king of the duke, if he should have survived his brother, as thou never heardest of in thy life.

Will. A king! why, the Portingals king[17], that they keep a close prisoner, in an old castle, at the Rock of Lisbon, is an emperor, in comparison of that they would have made him[18]: A must have had the name of a king, but none of the power; nor have lived in any

[16] [Probably Pym, whose replication to the king excited much ferment in the city, and soon after in the commons, where he was long a most persuasive speaker, and, from his personal authority, obtained the title of 'King Pym.']

[17] Don Alphonso, deposed by his brother Peter the Second, who was not content to sieze the crown and imprison his brother; but obtained a dispensation of the Pope, to marry his brother's wife also.

[18] The Duke of York.

of his dominions, or within five hundred miles. Would not this have been a brave king[19]?

Sam. Pray thee tell me, what have they to do with Scotland?

Tom. With Scotland? O, they make a good title to Scotland; for Oliver conquered it for the Rump, and, these being the Rump's heirs, they think Scotland belongs to them as well as England; for, as sure as thou stands there, they keep the Commonwealth's title a foot in their minds; though they dare not publicly own it.

Sam. How should that be?

Tom. I will tell thee. If I have a crown in my pocket, and thou hast a mind to have it from me, there is but three ways to get it; either by sleight of hand to pick it from me, or by words to persuade me out of it, or take it from me by a strong hand. Now the first and last not being convenient nor easy; if thou canst use words to make me give it thee, is not that the best way?

Will. No doubt of it.

Tom. Then words have prevailed a great way, and will possibly be attempted farther; but, if those will not do, thou knowest what follows next: besides, it is apparent, they aimed now to make a push for a Commonwealth; for they affronted the king, in the first place, as I have told you; then, in the next place, they voted the lords' denial to try Fitz-Harris[20] was a denial of justice, and hinderance of discovering of the Popish plot, and twenty stories more they called it: which was as much as to say, they were not fit to sit in that house; for, if they were unjust in their doings, and countenanced the Popish plot, what worse could have been said of them? And if this had taken, at the next vote they had been useless, and then welcome the Rump again; they would only have wanted him that was 'headed at Tower-hill twenty years ago, what did you call him?

Will. I believe thou meanest Sir Harry Vain[21].

Tom. Ay, ay, that was he, if he had been alive to have joined with the purblind lord, and the colonel with cut fingers, and a few more, all had been right.

Sam. Pray thee, Tom, what would they have done with this Fitz-Harris, what is that fellow?

Tom. I think nobody knows what he is[22]; but I take him to be a cross-biter[23]; but if he chance to be hanged, as he is like to be, it is doubtful he will be cross-bitten himself.

Sam. Why, the parliament were bloody mad at him, and would needs have hanged him themselves.

Tom. O Sam, thou knowest not parliament-craft; the next way home sometimes is the farthest about. If they could have gotten the lords to have received the impeachment against him, they would have kept him alive, and played more tricks than thou canst imagine; they would have made him bowl off and on, as thou dost at nine-pins, and made his evidence good and right in what they had a mind; and arrant lyes in what they liked not. And he had been as far from hanging by their means, as the lords in the Tower; only

[19] These were some of the expedients proposed instead of the Bill of Exclusion; which expedients the duke's friends opposed with greater vehemency than the Bill of Exclusion.

[20] This Fitz-Harris was employed by the court to write a seditious pamphlet, which, being privately printed, was to be sent by post to the Protestant Lords, &c. which opposed the court; and then their houses were to be immediately searched, and, where these pamphlets could be found, they were to be made the foundation of a plot against the government. This scheme was communicated to one Everard, and by him discovered to Sir William Waller, who informed the king of it, who ordered Fitz-Harris to be taken into custody, but declared his resentment at Sir William, saying, 'That he had broken all his measures.' Therefore the house of commons resolved to examine and try the Irish priest, Fitz-Harris, at their own bar, hoping to make a full discovery of so wicked a design, and to bring the contrivers thereof to condign punishment. But the court influenced the lords to reject the impeachment of Fitz-Harris by the commons, and to order him to be prosecuted at common law, where the court had power to prevent any material discoveries; and immediately to sacrifice the man, who had so imprudently divulged the secret intrusted to him.

[21] *al.* Vane.

[22] He was an Irish Papist, who had free access to the Duchess of Portsmouth, and kept a correspondence with her favourite-woman, Mrs. Wall, and with the French ambassador's confessor.

[23] viz. a trepanner.

they would possibly have found law to have bailed him; which could not be found for the Treasurer Danby, whom they know they have no power to hang, unless they do with him, as with the old Earl of Strafford [24].

Will. But, for all their cunning, he may yet come to be hanged; and if he be, stand clear, I believe there will be stories told, some will not be willing to hear.

Sam. Before my heart, you two are gotten very cunning at state-affairs, I believe you did nothing but listen and hearken after news.

Tom. If the parliament had sat at our town a twelvemonth, I would not have wrought in my barge an hour; but, if ever a parliament deserved a by-name, this little short-arsed [25] one deserved *that* I have given it, both for meddling with what they did so simply, and meddling with those people and places out of their power.

Sam. Well, but now this parliament is dissolved, all this is over, and now they have neither power to vote, nor act, nor nothing; and I hope we shall have quietness, and the court at Windsor.

Tom. It is true, they are unroosted from their public sitting-places, both at Westminster and Oxford; but the men that shape out all the work are not idle: that will appear before long in the Common-Hall of London, and from other places, where they have power to set mischief on foot.

Tom. I remember Gaffer Tompson of Abington had a dozen men and boys that laboured his barge; and, to his cost, he found they were all plotted together to rob, steal, and do him any mischief they could; nay, would almost tell him to his face, they would have what they list. He was a quiet honest man, and loved not trouble, and hoped, in vain, for amendment a long time; but at last he took a resolution and turned them all off at once, and got a new floor-full, that knew nothing of the roguery of the other crew; and then all things went well with him.

Will. He was in the right of that; for, if he had left any of the old ones in the barge, they would have corrupted all the rest.

Tom. Dost not think, there are some old Rumpers has done a great hurt amongst the members?

Will. I am for a new floor full or none at all; there is no hopes of any good from Tompson's old crew.

Tom. Gaffer Tompson has a special care, not only to keep his new men from companying with the old ones at London and at Abington; but also, that they should not come and rob him by a strong hand.

Will. They durst hardly do that; for then it hath come to *hangum tuum*. However, it was wisdom in him to have an eye to them; for they met often together to consult which way to be revenged of him; and however, he knew the laws of the land would protect him, which must protect every body.

Sam. I pray God bless his majesty, and give him power to put his laws in execution; and then, I think, none but his enemies will have occasion to repine; and let the disbanded reformadoes do what they dare. Amen.

[24] i. e. make a law on purpose.

[25] Because it sat but seven days.

The Antiquity and Dignity of Parliaments. Written by Sir Robert Cotton.

Printed Anno Domini 1679[1].

[Folio, containing Thirteen Pages.]

That the Kings of England have been pleased, usually, to consult in the great Council of Marriage, Peace and War, with their Peers and Commons in Parliament.

TO search so high as the Norman conquest, that is necessary to lay down the form and government of those times, wherein state-affairs were led in another form of public councils: for the people wrought (under the sword of the first William and his followers) to a subjected vassalage, and could not possess, in such assemblies, the right of their former liberties; division and power having mastered them, and none of their own nobility and heads being left, either of credit or fortunes.

What he retained not in providence (as the demesnes of the crown) or reserved in piety (as the maintenance of the church) he parted to those strangers that sailed along with him in that bark of his adventure; leaving the natives for the most part (as appeareth in his survey) in no better condition than villanage. He moulded their customs to the nature of his own country, and forebare to grant the laws of holy Edward, so often called for[2].

To supply his occasions of men, money, and provision, he ordered[3], that all those, that enjoyed any fruit of his conquest, should hold their lands proportionable by so many knights fees of the crown, admitting them to enfeoff their followers, with such parts as they pleased of their own portions; which, to ease their charge, they did in his and his son's times[4], by two enfeoffments, the one *de novo*, the other *de veteri*.

This course provided him the body of the war; the money and provision was by headage assessed on the common people, at the consent of the lords[5], who held in all their seigniories such right of regality, that to their vassals, as Paris[6] saith, *Quot domini, tot tyranni*, and proved to the king so great a curb and restraint of power, that nothing fell into the care of his majesty after, more than to retrench the force of his aristocoited, that was in time like to strangle the monarchy[7].

Though others foresaw the mischiefs betimes, yet none attempted the remedy until King John, whose over-hasty undertaking brought in these broils of the barons' wars.

There needed not before this care, to advise with the commons in any public assembly, when every man in England by tenure, held himself to his great lord's will, whose presence was ever recognized in those great councils, and in whose assent his dependent tenant's consent was ever included.

Before this king's time then, we seek in vain for any commons called; they were ever called for making of laws, but not to consult touching war or peace. He first, as may be gathered (though darkly by the records) used their counsels and assents, in the sixth year of his reign[8].

Here is the first summons on record to the peers or barons; *Tractatur de magnis et arduis negotiis*. It was about a war of defence against the French, and at that time the

[1] [This is said to have been compiled in 1621, at the request of Lord Montague of Boughton, and was first intitled, "A relation to prove, that the Kings of England have been pleased to consult with their peers in the great councell and commons in parliament, of marriage, peace, and war." It was printed in 1651, and again among *Cottoni Posthuma*, 1672; and is reported by Mr. Morant to be extremely full of faults. Vid. Biog. Brit. art. Sir Rob. Cotton.]

[2] Doomsday-Book. Admerus, Huntington.

[3] Ex libro Fœderis in Scaccio.

[4] Hen. IV. Statut.

[5] Ex libro Rubro Scaccio.

[6] Chronicon de Dunstable.

[7] Benedict. Monard. in Vita Hen. II.

[8] Claus. 6. in dorso.

commons were admitted. At this time that may fitly be gathered by this ordinance, *Provisum est communi assensu archiepiscoporum, communium, baronum, & omnium fidelium nostrorum Angliæ, quod novem milites per Angliam inveniend. de communi re*[9]. And this was directed to all the sheriffs in England, the ancient use in public laws.

From this there is a break, until 18 Hen. III. where the next summons extant is in a plea-roll of that year, but the ordinances are lost: from thence the record affords no light, until the 49th of the same king[10], where then the summons to bishops, lords, knights and burgesses are much in manner, though not in matter, alike to the use of our times. This parliament was called to advise with the king, *pro pace asseverandâ & firmandâ*, they are the words; and where advice is required, consultation must be admitted.

To this king, succeeds Edward I. his son, a wise, a just, and a fortunate prince. In his reign we have no light of any public counsel in this kind, and so along to the fourth of his grandchild's reign, but what we borrow in the rolls of summons, wherein the form stood various according to the occasions[11], until that grew constant in the form that is now about the entering of Rich. II.; the journal-rolls being spoiled by the injury of time, or private ends.

The king, in the fifth of his reign, called a parliament, and therein advised with his lords and commons, for the suppressing Lluellin, Prince of Wales[12]; and, hearing that the French king intended to some pieces of his inheritance in France, summoned a parliament, *ad tractandum, ordinandum, & favendum cum prælatis, proceribus, & aliis incolis regni quælibet hujusmodi periculis, & excogitatis militiis sic abjurand.*[13], inserting in the writ that that was *lex justissima providâ circumspectione stabilita;* that that which *omnes tangit ab omnibus approbetur*, in the thirty-fourth of his reign, *super ordinatione & stabilimento regni Scotiæ*, he made the like convention[14].

His son, the second Edward, *pro solemnitate sponsalium & coronationis*, consulted with his people in his first year; in his sixth year, *super diversis negotiis statum regni & expeditione guerram Scotiæ specialiter tangentibus*, he assembled the state to advise; the ike he did in his eighth year[15].

The French king having invaded Gascoigne, in the thirteenth year, the parliament was called, *super ordinis negotiis statum ducatûs Gasconiæ tangentibus;* and in the sixteenth to consult, *ad refrænandum Scotorum obstinantiam & malitiam*[16].

Before Edward the Third would resolve in his first year, whether peace or war should be with the Scots king, he summoned the peers and commons, *super præmissis tractare et consilium impendere*[17].

The chancellor, anno 5. declareth from the king the cause of that assembly, and that was to consult and resolve, whether the King should proceed with France, for the recovery of his seigniories, by alliance of marriage or by war; and whether, to redress the disobedience of the Irish, he should go thither in person or no[18].

The year following he re-assembled his lords and commons, and required their advice, whether he should undertake the Holy Expedition[19] with the French king or no? The bishops and protectors of the clergy would not be present, as forbidden by the commons such counsels; the peers and commons consult, applauding the religious and princely forwardness of their sovereign to this hard enterprise; but humbly advise forbearance this year, for urgent reasons[20].

The same year (though another sessions) the king demanded the advice of his people, whether he should pass into France, to an interview, as was desired, for the expediting the treaty of marriage. The prelates by themselves, and the earls and barons by themselves, and the knights of the shires by themselves, consult a-part (for so is the records[21], and in the

[9] Paris 6. Ro. 2. in dorso. [10] Claus. 49 Hen. III. in dorso. [11] Ex. Rot. Parl. in Archivis London.
[12] Claus. 5 Edw. I. in dorso. [13] Claus. 7 Edw. I. m. 3. in dorso. [14] Claus. 34 Edw. I. in dorso.
[15] Edw. II. Claus. I. 19. m. Claus. 6. 3 m. Claus. 8. 3 m. Claus. 13. m. 13. in dorso.
[16] Claus. 16. m. 27. [17] Edw. III Claus. I. [18] Rot. Parl. 5.
[19] To fight the Turks, and recover the Holy Land. [20] Parl. 6 Edw. III.
[21] Rot. Parl. 6 Edw. III. Sess. 2. m. 6.

end resolved, that, to prevent some dangers likely to arise from the North, it would please the king to forbear his journey, and to draw towards those parts where the perils were feared, ' his presence being the best prevention ;' which advice he followed.

In the following parliament at York, the king sheweth, how, by their former advice, he had drawn himself towards the North-parts, and now again he had assembled them, to advise further for his proceedings. To which the lords and commons, having consulted a-part, pray further time to resolve, until a full assembly of the state; to which the king granting, adjourneth that sessions.

At their next meeting, they are charged upon their allegiance and faith, to give the king their best advice[22]. The peers and commons (consulting a-part) delivered their opinions; and so that parliament ended.

In the thirteenth year, the grandees and commons are called to consult and advise, how the domestic quiet may be preserved, the marshes of Scotland defended, and the sea scoured from enemies; the peers and commons (having a-part consulted), the commons, desiring not to be charged to counsel in things, *des queux ils neut pas cognisaux*, answer, that the guardians of the shire, assisted by the knights, may effect the first (if pardons of felony be not granted); the care of the marshes they humbly leave to the king and council; and, for the safeguard of the seas, they wish that the cinque-ports and maritime-towns (discharged, for the most part, from many burthens of inland parts) may have that left to their charge and care; and that such, as have lands near the sea-coasts, be commanded to reside in those possessions.

The parliament is the same year re-assembled to advise, *de expeditione guerræ in partibus transmarinis*[23]. At this assembly ordinances are made for provision of ships, arraigning men for the marshes, and defence of the isle of Jersey; naming such in the record, as they conceived for the employments.

The next year, De la Poole accounteth the expences of the war; a new aid is granted, and by several committees (in which divers were named that were not peers of parliament) the safeguard of the seas, and defence of the borders, are consulted of[24].

In the fifteenth year, *assensu prælatorum, procerum, & aliorum de concilio*, the king's passage into France is resolved of[25].

In anno 17, Badlesmore, in the place of the chancellor, declareth to the peers and commons, That, whereas by their assents the king had undertaken the wars with France, and that by the meditation of the Pope a truce was offered, which then their sovereign forbare to entertain, without their well allowance.

The lords a-part consult; and also the commons, returning by Sir William Trussel, in answer to their advice and desire to compose the quarrel, approve the truce, and the Pope's mediation.

The Pope's undertaking proving fruitless, and delays to the French advantage, who in the mean space (with Scotland, and others) practised to root out the English nation in France; the king again assembled his parliament the year following: in which the peers and commons, after many days of deliberation, resolve to end that, either by battle or peace, and no more to trust to the mediation of his holiness.

In the twelfth, the chief-justice Thorpe declaring to the peers and commons, that the French wars began by their advice[26].

First, The truce, after by their assents accepted, and now ended, the king's pleasure was to have their counsels in these prosecutions: the commons being commanded, *Y ils se devoirent ensemble & si ils assent le devoirent nostre au Roy & all grandees de son counsel*, who, after four days consulting, humbly desire of the king, that he would be advised herein by his lords, and others of more experience than themselves in such affairs.

To advise the king the best for his French employments, a parliament was summoned,

[22] Rot. 7. Edw. III. Sess. 2. Parl. 7 Edw. III. m. 6. [23] Rot. Parl. 13 Edw. III. Sess. 2.
[24] Parl 14 Edw. III. Parl. 15 Edw. III. [25] Parl. 17 Edw. III. [26] Parl. 21 Edw. III.

anno 25: wherein the king, by a more public dispatch, willeth the commons to elect twenty-four or thirty of their house, to consult with the lords; these to relate to their fellows, and the conclusion in general, by the lords to the king[27].

In the twenty-seventh, a great council is assembled, many of the lay-peers, few of the clergy, and of the knights of the shires and burgesses but one a-piece[28]. This was for the prosecution of the French wars, when honourable: and, in the year following, a truce being offered, the king forbare his peers and commons, which they in parliament accorded unto, before the Pope's notary, by public instinct.

The dallying of the French king, in conclusion of peace, and[29] the falling off of th Duke of Bretagne (having wrought his end with France by reputation of the English succour) is the year following declared in parliament, and their advice and aid required for the king's proceedings.

In the thirty-sixth year, he calleth his parliament to consult, whether war or peace (by David King of Scots than offered) should be accepted[30].

In the fortieth year, the Pope demanding the tribute of King John, the parliament assembled, when, after consultation a-part, the prelates, lords, and commons, advise the denial, although it be by dint of sword[31].

In the forty-third, the king declared to the peers and commons, that the French, against the articles of the truce, refused payment of the monies, and delivery of the towns, summoning La Brett, and others of the king's subjects in Gascoigne, to make at Paris their appeals, and had foraged his country of Poictiers, requiring (in their breach) whether he might not regain his style of France[32].

The lords and commons had a-part consulted; they advised the king to both, which he approving, altered the inscription and figure of his style.

Two years after[33], it was declared to the peers and commons, that, by their advice, he had again resumed the style and quarrel of France, and therefore called their advice for the defence of the realm against the French, securing of the seas, and pursuing of the wars: of which they consult and resolve to give the king an aid.

The like counsel and supply was the very next following[34].

In the fiftieth, a parliament to the purpose of the former two was summoned[35]; and the year following, the king in parliament, declaring how the French had combined under-hand against him with Spain and Scotland, required their advice how peace at home, territories abroad, security of the seas, and charge of the war, might be maintained.

I have the longer insisted in observing the carriage of those times, so good and so glorious; after-ages having not left the journal entries of parliament so full, which with a lighter hand I will pass through.

Richard the Second his grand-child succeeded to the crown and troubles, having nothing worthy his great fortunes but his birth. The first of his reign he pursued the steps of his wise grandfather, advising with his peers and commons how best to resist his enemies that had lately wronged many of his subjects on the sea-coasts[36].

In the second year, he again[37] consulted with his people how to withstand the Scots who then had combined with the French to break the truce.

In the third year, he calleth the advice of his parliament[38] how to maintain the regality impaired by[39] the Pope's provisions; how to resist France, Spain, and Scotland, that had raised wars against him; how to suppress his rebels in Guzen and Ireland, and to defend the seas.

In the fourth year of his reign he calleth the like[40] at Windsor; the year following in a great council the king, having proposed a voyage royal into France, now called his parliament to determine further of that: and it is worth observation, that for the most part,

[27] Parl. 25 Edw. III. [28] Parl. 27 Edw. III. [29] Parl. 29 Edw. III.
[30] Parl. 36 Edw. III. [31] Parl. 40 Edw. III. [32] Parl. 43 Edw. III.
[33] Parl. 45 Edw. III. [34] Parl. 46 Edw. III. [35] Parl. 46 Edw. III.
[36] Rich. II. Parl. 1. m. 5. a. 6. [37] Parl. 2 Rich. II. m. 1. [38] Parl. 3 Rich. II. m. 4, 5.
[39] Urban VI. [40] Parl. 4 Rich. II. m. 2, 3.

before any proposition of war or peace was vented to the commons, a debate thereof proceedeth in the great council to shape that fitter for popular advice.

The quarrel with Spain continuing, the Duke of Lancaster offereth a voyage against them, so the state would lend him money: after consultation[41] they grant an aid, but not to bind them to any continuance of war with Spain.

In the sixth, the parliament was called to consult about the defence of the borders, the king's possessions beyond the seas, Ireland and Gascoigne, and his subjects in Portugal[42].

The lords approve the duke's intention for Portugal, and the commons advise that the Bishop of Norwich, having the croycery, should invade France.

The same year the state was re-assembled[43], to consult whether the king should go in person to rescue Gaunt, or to send his army. The commons, after two days debate, crave a conference with the lords; the effect is not entered in the roll, only they, by Sir Thomas Puckering, their speaker, protest, that counsels of war did aptly belong to the king and his lords, yet, since the commons were commanded to give their advice, they humbly wish a voyage royal by the king; if not, that the Bishop of Norwich might, with the advantage of the Pope's croycery, be used in that service, who accepted the charge with ill success.

Here further the commons pray, that the king's uncle should not be spared out of the realm before some peace was settled with the Scots, and that the Lord Delaspar, sent with provisions of peace from Spain, might first be heard.

The chancellor, in the seventh year, in the name of the king, willeth the lords a-part; and so the commons do consult, whether peace or war with Scotland, or whether to resist or to assail the king's adversaries of Spain, France, or Flanders[44].

Their opinions are not entered in the rolls (an omission usually by the clerk's neglect), only their petition is recorded, that the Bishop of Norwich may account in parliament the expence of the money, and be punished for his faults in the service he undertook; both which are granted.

At the next sessions, the same year, the commons are willed to advise, upon view of the articles of peace with the French, whether war, or such amity, should be accepted.

They modestly excuse themselves, as too weak to counsel in so weighty causes. But, charged again, as they did tender the honour and right of the king, they make this answer, *Y ils intrudont que astimis services terres y mesne lour leige anecoit ore per testarior in Guyen, si serront tenos del Roy Francois per tril sernior la villa de Callis et auter terres acquise et conquise des Francois, per les fore neueverroit la commen y aniuse aiust fait si autrement preroit bien faire;* giving their opinions rather for peace than war.

Peace with France not succeeding, the eighth year, the body of the state was called to advise, whether the king in his own person, or the sending of forces against the French, Spaniards, Flanders, and Scotland, should proceed.

The king having assembled at Oxon, his great council[45], to advise whether he should pass the seas or no with an army royal; and, they not daring to assent without a great council, a parliament, the tenth year, was called to have the advice of the commons as well as the lords, how the realm should be governed in their sovereign's absence[46].

The truce with France now near expired, the parliament[47] was called in the thirteenth year, to advise upon what conditions it should be renewed, otherwise how the charge of war should be sustained. At this assembly, and by consent of all, the Duke of Lancaster is created Duke of Aquitain; the statutes of Provisions are now passed[48]; the commons are named partly in the letter to the Pope[49].

The year succeeding, a parliament is called, for that the king would have the advice of his lords and commons for the war with Scotland; and would not, without their counsel, conclude a final peace with France[50].

The like assembly, for the like causes, was the year ensuing.

[41] Parl. 5 Rich. II. Sess. 2. a. [42] Parl. 6 Rich. II. Sess. 1. [43] Parl. 6 Rich. II. Sess. 1. a.
[44] Parl. 7 Rich. II. Sess. 4. [45] Claus. 9 Rich. II. [46] Claus. 10 Rich. II.
[48] Parl. 13 Rich. II. [48] Rot. Claus. 13 Rich. II. [49] Boniface IX. [50] Parl. 14 Rich. II.

The commons humbly desire the king to use a moderation in the law of Provision, so that the statutes upon their dislike may again be exempted; and that, to negotiate the peace with France, the duke of Aquitain may rather than another be employed.

To consult of the treaty with France for peace, the king in the seventeenth year calleth a parliament[51]; the answer of the lords is left unentered in the rolls.

The commons, upon their faith and allegiance charged, advise, that, with good moderation, provision may be made for Guienne, an appendage of the French crown; so it intrench not to involve the other pieces of the English conquest. Their answer is large, modest, and worthy to mark.

Now succeeded a man that first studied a popularity, as needing all to support his titles: he in the fifth year calleth a parliament[52], to repress the malice of the Duke of Orleans, and to advise for the wars in Ireland and Scotland; neither counsels nor supplies are entered into roll: and, to resist an invasion intended by France and Britain, he assembleth the state again[53].

The like was the two years following for France[54]. In this the commons confer with the lords for guard of the sea, and make many ordinances, to which the king assented. The peace with the merchants of Prussia, and the Hanse-Towns, is debated, and a proclamation published, as they resolved by the speaker. The commons[55] complain of ninety-six pieces of ordnance lost in Guyenne the year before; the need of the defence of the borders, and guard of the sea-coasts, to suppress the rebellion in Wales and disloyalty of the Earl of Northumberland: They humbly desire, that the prince may be dispatched into those parts with speed, and that the Castle of ————, the key of three realms, might be left to the care of the English, not to Charles Navarre, a stranger, and to have a diligent eye of the Scottish prisoners.

In the tenth year, a parliament is called, and the commons commanded to give their advice about the truce of Scotland, and preparation against the malice of the French[56].

His son[57], the wise and happy undertaker, consulteth with the parliament in his first year, how to cherish his allies, and restrain his enemies. For this there was a select committee of the commons, appointed to confer with the lords; the matter being entered into schedule touching Ireland, Wales, Scotland, Calais, Guienne, shipping, guard of the seas, and wary provision to repulse the enemy.

In the second, he openeth to the parliament[58] his title to France, a quarrel he would present to death, if they allowed and aided: death in this assembly enacted to all, that either break the truce, or the king's safe conduct.

The year following, peace being offered by the French king, and the King of the Romans, armed to effect the work: the king refused any conclusion, until he had had thereunto the advice and assent of his lords and commons; for which occasion the chancellor declareth it to that assembly[59].

In the fourth and fifth years, no peace concluded with France, he calleth his state together to consult about the war, concluding a treaty of amity with Sigismond, King of the Romans, by the allowance of the three estates, and entereth the articles in the journal-roll[60].

The same year, by the Duke of Bedford, in the king's absence, a parliament[61] was called to the former purpose, as appeareth by the summons, though in the roll omitted.

The like in the seventh year[62].

The treaty with France is by the prelates, nobles, and commons of the kingdom, perused and ratified, in the tenth of this king[63].

This son[64], more holy than happy, succeeded; advised in the second year with the lords and commons, for the well-keeping of the peace with France; consulteth with them about the delivery of the Scottish king, and the conclusion of it is confirmed by common assent.

[51] Parl. 17 Rich. II. [52] Henry IV. Parl. 5. [53] Parl. 6 Hen. IV. [54] Parl. 7 Hen. IV. n. 19, 20
[55] Claus. 7 Hen. IV. n. 33. [56] Parl. 10 Hen. IV. [57] Henry V. [58] Parl. 2 Hen. V.
[59] Parl. 3 Henry V. [60] Parl. 4 & 5 Hen. V. [61] Parl. 5 Hen. V. [62] Parl. 7 Hen. V.
[63] Rot. Parl. 10 Hen. V. [64] Henry VI. & Rot. Parl. 2 Hen. VI.

And in the third year, they are called to advise and consent to a new article in the league with Scotland for charge of hostages [65].

And in the ninth year, conclude by name certain persons to treat a peace with the Dauphin of France [66].

The treaty of Arras (whither the Pope [67] had sent, as mediators, two cardinals) not succeeding, the king in parliament (in anno 1640) sheweth, that he must either lose his title and kingdom of France, or else defend it by force; the best means for prevention whereof, he willeth them to advise him,

He summoneth again the next year [68] the council, how the realm might be best defended, and the sea kept safe against the enemies.

In the twentieth, the commons [69] exhibit a bill for guard of the sea; a certain number of ships assess wages, and dispose of prizes, if any fortune; to which the king accordeth. And that the Gronowayes may be declared enemies, for assisting the Turk in the spoil of the Rhodes knights; and that the privilege of the prince and Hanse-Towns may be suspended, till composition be made to the English for wrongs they have done them; to which in part the king accordeth.

The king by the chancellor declareth in parliament [70], that the marriage with Margaret, the king of Sicily's daughter, was contracted for inducing the peace made with the French, to which the lords (not by their advice effected) make protestation, and enter it upon the roll.

The king intending [71] to pass in person into France, then to treat of peace with the king, advises with his lords and commons in parliament; and letters of mart are granted against the Britons for spoils done to the English merchants.

The Lord Hastings and the Abbot of Gloucester declared in parliament [72] the preparation of the French, the breach by them of the peace, the weak defence of Normandy, and expiration shortly of the truce; requiring speedy advice and remedy.

It was enjoined the parliament [73] to provide for the defence of the sea and land against the French.

It was commanded by the king to the states assembled [74], to advise for the well ordering of his house, payment of his soldiers at Calais, guard of the seas, raising of the siege at Berwick made by the Scots against the truce, disposing of the thirteen-thousand soldiers arrayed the last parliament, according of differences amongst the lords, restraining transportation of gold and silver, and acquitting the disorders in Wales; of all which committees are appointed to frame bills.

Edward the Fourth, by the chancellor, declareth to the lords and commons [75], that having peace with the Scots, entered league with Spain and Denmark, contracted with Burgundy and Britain for their aid, in recovery of his right in France; he had now assembled them to give their advice and counsel therein proceeding, with a charge in a second session again pressed them.

The like was at another parliament [76].

After this time the journals of parliaments have been either not well preserved, or not carefully entered. For I can find of this nature no record, until the first of Henry the Seventh, wherein the commons, by Thomas Lovel, their speaker, petitioned the king to take to wife Elizabeth, the daughter of Edward the Fourth, to which at their request he agreeth.

The next is the third of Henry the Eighth [77], in which, from the king, the chancellor delivereth to the three estates the cause of their assembly. The first to advise a course for resisting the invasion of the Scots; the next, how to acquit the quarrel between the king and the Castiles, and the duke of Guilders.

Lastly, for assisting the Pope [78] against Lewis of France, whose bull expressing the injuries done to the Apostolic see, was read by the Master of the Rolls in open parlia-

[65] Rot. Parl. 3 Hen. VI. [66] 9 Hen. VI. [67] Eugenius IV. [68] Parl. 15 Hen. VI.
[69] Parl. 20 Hen. VI. [70] Anno 27 Hen. VI. [71] Anno 25 Hen. VI. [72] Anno 27 Hen. VI.
[73] Anno 29 Hen. VI. [74] Anno 29 Hen. VI. [75] 7 Edw. IV. [76] 12 Edw. IV.
[77] Henry VIII. Rot. Parl. 3. Hen. VIII. [78] Julius II.

ment: the chancellor, treasurer, and other lords sent down unto the commons to confer thereof.

The last in the thirty-second, where the chancellor, remembering the many troubles the state had undergone in doubtful titles of succession, declareth that the convocation had judged void the marriage with Anne of Cleves; yet the king would not proceed without the counsel of the three estates[79].

The two archbishops are sent to the commons with the sentence sealed, which being read, and there discussed, they pass a bill against the marriage[80].

In all these passages of public counsel (wherein I have been much assisted by the painful labours of Mr. Elsing, clerk of the parliament,) I still observe, that the sovereign lord, either in best advice or most necessities, would entertain the commons with the weightiest causes, either foreign or domestic, to adapt and bind them so to readiness of charge; and they, as warily avoiding to shun expence: their modest answers may be a rule for ignorant liberty to form their duties, and humbly to entertain such weighty counsels at their sovereign's pleasure; and not out of the wild sin of any factious spirits.

I will only add one foreign example, to shew what use hath been formerly made of pretended marriages, and of parliaments to dissolve them, their first ends served.

Maximilian the emperor, and Ferdinand of Spain, the one to secure his possessions in Italy, the other to secure the kingdom of Navarre: to both which the French king stood in the way, projecting a marriage of Charles the grandchild with Mary, the King of England's sister. It was embraced, a contract, *per verba de præsenti*, passed, and a book published, of the benefits and liberty to ensue the Christian world by this match.

Upon this ground Ferdinand begins to incite king Henry the Eighth to war in France; presents him with succour, and designs him Guienne to be the mark: Dorset is sent with men and ammunition to join with the Spanish forces.

Then on the borders of Navarre the noise is, they come to assist Ferdinand in conquest of that kingdom, which (though false) gains such reputation, that Albert was disheartened, and Ferdinand possessed himself of that which his successors since retained, his ends served: the English army in the depth of winter, weak and weather-beaten, are returned fruitless.

Maximilian then allureth the young and active king to begin with France, on the other side Turway; and Turway is now the object whither Henry the Eighth goeth with victory, but, advised with that pittance, maketh an end with France, whose eye and heart were set on Maximilian.

A new bait the old emperor casteth out to catch the ambitious young man: he will needs resign unto him the empire, too heavy for his age to bear[81].

The Cardinal Sedanensis is sent over to sign the agreement; which he did, and France must now again be made an enemy.

To prevent this danger, France releaseth his title to Naples, and offereth his infanta Lampsia to Maximilian's grandchild, Charles of Noyen[82].

This is acted in the dark; and at Arno, the French Commissioners come up the back stairs with sixty-thousand, and the engrossed covenants, when they abused the King of Enggland's ambassadors: a peace went down the other way. The Lord Cardinal returneth home, meeteth by the way the foul play of his master, and wrote to the King of England; not in excuse, but in complaint, *contra perfidiam principum*, an honest servant.

Ferdinand and Maximilian dead, Francis and Charles are competitors for the empire.

Henry the Eighth is courted for his help by both, the one with tie of alliance (for the infanta, the dauphin had offered to Henry the Eighth), the other with the like; the one will make his daughter a queen in present[83], which the dauphin cannot do, and by his favour an empress.

To further Francis was but to win ambition, to prey upon all his neighbours[84].

The English are won, and win for Spain all the imperial wealth, which Charles (in two

[79] Rot. Parl. 3 Hen. VIII. [80] Ex Instrument. Original. [81] Extract Original. 1515.
[82] Extract. Original. 15, 16. [83] Ex Literis Car. Regis Hisp. [84] Ex Literis Car. V. Impr. Orig.

letters I have of his own hand) then thankfully confessed. From Aquisgrave he cometh crowned in haste to England; weddeth at Windsor the king's daughter; contracteth to join in an invasion of France; to divide it with his father-in-law by the river of Rhodines; and sweareth at the altar in St. Paul's to keep faith in all [85].

Bourbon is wrought from France, and entereth the province with an army, paid with King Henry's money [86]; Suffolk passeth with the English forces by Picardy; but Charles the Emperor (who should have entered by Guienne) faileth, drawing away Bourbon from a strait siege of Marseilles, to interrupt Francis, then entering Italy; and so the enterprise of France is defeated [87].

The French king is at Pavy taken prisoner by Pescaro, led to Genoa, carried into Spain by the emperor's galleys, and forced at Madrid to a hard bargain, without privity to Henry the Eighth or provision for him, who had borne the greater charge of that war [88].

Now the emperor affecteth the monarchy [89], that hath ever since (as some say) infected the Austrian family of Rome; the fatal old seat of government must be the seat of this new empire; Bourbon, and after, Moncado, are directed to surprise it [90]; Angelo, the observant friar, is sent before; a pope confined by the emperor's election, who meant (as his own instructions warrant) to restore that right again to the imperial throne [91].

Charles will follow from Baçalona with the army, but before he must call a parliament at Toledo. Here, (whether by direction or affection, I dare not discuss,) that assembly maketh protestation against their master's marriage with England, and assigneth him Isabella of Portugal for a wife [92].

The instrument is sent, signed by the imperial notary, to Henry the Eighth, and Charles bemoaneth the strait he is forced unto by them. And, before all this, he had wrought from Rome a dispensation for his former ally and marriage, sending not long after Gonsalez Ferdinand, his dolphin, to incite the Earl of Desmond in Ireland, and inviting James the Fourth (by promise of marriage, to Christian, the King of Denmark's daughter, his niece) to enter the English borders, to busy the English king, for asking a strict account of that indignity [93].

Henry the Eighth, with Providence and good success, and by the league of Italy, in which he was made *caput fœderis* against the Emperor; he inforceth him to moderate conditions, at the treaty of Cambray, 1529 [94].

I may end your honour's trouble with this one example, and with humble prayer, that the catholic king may either have so much of princely sincerity, as not to intend the like, or my good and gracious master a jealous vigilance to prevent, if he should, &c.

ROBERT COTTON.

[85] Extract. Windosil. [86] Ex Orig. Instrum. [87] Ex Literis Rici Parl. et Joh. Russel.
[88] Extract. Madrid. 115, 26. [89] Universal. [90] Ex Rot. Comp. Russello et Pacis.
[91] Ex Instrum. Carol. V. Imp.
[92] Ex Instrum. Hen. VIII. Brian et Gardian ex literis Frenston Epicond. legat. Hen. VIII. in Hisp. ex Protestat. Orig. Toledo Parl.
[93] Ex literis Car. Wol. & Grego. Gassalis Instrum. & Sign. Carol. Imp. Quozag. Fiend. Capl. suo. Dat. 24 Feb. Ex libro n. n. n. D. Carer. Ex literis in Com. Northum. Custo. March. Scotiæ.
[94] Extract. Orig. in Archivis Westm. Extract. Cambren. 1529.

The Execution of Justice in England, for Maintenaunce of publique and Christian Peace, against certeine Stirrers of Sedition, and Adherents to the Traytours and Enemies of the Realme, without any Persecution of them for Questions of Religion[1], as is falsely reported and published by the Fautors and Fosterers of their Treasons; xvii December, 1583. Imprinted at London, 1583.

[Quarto, containing 5 Sheets, black Letter, the first Edition; though, as it appears from some Manuscript Additions and Alterations on the Title, and in other Parts of the Book, prepared a second Time for the Press, by the Author, on the 14th of January, 1583-4.]

After the Pope and his party had tried all means to soften Queen Elizabeth, and draw her Council into their snare to submit the Church of England, as in times past, to the Church of Rome, and had even condescended so far as to offer to reverse the sentence pronounced against the legality of her mother's marriage; to consent to the Common-Prayer-Book's being used in English; and that the laity might receive the communion in both kinds; for the treating about which, Pope Pius had sent a nuncio as far as Flanders: yet perceiving that these were insufficient baits to allure a Queen, who in her minority had postponed[2] her liberty to her religion, and was too well instructed in the Christian faith, to yield up the essentials for a few externals of religion; resolved at all adventures to crush her, and consequently not only raised her up enemies abroad, but exerted his power among his deceived zealots in England and Ireland, to try, if (under the form of religious obedience) he could persuade the Queen's subjects to take up arms against their lawful sovereign, and deprive her of her crown and life. Thus, in the year 1570, *Pope Pius engaged one Felton to fix a bull on the Bishop of London's Palace, declaring her subjects absolved from their allegiance, and commanding them to take arms and dethrone her, 'on pain of damnation.' Then he sent many priests, both secular, regular, and Jesuits, from time to time out of their seminaries, to corrupt the people and propagate the doctrine of his bull; and, therefore, the Queen, in just regard to our holy religion, the laws and liberties of the people, and to her own welfare, looked no longer upon those that usurped the name* Catholick, *to be only distinct members of the Christian Church, but, in her dominions, as so many rebels; and, consequently, provided laws for her own and the nation's security, in church and state, against such traitors, as under the form or name of religion maintained the rebellious doctrine of the forementioned bull, would take away her crown and life, and subject the nation to a foreign yoke. This brought on those Penal Laws, which the Papists complained of, and would persuade the world were enacted against them as Papists, and not as rebels, and in defence of which this Treatise is written.*

IT hath bene, in all ages and in all countries, a common usage of all offendors for the most part, both great and small, to make defence of their lewd and unlawfull facts by untruthes and by colouring and covering their deedes (were they never so vile) with pretences of some other causes of contrarie operations or effectes; to the intent not onely to avoid punishment or shame, but to continue, uphold, and prosecute their wicked attempts, to the full satisfaction of their disordered and malicious appetites. And though such hath bene

[1] See the Letter to Don Bernardin Mendoza, on Page 142, Vol. 1 of this Miscellany.

[2] [Or, held in less estimation: a sense in which the word *postpone* is very rarely used, though doubtless its derivative import.]

the use of all offendors, yet of none with more danger than of rebels and traitours to their lawfull princes, kinges, and countries. Of which sort, of late yeeres, are specially to be noted certeine persons naturally born subjectes in the realmes of England and Ireland, who, having for some good time[3] professed outwardly their obedience to their sovereigne lady, Queene Elizabeth, have, neverthelesse, afterward been stirred up and seduced by wicked spirites[4], first in England, sundry yeeres past, and secondly and of later times in Ireland, to enter into open rebellion, taking armes and coming into the field against her majestie and her lieutenants, with their forces under banners displayed; inducing, by notable untruthes, many simple people to followe and assist them in their traiterous actions. And, though it is very well knowen, that both their intentions and manifest actions were bent to have deposed the queene's majestie from her crowne, and to have traiterously set in her place some other whom they liked; whereby, if they had not been speedily resisted, they would have committed great bloodsheddes and slaughters of her majestie's faithful subjectes, and ruined their native countrey: yet, by God's power given unto her majestie, they were so speedily vanquished, as some few of them suffered by order of lawe, according to their deserts; many, and the greatest part, upon confession of their faultes, were pardoned; the rest (but they not many) of the principall, escaped into forreine countries, and there, (because in none or few places, rebels and traitours to their naturall princes and countries dare, for their treasons, chalenge, at their first muster, open comfort or succour,) these notable traitours and rebels have falsely informed many kinges, princes, and states, and specially the bishoppe of Rome, commonly called the Pope (from whom they all had secretely their first comfort[5] to rebell) that the cause of their fleeing from their countries was for the religion of Rome, and for maintenaunce of the said Pope's authoritie. Whereas, divers of them, before their rebellion, lived so notoriously the most part of their lives, out of all good rule, either for honest maners, or for any sense in religion, as they might have been rather familiar with Catalyn, or favourers of Sardanapalus, then accompted good subjectes under any Christian princes. As for some examples of the heads of these rebellions, out of England fled Charles Nevill, Earl of Westmorland[6], a person utterly wasted by looseness of life, and by God's punishment, even in the time of his rebellion, bereaved of his children, that should have succeeded him in the earldome, and his bodie nowe eaten with ulcers of lewde causes, (as his companions do saye,) that no enemie he hath can wish him a viler punishment: a pitiful losse to the realme of so noble a house, never before in any age attainted for disloyaltie. And out of Ireland ranne away one Tho. Stukeley[7], a defamed person almost through all Christendome, and a faithlesse beast rather than a man, fleeing first out of England for notable piracies, and out of Ireland for trecheries not pardonable, which two were the first ringleaders of the rest of the rebelles; the one for England, the other for Ireland. But notwithstanding the notorious evill and wicked lives of these and others their confederates, voide of all Christian religion; it liked the bishop of Rome, as in favour of their treasons, not to colour their offences, (as themselves openly pretend to do, for avoyding of common shame of the world,) but flatly to animate them to continue their former wicked purposes; that is, to take armes against their lawful queene, to invade her realm with forreine forces, to pursue all her good subjectes and their native countries with fire and sworde: for maintenance

[3] For the space of ten years, after Queen Elizabeth had established the Reformed Church, those, that yet adhered to the Supremacy of the Church of Rome, continued to communicate with the Church of England as by law established.

[4] Authorized by the Pope's bull to take up arms against their lawful sovereign.

[5] [i. e. countenance or support.]

[6] [This earl, having confederated with the Earl of Northumberland and Duke of Norfolk against the queen, had the luck to get safe into Flanders, where he died in 1584, and his title with him. See Bolton's Extinct Peerage.]

[7] This man, having spent his estate profusely in England, fled into Ireland; and, because the queen would nor trust him with the stewardship of Wexford, he first vented several scurrilous things against her majesty, and then fled to Italy; where, after some time, Gregory the Thirteenth, allured with the hopes of obtaining the crown of Ireland for his bastard son, gave him the command of several ships and eight-hundred Italian soldiers, and ennobled him with the titles of Marquis De Lemster, Earl of Wexford and Caterlaugh, Viscount Morough, and Baron of Ross, in the kingdom of Ireland; as if he, the Pope, had been the svereign thereof.

whereof there had some yeres before, at sundrie times, proceeded, in a thundring sort, bulles, excommunications, and other publique writings, denouncing her majestie, being the lawfull queene, and God's anoynted servant, not to be the queene of the realm; charging, and upon paines of excommunication, commanding all her subjectes, to depart from their natural alleageances, whereto by birth and by othe they were bounde. Provoking also and authorising all persons of al degrees within both the realmes to rebell; and upon this antichristian warrant, (being contrarie to all the lawes of God and man, and nothing agreeable to a pasturall officer,) not onely all the rabble of the foresaid traitors that were before fled, but also all other persons that had forsaken their native countries, being of divers conditions and qualities; some not able to live at home but in beggerie, some discontented for lacke of preferments, which they gaped for unworthily in universities and other places; some banckerupt marchants; some in a sort learned to contentions, (being not contented to learne to obey the lawes of the lande) have many yeres running up and downe, from countrey to countrey, practised some in one corner, some in an other, some with seeking to gather forces, and money for forces; some with instigation of princes, by untruethes, to make warre upon their natural countrey; some with inwarde practices to murder the Greatest; some with seditious writings, and very many of late with publique infamous libels, ful of despiteful vile termes and poisoned lyes, altogether to upholde the foresaide antichristian and tyrannous warrant of the Pope's bull. And yet also by some other meanes, to furder these intentions, because they could not readily prevayle by way of force, (finding forreine princes of better consideration and not readily inclined to their wicked purposes,) it was devised to erect up certeine schooles which they called Seminaries[8], to nourish and bring up persons disposed naturally to sedition, to continue their race and trade, and to become seedemen in their tillage of sedition, and them to send secretly into these the queene majestie's realmes of England and Ireland, under secret maskes, some of priesthood, some of other inferior orders, with titles of Seminaries; for some of the meaner sort, and of Jesuites, for the stagers and ranker sort, and such like, but yet so warely they crept into the land, as none brought the marks of their priesthoode with them; but in divers corners of her majestie's dominions these Seminaries or seedemen, and Jesuites, bringing with them certeine Romish trash, as of their hallowed waxe, their Agnus Dei[9], many kinde of beades, and such like, have as tillage-men laboured secretly to perswade the people to allowe of the Pope's foresaid bulles and warrantes, and of his absolute authoritie over all princes and countries, and striking many with prickes of conscience to obey the same; whereby in proces of small time, if this wicked and dangerous, traiterous and craftie course, had not bene by God's goodnes espied and staied, there had followed imminent danger of horrible uprores in the realmes, and a manifest blooddy destruction of great multitudes of Christians. For it cannot be denied, but that so many as shoulde have bene induced and throughly perswaded to have obeyed that wicked warrant of the Pope's, and the contents thereof, should have bene forthwith in their hearts and consciences secret traitours; and, for to be in deede errant and open traitours, there shoulde have wanted nothing but opportunitie to feele their strength, and to assemble themselves in such nombers with armour and weapons, as they might have presumed to have been the greater part, and so by open civill warre, to have come to their wicked purposes. But God's goodness, by whom kinges doe rule, and by whose blast traitours are commonly wasted and confounded, hath otherwise given to her majestie, (as to his handmayde and deare servant, ruling under him,) the spirit of wisdome and power, whereby she hath caused some of these sedicious seedemen and sowers of rebellion, to be discovered for all their secret lurkings, and to be taken and charged with these former poyntes of high-treason; not being delt withall upon questions of religion, but justly, by order of lawes, openly condemned as traitours. At

[8] See an account of these Seminaries in Vol. I. p. 437.

[9] The Agnus Dei is a composition of white wax and the powder of human bones, dug out of the catacombs, or antient burial places of the Christians at Rome. It is of the form of an oval medal with the representation of the Holy Lamb and Jesus Christ, who is styled *Agnus Dei*, or the Lamb of God, on the one side, and the Pope's effigy (who consecrated it) on the reverse. The Church of Rome ascribes many virtues to this sort of relique, and confines the touch of it to persons in orders.

which times, notwithstanding al maner of gentle wayes of persuasions used to move them to desist from such manifest traiterous courses and opinions, with offer of mercy; yet was the canker of their rebellious humors so deepely entred and graven into the hearts of many of them, as they woulde not be remooved from their traiterous determinations. And, therefore, as manifest traitours in maintayning and adhering to the[10] capitall enemy of her majestie and her crowne, who hath not only bene the cause of two rebellions alreadie passed in England and Ireland, but in that of Ireland did manifestly wage and maintaine his owne people, captaines, and soldiours, under the banner of Rome, against her majestie; so as no enemy coulde doe more: these, I say, have justly suffered death, not by force or forme of any newe lawes established, either for religion or against the Pope's supremacie, (as the slaunderous libellers would have it seeme to be,) but by the auncient temporall lawes of the realme, and namely by the lawes of parliament made in[11] King Edward the Third's time, about the yere of our Lord 1330; which is about two hundred yeres and moe past, when the Bishops of Rome and Popes were suffered to have their authoritie ecclesiastical in this realme, as they had in many other countries. But yet of this kind of offenders, as many of them as after their condemnations were contented to renounce their former traiterous assertions, so many were spared from execution[12], and doe live still at this day; such was the unwillingnes in her majestie to have any blood spilt, without this verie urgent, just, and necessary cause, proceeding from themselves[13]. And yet, neverthelesse, such of the rest of the traitours as remayne in forreyne pertes, continuing still their rebellious myndes, and craftily keeping themselves aloofe off from dangers, cease not to provoke sundry other inferiour seditious persons, newly[14] to steale secretly into the realme, to revive the former seditious practises, to the execution of the Pope's foresaid bulles against her majestie and the realme; pretending, when they are apprehended, that they came onely into the realme by the commandement of their superiours, the heads of the Jesuites, to whom they are bound (as they say) by othe against either king or countrie, and here to informe or reforme men's consciences from errors in some poynts of religion, as they shal thinke meete: but yet, in very trueth, the whole scope of their secret labours is manifestly proved to be secretly to winne all people, with whom they dare deale, so to allow of the Pope's said bulles, and of his authoritie without exception, as, in obeying thereof, they take themselves fully discharged of their alleageance, and obedience to their lawfull prince and country; yea, and to be well warranted to take armes to rebell against her majestie when they shall be thereunto called, and to be ready secretly to joyne with any forreine force that can be procured to invade the realme, whereof also they have a long time given, and yet do for their advantage, no small comfort of successe: and so consequently the effect of their labours is to bring the realme not onely into a daungerous warre against the forces of strangers, from which it hath bene free above twenty-three or twenty-four yeres, (a case very memorable and hard to be matched with an example of the like:) but into a warre domesticall and civill, wherein no blood is usually spared nor mercy yeelded, and wherein neither the vanqueror nor the vanquished can have just cause of triumph.

And, forasmuch as these are the most evident perils that necessarily should follow, if these kind of vermin were suffered to creepe by stealth into the realme, and to spreade their poyson within the same; howsoever, when they are taken, like hipocrites, they couloure and counterfeit the same, with profession of devotion in religion: it is of all persons to be yeelded in reason, that her majestie, and all her gouvernours and magistrates of justice, having care to maintaine the peace of the realme (which God hath given, in her time, to continue longer than ever in any time of her progenitors) ought of duetie to Almightie God, the author of peace, and according to the natural love and charge due to their

[10] Pope of Rome and King of Spain. [11] 25 Edward III.

[12] There were only four put to death, viz. Hanse, Nelson, Maine, and Sherwood; who were condemned and executed for publicly maintaining, that the queen was lawfully deposed by the Pope's bull. Stowe, pp. 682, 684, 685, and Camden, p. 476.

[13] See page 148, Vol. I.

[14] This refers us to Father Parsons and Edm. Campian, the two first Jesuits employed in England, to preach rebellion against the queen. Camden.

countrie, and for avoiding of the floods of blood, which, in civill warres, are seene to runne and flowe, by all lawful meanes possible, (aswell by the sword as by lawe, in their severall seasons,) to impeache and repell these so manifest, and daungerous coulourable practises, and workes of sedition and rebellion. And though there are many subjects knowen in the realme, that differ in some opinions of religion from the Church of England, and that doe also not forbeare to professe the same; yet, in that they doe also professe loyaltie and obedience to her majestie, and offer readily, in her majestie's defence, to impugne and resist any forreine force, though it should come, or be procured, from the Pope himself: none of these sort are, for their contrary opinions in religion, prosecuted, or charged with any crymes or pains of treason, nor yet willingly searched in their consciences for their contrarie opinions, that savour not of treason. And of these sorts, there have been and are a number of persons, not of such base and vulgare note as those were, which of late have bene executed; as, in particular, some by name are well knowen, and not unfit to bee remembered. The first and chiefest, by office, was D. Heth, that was Archbishop of Yorke and Lord Chaunceler of England in Queene Marie's time, who, at the first comming of her majestie to the crowne, shewing himself a faithfull and quiet subject, continued in both the sayde offices, though in religion then manifestly differing: and yet was he not restrayned of his liberty, nor deprived of his proper lands and goods; but, leaving willingly both his offices, lived in his owne house very discretely, and injoyed all his purchased lands during all his naturall life, untill, by verie age, he departed this world, and then left his house and living to his friends: an example of gentleness, never matched in Queene Marie's time. The like did one D. Poole, that had bene Bishop of Peterborough, an auncient grave person, and a verie quiet subject. There were also others that had bene bishoppes, and in great estimation, as D. Tunstall, Bishop of Duresme[15], a person of great reputation, and also whilest he lived, of verie quiet behaviour. There were also others, D. White and D. Oglethorpe, one of Winchester, the other of Carlisle, bishoppes, persons of a courteous nature; and he of Carlisle, so inclined to dutifulness to the queene's majestie, as he did the office at the consecration and coronation of hir majestie, in the church of Westminster; and D. Thurleby and D. Watson, yet living, one of Ely, the other of Lincolne, bishoppes, not pressed with any capitall payne, though they maintayned the Pope's authority against the lawes of the realme: and some abbots, as M. Feckman, yet living, a person also of quiet and courteous behaviour for a great time. Some also were deanes, as D. Boxall, Deane of Windsore, a person of great modestie, lerning, and knowledge; D. Cole, Deane of Paules, a person more earnest then discrete; D. Reinolds, Dean of Exceter, and not unlerned; and many such others, having borne office and dignities in the church, and that made profession against the Pope, which they only began in Queen Marie's time to change; yet were these never, to this day, burdened with capitall peanes, nor yet deprived of any their goods or proper liveloods[16], but only removed from their ecclesiasticall offices, which they would not exercise according to the lawes. And most of them, and many other of their sort, for a great time, were retayned in bishoppes houses in very civill and courteous maner, without charge to themselves or their friends, untill the time that the Pope began, by his bulles and messages, to offer trouble to the realme, by stirring of rebellion. About which time onely, some of these aforenamed, being found busier in matters of state, tending to stirre troubles, then was meete for the common quiet of the realme, were removed to other more private places; where such other wanderers, as were men knowen to move sedition, might be restrained from common resorting to them, to increase trouble, as the Pope's bull gave manifest occasion to doubt; and yet, without charging them in their consciences, or otherwise, by any inquisition, to bring them into danger of any capital law, so as no one was called to any capital or bloody question, upon matters of religion, but have all injoyed their life, as the course of nature woulde. And such of them as yet remayne, may (if they will not be authors or instruments of rebellion or sedition) injoye the time that God and nature shall yeelde them, without danger of life or member. And yet it is worthy to be

[15] *al.* Durham. [16] [Livelihoods.]

well marked, that the chiefest of all these, and the most of them, had, in the time of King Henrie the Eight and King Edward the Sixt, either by preaching, writing, reading, or arguing, taught all people to condemne, yea, to abhorre the authoritie of the Pope. For which purpose, they had many times given their othes publiquely, against the Pope's authoritie, and had also yelded to both the said kinges the title of 'supreame Head of the Church of England, next under Christ;' which title, the adversaries doe most falsly write and affirm, that the queene's majestie doeth nowe use: a manifest lie and untrueth, to be sene by the verie acts of parliament; and, at the beginning of her raigne, omitted in her style. And, for proofe that these foresaide bishoppes and learned men had so long time disavowed the Pope's authoritie, many of their bookes and sermons against the Pope's authoritie remayne printed, both in English and Latine; to be seene in these times, to their great shame and reproofe, to change so often, but specially in persecuting such as themselves had taught and stablished to hold the contrary, a sinne nere to the sinne against the Holy Ghost.

There were also, and yet be, a great nomber of others, being laymen of good possessions and lands, men of good credite in their countries, manifestly of late time seduced to hold contrary opinions in religion, for the Pope's authoritie; and yet none of them have bene sought hitherto to be impeached in any poynt, or quarrel of treason, or of losse of life, member, or inheritance; so as it may plainely appear, that it is not, nor hath bene, for contrarious opinions in religion, or for the Pope's authoritie alone, (as the adversaries doe boldely and falsly publish,) that any persons have suffered death since her majestie's reigne; and yet some of these sort are well knowen to holde opinion, 'that the Pope 'ought, by authoritie of God's worde, to be supreame and onely head of the Catholique 'Church through the whole world, and onely to rule in al causes ecclesiasticall;' and that 'the queene's majestie ought not to be the governour over any of her subjectes in her 'realme, being persons ecclesiasticall:' which opinions are, neverthelesse, in some part, by the lawes of the realme, punishable in these degrees; and yet, for none of these poyntes, have any persons bene prosecuted with the charge of treason, or in danger of life. And if then it be inquired, for what cause these others have of late suffered death, it is truely to be answered, as afore is often remembered, that none at all were impeached for treason, to the danger of their life, but such as did obstinately maintaine the contents[17] of the Pope's bull, afore-mentioned, which do import,

1. That her majestie is not the lawfull Queene of England; the first and highest poynt of treason: And,

2. That al her subjectes are discharged of their othes and obedience; another high poynt of treason: And,

3. All warranted to disobey her and her lawes; a third and a very large poynt of treason. And thereto is to be added,

4. A fourth poynt most manifest, in that they would not disalow the Pope's hostile proceedings in open warres against her majestie in her realme of Ireland; where one of their companie, D. Sanders (a lewde scholler and subject of England, a fugitive and a principall companion and conspirator with the traitours and rebels at Rome,) was, by the Pope's speciall commission, a commaunder as in forme of a legate, and sometimes a treasorer or paymaster for those warres; which D. Sanders, in his book of his Church-monarchie, did, afore his passing into Ireland, openly, by writing, gloriously avowe the foresaid bull of Pius Quintus against her majestie, to be lawfull; and affirmeth, that by vertue thereof one D. Moreton, an olde English fugitive and conspirator, was sent from Rome, into the North Parts of England, to stirre up the first rebellion there; whereof Charles Neuill, the late Earle of Westmerland, was a head captaine. And thereby it may manifestly appeare to all men, howe this bull was the grounde of the rebellions both in England and Ireland; and howe, for maintenaunce thereof and for sowing of sedition by warrant, and allowance of the same, these persons were justly condemned of treason, and lawfully executed by the

[17] Four points of treason.

auncient lawes temporall of the realme, without charging them for any other matter, than for their practizes and conspiracies both abroad and at home, against the queen and the realme; and for maintaining of the Pope's aforesaid authoritie and bull, published to deprive her majestie of her crowne; and for withdrawing and reconciling of her subjectes from their natural allegeaunce due to her majestie and their countrie, and for moving them to sedition. And, for no other causes or questions of religion, were these persons condemned; although true it is, that, when they were charged and convinced of these poynts of conspiracies and treasons, they woulde still, in their answeres, colourably pretend their actions to have bene for religion: but, in deede and trueth, they were manifested to be for the procurement and maintenaunce of the rebellions and warres against her majestie and her realme.

And herein is nowe the manifest diversitie to be seene and well considered, betwixt the trueth of her majestie's actions, and the falshood of the blasphemous adversaries: That where the factious partie of the Pope (the principall author of the invasions of her majestie's dominions) doe falsely alleadge, that a nomber of persons whome they terme as martyrs, have dyed for defence of the Catholique religion, the same in very trueth may manifestly appeare to have died (if they so wil have it) as martyrs for the Pope, (but yet as traitours to their soveraigne and Queene,) in adhearing to him; being the notable and onely open hostile enemie, in all actions of warre against her majestie, her kingdomes, and people. And that this is the meaning of all these that have so obstinately mantayned the authoritie and contents of this bull, the very wordes of the bull do declare in this sort, as Dr. Sanders reporteth them.

Pius Quintus Pontifex Maximus, de Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, declaravit Elizabetham prætenso regni jure, necnon omni & quocunque dominio, dignitate, privilegioq; privatam: itemq; proceres, subditos & populos dicti regni, ac cæteros omnes qui illi quomodocunque juraverunt, à juramento hujusmodi ac omni fidelitatis debito, perpetuò absolutos: That is to say, 'Pius Quintus, the greatest bishop, of the fulnesse of the Apos-'tolique power, declared Elizabeth to be bereved or deprived of her pretended right of 'her kingdome, and also of all and whatsoever dominion, dignitie and privilege; and also 'the nobles, subjectes, and people of the saide kingdome, and all others, which had sworne 'to her any maner of wayes, to be absolved for ever from such othe, and from all debt 'or duetie of fealtie, and so forth:' with many threatning cursings, to al that durst obey her of her lawes. And for the execution hereof, to prove that the effect of the Pope's bull and message was a flat rebellion, it is not amisse to heare what the same D. Sanders, the Pope's firebrand in Ireland, also writeth in his visible Church-monarchie, which is thus:

Pius Quintus Pontifex Maximus, Anno Dom. 1569, *reverendum presbyterum Nicolaum Mortonum Anglum in Angliam misit, ut certis illustribus viris authoritate Apostolicâ denunciaret, Elizabetham, quæ tunc rerum potiebatur, hæreticam esse: ob eamq; causam omni dominio et potestate excedisse, impuneq; ab illis velut ethnicam haberi posse, nec eos illius legibus aut mandatis deinceps obedire cogi:* That is to say, 'Pius Quintus, 'the greatest bishop, in the yere of our Lord 1569, sent the reverend priest Nicholas 'Morton, an Englishman, into England, that he should denounce or declare by the Apos-'tolique authority to certaine noblemen, Elizabeth, who then was in possession of the 'crown, to be an heretike: and for that cause, to have fallen from all dominion and power, 'and that she may be had or reputed of them as an ethnike[18], and that they are not to be 'compelled to obey her lawes or commandements,' &c.

Thus you see an ambassade of rebellion from the Pope's Holines, the ambassadour, an old doting English priest, a fugitive and conspirator, sent (as he saith) to some noblemen; and those were the two Earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, heads of the rebellion.

[18] Or heathen.

And, after this, he followeth to declare the successe thereof (which I dare say he was sory it wasso evil) with these words:

Quâ denunciatione multi nobiles viri adducti sunt, ut de fratribus liberandis cogitare auderent, ac sperabant illi quidem Catholicos omnes summis veribus affuturos esse: verùm etsi aliter quàm illi expectabant res evenit, (quia Catholici omnes nondum probè cognoverunt, Elizabetham hæreticam esse declaratam,) tamen laudanda illorum nobilium consilia erant: That is, 'By which denunciation, many noblemen were induced or ledde, 'that they were boldened to thinke of the freeing of their brethren, and they hoped cer-'tainly that all the Catholiques would have assisted them with all their strength: but 'although the matter happened otherwise then they hoped for, (because all the Catho-'liques knewe not that Elizabeth was declared to be an heretike,) yet the counsels and 'intentes of those noblemen were to be praysed.' A rebellion and a vanquishing of rebels very smoothly described.

This noble fact here mentioned was the rebellion in the North: the noblemen were the Earles of Northumberland and Westmerland: the lacke of the event or success was, that the traitours were vanquished, and the queene's majestie and her subjectes had by God's ordinance the victorie: and the cause, why the rebels prevayled not was, because all the Catholiques had not bene duely informed that the queene's majestie was declared to be (as they terme it) an heretike. Which want of information, to the intent to make the rebels mightier in nomber and power, was diligently and cunningly supplyed, by the sending into the realme of a great multitude of the Seminaries[19] and Jesuites, whose special charge was to informe the people thereof, as by their actions hath manifestly appeared.

And though D. Sanders hath thus written, yet it may be said by such as favoured the two notable Jesuites, one named Robert Persons (who yet hideth himself in corners to continue his traiterous practise), the other named Edmond Campion (that was found out, being disguised like a roister, and suffered for his treasons), that D. Sanders's treason is his proper treason in allowing of the sayde bull, and not to be imputed to Persons and Campion. Therefore, to make it plaine that these two, by speciall authoritie, had charge to execute the sentence of this bull, these actes in writing following shall make manifest; which are not fayned or imagined, but are verie writings taken about one of their complyces, immediately after Campion's death, although Campion, before his death[20], would not be knowen of any such matter; whereby it may appeare what trust is to be given to the wordes of such pseudo-martyrs.

Facultates concessæ pp. Roberto Personio *et* Edmundo Campiano, *pro Angliâ, die* 14. *Aprilis,* 1580.

PETATUR, à summo Domino nostro, explicatio bullæ declaratoriæ per Pium Quintum, contra Elizabetham, et ei adhærentes, quam Catholici cupiunt intelligi hoc modo, ut obliget semper illam et hæreticos, Catholicos verò nullo modo obliget rebus sic stantibus, sed tum demum quando publica ejusdem bullæ executio fieri poterit.

Then followed manie other petitions of faculties for their further authorities, which are not needefull for this purpose to be recited: But, in the end, followeth this sentence, as an answere of the Pope's, *Has prædictas gratias concessit summus Pontifex patri Roberto Personio, et Edmundo Campiano, in Angliam profecturis, die* 14. *Aprilis,* 1580. *Præsente patre Oliverio Manarco assistente.*

The English of which Latten sentences is, as followeth.

[19] When put with Jesuits, properly signifies Secular Priests, in opposition to Jesuits.

[20] He was tried upon the Treason-Act, 25 Edward the Third, and convicted of endeavouring to stir up rebellion, and of obstinately maintaining that the queen was lawfully deposed; and, at the same time, for the same crime, Ralph Sherwin, Luke Kirby, and Alexander Brian, were executed. Before which time (1581), no more than five Papists had been put to death in this reign. Camden.

Faculties graunted to the two Fathers Robert Persons and Edmund Campion, for England, the 14. Day of April, 1580.

'LET it be asked, or required, of our most holy Lorde, the explication, or meaning, 'of the bull declaratory made by Pius the Fifth against Elizabeth, and such as do adheare 'or obey her; which bull the Catholiques desire to be understood in this manner, that 'the same bull shall alwayes binde her and the heretikes, but the Catholiques it shall by 'noe meanes bind, as matters or thinges doe now stande or be; but hereafter, when the 'publique execution of that bull may be had or made.'

Then, in the end, the conclusion was thus added:

'The highest pontiffe, or bishoppe, graunted these foresaid graces to Father Robert 'Persons and Edmonde Campion, who are nowe to take their journeyes into England, 'the fourteenth day of Aprill, in the yere of our Lorde 1580. Being present, the father 'Oliverius Manarke assistant.'

Hereby is it manifest, what authorite Campion had to impart the contents of the bull against the queene's majestie, (howsoever he himselfe denyed the same,) for this was his errand.

And though it be manifest that these two Jesuits, Persons and Campion, not only required to have the Pope's minde declared for the bull, but also, in their own petitions, shewed howe they and other Catholiques did desire to have the sayd bull to be understood against the queene of Englande. Yet, (to make the matter more plaine,) howe all other Jesuites and seminaries; yea, howe al Papists (naming themselves Catholiques) doe or are warranted to interpret the saide bull against her majestie and her good subjects, howsoever they will disguise it, you shall see what one of their fellowes, named Hart, who was condemned with Campion and yet lyveth, did (amongst many other thinges) declare his knowledge thereof, the last of December, in the same yere, 1580, in these wordes following.

'The bull of Pius Quintus (for so much as it is against the queene) is holden among 'the English Catholiques for a lawful sentence, and a sufficient discharge of her sub-'jectes fidelity, and so remayneth in force; but, in some poynts touching the subjectes, 'it is altered by the present Pope. For, where in that bull all her subjectes are com-'manded not to obey her, and shee being excommunicate and deposed, all that do obey 'her are likewise innodate and accursed; which poynt is perillous to the Catholiques. For, 'if they obey her, they be in the Pope's curse; and if they disobey her, they are in the 'queene's danger; therefore the present Pope, to relieve them, hath altered that 'part of the bull, and dispenced with them to obey and serve her, without peril of 'excommunication; which dispensation is to endure, but till it please the Pope otherwise 'to determine.'

Wherefore, to make some conclusion of the matters before mencioned, all persons (both within the realme and abroade) may playnely perceive, that all the infamous libels lately published abroade in sundrie languages, and the slanderous reportes made in other princes' courtes of a multitude of persons, to have bene of late put to torments and death, onely for profession of the Catholique religion, and not for matters of state against the queene's majestie, are false and shameles; and published to the maintenaunce of traitours and rebelles. And to make the matter seeme more horrible or lamentable, they recite the particular names of all the persons, which, by their own catalogue, exceed not for these twenty-five yeeres space, above the number of threescore; forgetting, or rather (with their stone and senseless heartes) not regarding, in what cruel sort, in the tyme of Queene Marie, which little exceeded the space of five yeeres, (the queene's majestie's raigne being five times as many [21],) there were by im-

[21] In the two first years only of her persecution, which began in 1555, eight-hundred were put to death. Rapin, vol. II. p. 48. fol. And it is generally acknowledged, that she burnt at the stake five bishops, twenty-one divines, eight gentlemen, eighty-four artificers, one hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers,

prisonment, torments, famyne, and fire, of men, women, maidens, and children, almost the number of foure-hundred, beside such as were secretly murdered in prisons: and of that number, above twenty that had bene archbishoppes, bishoppes, and principal prelates or officers in the church, lamentably destroyed; and of women above threescore, and of children above fourtie, and amongst the women some great with child, and one out of whose bodye the child by fire was expelled alive, and yet also cruelly burned: examples beyond all heathen cruelty[22]. And most of the youth that then suffered cruel death, both men, women, and children (which is to be noted) were such, as had never by the sacrament of baptisme, or by confirmation, professed, nor was ever taught or instructed, or ever had hearde of any other kinde of religion, but onely of that which by their blood and death, in the fire, they did as true martyrs testifie. A matter of another sort to be lamented, in Christian charity, with simplicity of words and not with puffed eloquence, then the execution in this time of a very fewe traytors, who also, in their time, if they exceeded thirtie yeres of age, had in their baptisme professed, and in their youth had learned the same religion which they now so bitterly oppugned. And, beside that, in their opinions they differ much from the martyrs of Queen Marie's time: for though they which suffered in Queene Marie's time continued in the profession of the religion wherein they were christened, and as they were perpetually taught, yet they never at their death denied their lawful queene, nor maintained any of her open and forreine enemies, nor procured any rebellion or civill warre, nor did sowe any sedition in secret corners, nor withdrewe any subjectes from their obedience as these sworne servants of the pope have continually done.

And therefore, all these thinges well considered, there is no doubt but all good subjectes within the realme doe manifestly see, and all wavering persons (not being led cleane out of the way by the seditious) will hereafter perceive, how they have bene abused to go astray. And all strangers, but specially al Christian potentates, as emperours, kinges, princes, and such like, having their sovereign estates either in succession hereditarie, or by consent of their people, being acquainted with the very trueth of these her majestie's late just and necessarie actions, only for defence of herselfe, her crowne, and people, against open invadors; and for eschewing of civill warres, stirred up by rebellion; will allow in their owne like cases, for a trueth and rule (as it is not to be doubted but the will) that it belongeth not to a bishoppe of Rome, as successour to Saint Peter, and therein a pastor spiritual; or if hee were the bishoppe of all Christendome; as by the name of Pope he claymeth, first by his bulles or excommunications, in this sort at his will, in favour of traytours and rebels, to depose any soveraigne princes, being lawfully invested in their crownes by succession in blood or by lawfull election; and then to arme subjectes against their naturall lordes; to make warres, and to dispense with them for their othes in so doing; or to excommunicate faithfull subjectes, for obeying of their natural princes; and lastly, himselfe to make open warre with his owne soldiours, against princes moving no force against him.

For, if these high tragicall powers shoulde be permitted to him to exercise, then shoulde no empire, no kingdome, no countrey, no citie, or towne, be possessed by any lawfull title, longer then one such onely an earthly man, sitting (as he saith) in St. Peter's chaire at Rome, should for his will and appetite (without any warrant from God or man) thinke meete and determine: an authoritie never challenged by the Lorde of Lordes, the Sonne of God, Jesus Christ, our onely Lord and Saviour, and the onely head of his church whilest he was in his humanitie upon the earth: nor yet delivered by any

twenty-six wives, twenty widows, nine virgins, two boys, and two infants, besides sixty-four more, who being persecuted for their religion, seven of them were whipt, sixteen perished in prison, and twelve more buried in dunghills. Burnet, Strype, Heylin. Speed, p. 826.

[22] Especially if we recollect, that, by proclamation, she declared them rebels, and ordered them to be executed, without delay, by martial law, whoever were found reading an heretical book, and would not burn it. And she expressly forbad to pray for those who were executed, or even to say, 'God help them;' which shewed, that it was not the conversion, but the destruction, of these she called hereticks she desired.

writing or certaine tradition from Saint Peter, from whome the Pope pretendeth to derive all his authoritie; nor yet from Saint Paul, the apostle of the Gentiles; but, contrariwise, by all preachings, preceptes, and writings, conteined in the gospel and other scriptures of the apostles, obedience is expresly commaunded to all earthly princes; yea, even to kings by speciall name, and that so generally, as no person is excepted from such duetie of obedience, as by the sentence of Saint Paul, even to the Romanes, appeareth, *Omnis anima sublimioribus potestatibus sit subdita;* that is, 'Let every soul be subject to the higher powers[23]:' within the compasse of which law or precept, Saint Chrisostome (being bishoppe of Constantinople) writeth, that even apostles, prophets, evangelists, and monkes are comprehended. And for proofe of Saint Peter's minde herein, from whome these Popes claime their authoritie, it cannot be plainlyer expressed, then when he writeth[24] thus: *Proinde subjecti estote cuivis humanæ ordinationi, propter Dominum, sive regi, ut qui superemineat, sive præsidibus, ab eo missis:* that is, 'Therefore be ye subject to every humane ordinance or creature, for the Lorde; whether it be to the king, as to him that his supereminent or above the rest, or to his presidents sent by him.' By which two principal apostles of Christ, these Popes (the pretended successours,) but chiefely by that which Christ, the Sonne of God, the onely master of trueth, sayde to Peter and his fellow apostles, *Reges gentium dominantur, vos autem non sic:* that is, 'The kings of the Gentiles have rule over them, but you not so;' may learn to forsake their arrogant and tyrannous authorities in earthly and temporal causes over kings and princes, and exercise their pastorall office, as Saint Peter was charged thrise at one time by his Lorde and Master, *Pasce oves meas,* 'Feed my sheepe,' and peremptorily forbidden to use a sworde, in saying to him, *Converte gladium tuum in locum suum,* or *mitte gladium tuum in vaginam:* that is, 'Turne thy sword into his place; *or,* put thy sworde into the scabbard.' All which preceptes of Christ and his apostles were duely followed and observed many hundred yeres after their death, by the faithfull and godly bishoppes of Rome, that duely followed the doctrine and humilitie of the apostles, and the doctrine of Christ, and were holy martyrs, and thereby dilated the limittes of Christ's church and the fayth, more in the compasse of an hundred yeres, then the latter Popes have done with their swordes and curses these 500 yeres, and so continued until the time of one Pope Hildebrand, otherwise called Gregory the Seventh, about the yere of our Lorde 1074; who first beganne to usurpe that kinde of tyrannie, which of late the Pope, called Pius Quintus, and since that time, Gregory, now the Thirteenth, hath followed, for some example, as it seemeth; that is, where Gregory the Seventh (in the yere of our Lorde 1074, or thereabout,) presumed to depose Henry the Fourth, a noble emperour, then being, Gregory the Thirteenth, (now at this time) would attempt the like against King Henry the Eighte's daughter and heire, Queene Elizabeth, a soveraigne and a maiden queene, holding her crowne immediately of God. And to the ende it may appeare to princes, or to their good counsellours, in one example, what was the fortunate successe that God gave to this good Christian emperour Henry against the proud Pope Hildebrand; it is to be noted, that, when the Pope Gregory attempted to depose this noble emperour Henry, there was one Rodulphe a nobleman (by some named the Count of Reenfield,) that, by the Pope's procurement, usurped the name of the emperour, who was overcome by the sayde Henry the lawfull emperour, and in fight having lost his right-hand; he, the said Rodulphe, lamented his case to certayne bishoppes, who, in the Pope's name, had erected him up; and to them he said, "that the selfe same right-hande, which he had lost, was the same hande wherewith he had before sworne obedience to his lorde and master the Emperour Henry, and that, in following their ungodly counselles, he had brought upon him God's heavy and just judgementes." And so Henry the Emperour, prevailing by God's power, caused Gregory the Pope, by a synode in Italy, to be deposed; as in like times before him his predecessour Otho, the Emperour, had deposed one Pope John, for many heynous crimes.

[23] Rom. xiii. 1. [24] 1 Peter ii. 13, 14.

And so were also, within a short time, three other Popes, namely Silvester, Bennet, and Gregory the Sixt, used by the Emperour Henry the Third, about the yere of our Lord 1047; for their like presumptuous attemptes in temporall actions against the said emperours. Many other examples might be shewed to the emperour's majestie, and the princes of the Holy Empire nowe being, after the time of Henry the Fourth: as of Henry the Fifth, and after him of Fredericke the First, and Frederick the Second, and then of Lewis of Bavar, all emperours, cruelly and tyrannously persecuted by the Popes, and by their bulles, curses, and by open warres; and likewise to many other, the great kinges and monarches of Christendome, of their noble progenitors, kinges of their severall dominions; whereby they may see how this kind of tyrannous authoritie in Popes to make warres upon emperours and kinges, and to commaund them to be deprived, toke holde at the first by Pope Hildebrande, though the same never had any lawefull example or warrant from the lawes of God of the Olde or Newe Testament: but yet the successes of their tyrannies were by God's goodnesse for the most parte made frustrate; as by God's goodnesse, there is no doubt but the like will followe to their confusions at all times to come.

And therefore, as there is no doubt, but the like violent tyrannous proceedings by any Pope in maintenaunce of traitours and rebels, would be withstoode by every soveraigne prince in Christendome, in defence of their persons and crownes and maintenaunce of their subjectes in peace; so is there at this present a like just cause that the emperour's majestie, with the princes of the Holy Empire, and all other soveraigne kinges and princes in Christendome, should judge the same to be lawfull for her majestie being a queene, and holding the very place of a king and a prince soveraigne over divers kingdomes and nations, she being also most lawfully invested in her crowne, and as for good governing of her people, with such applause and generall allowance, loved, and obeyed of them, (saving a few ragged traitours or rebels, or persons discontented, whereof no other realme is free,) as continually for these twenty-five yeres past hath bene notably seene and so publiquely marked, even by strangers repairing into this realme, as it were no cause of disgrace to any monarchie and king in Christendome, to have her majestie's felicitie compared with any of theirs whatsoever: and it may be, there are many kinges and princes coulde be well contented with the fruition of some proportion of her felicitie. And though the Popes be nowe suffered by the emperour, in the landes of his owne peculiar patrimonie, and by the two great monarches, the French king and the king of Spaine, in their dominions and territories (although by many other kinges not so allowed) to continue his authoritie in sundrie cases, and his glorious title to be the universall bishop of the worlde, (which title Gregorie the Great above nine hundred yeres past, called a prophane title, full of sacrilege, and a preamble of Antichrist;) yet in all their dominions and kingdomes, as also in the realme of Englande, most notably by many auncient lawes it is well knowen, how many wayes the tyrannous power of this his excessive authoritie hath bene and still is restrained, checked, and limitted, by lawes and pragmatiques, both auncient and newe, both in Fraunce, Spaine, and other dominions; a very large fielde for the lawyers of those countries to walke in and discourse. And howsoever the Pope's canonistes (being as his bombarders) doe make his excommunications and curses appeare fearefull to the multitude and simple people; yet all great emperours and kings aforetime, in their owne cases, of their rightes and royall pre-eminences, though the same concerned but a citie or a poore towne, and sometime, but the not allowance of some unworthie person to a bishopricke or to an abbey, never refrayned to despise all Popes' curses or forces, but attempted alwayes, eyther by their swordes to compell them to desist from their furious actions, or without any fear of themselves, in body, soule, or conscience, stoutly to withstande their curses, and that sometyme by force, sometyme by ordinances and lawes; the auncient histories whereof are too many to be repeated, and of none more frequent and effectual then of the kings of Fraunce; and, in the records of England doth appear, how stoutly the kinges and the baronage of England from age to age, by extreme penall lawes have so repelled the Pope's

usurpations; as, with the very name of premunires, his proctors have bene terrified, and his clergy have quaked, as of late Cardinall Wolsey did prove. But, leaving those that are auntient, we may remember howe (in this our owne present or late age) it hath bene manifestly seene, how the army of the late noble emperour Charles the Fift (father of King Philippe, that nowe reigneth,) was not afrayde of his curses, when in the yere of our Lorde 1527 Rome itselfe was besieged and sacked, and the Pope then called Clement, and his cardinals, to the number of about thirty-three, (in his Mount Adrian or Castell S. Angelo,) taken prisoners and deteined seven moneths or more, and after ransomed by Don Ugo di Moncada, a Spaniarde, and the Marques of Guasto, at above foure hundred million of ducates; besides the ransomes of his cardinalls, which was much greater, having not long before time bene also, notwithstanding his curses, besieged in the same castell by the familie of the colonies and their fautors, his next neighbours being then Imperialistes, and forced to yeelde to all their demaunds. Neither did King Henry the Seconde of France (father to Henry nowe King of Fraunce, about the yeere 1550,) feare or regard the Pope or his court of Rome, when he made several straight edictes against many partes of the Pope's claymes in prejudice of the crowne and clergie of Fraunce; retracting the authoritie of the court of Rome, greatly to the hinderance of the Pope's former profites. Neither was the army of King Philip nowe of Spaine (whereof the Duke of Alva was general) stricken with any feare of cursing, when it was brought afore Rome against the Pope, in the yere of our Lord 1555; where great destruction was made by the said army, and all the delicate buyldings, gardens, and orchardes next to Rome, walles overthrown, wherewith his holinesse was more terrified, then he was able to remove with any of his curses. Neither was Queene Mary, the queene's majestie's late sister, (a person not a little devoted to the Romane religion,) so afraid of the Pope's cursings, but that both she and her whole counsel, and that with the assent of all the judges of the realme, according to the auncient lawes, in favour of Cardinall Poole her kinsman, did most straightly forbid the entrie of his bulles, and of a cardinall-hatte at Callis, that was sent from the Pope for one Frier Peyto, an observant pleasent frier, whom the Pope had assigned to bee a cardinall in disgrace of Cardinall Poole [25]; neither did Cardinall Poole himselfe at the same time obey the Pope's commandements, nor shewed himselfe afraid, being assisted by the queene, when the Pope did threaten him with paine of curses and excommunication; but did still oppose himselfe against the Pope's commandement, for the saide pretended Cardinall Peyto; who, notwithstanding all the threatenings of the Pope, was forced to goe up and downe in the streets of London like a begging frier[26], without his red hatt: a stout resistance in a queene for a poore cardinall's hatte, wherein she followed the example of her grandfather King Henrie the Seventh, for a matter of allum, wherein the king used very great severitie against the Pope. So as, howsoever the Christian kings (for some respects in pollicie) can endure the Pope to commande, where no harm nor disadvantage groweth to themselves; yet sure it is, and the Popes are not ignorant, but where they shall in any sort attempt to take from Christian princes any part of their dominions, or shall give ayde to their enemies, or to any other their rebels; in those cases, their bulles, their curses, their excommunications, their sentences, and most solemne anathematicals, no, nor their crosse keys, or double-edged sword, will serve their turnes to compasse their intentions.

And now, where the Pope hath manifestly by his bulles and excommunications attempted as much as he could, to deprive her majestie of her kingdomes; to withdrawe from her the obedience of her subjects; to procure rebellions in her realmes; yea, to make both rebellions and open warres with his owne captaines, soldiours, banners, ensignes, and all other thinges belonging to warre: shall this Pope Gregory, or any other

[25] Because Q. Mary had declared war against France, which the Pope thought Pole might have prevented.

[26] For the queene let him know, that if he accepted thereof without her leave, or pretended to exercise any papal jurisdiction in her dominions, without her permission, she would bring him within the statute of premunire; so that he never went to Calais to fetch his bulls and his hat. See Burnet, tom. 3. p. 411. Collect.

Pope after him, think that a soveraigne queene, possessed of the two realmes of England and Ireland, (stablished so many yeres in her kingdomes as three or foure Popes have sit in their chayre at Rome,) fortyfied with so much dutie, love, and strength of her subjectes, acknowledging no superiour over her realmes, but the mightie hand of God: shall she forbeare, or feare to withstand and make frustrate his unlawful attempts, eyther by her sword or by her lawes, or to put his souldiers (invadours of her realme) to the sword martially; or to execute her lawes upon her owne rebellious subjectes civilly, that are prooved to be his chief instruments for rebellion, and for his open warre? This is sure; that whosoever either be sitting in his chaire, with a triple crowne at Rome, or any other his proctors in any part of Christendome, shall renewe these unlawful attemptes, Almightie God, the King of Kinges, (whome her majestie onely honoureth and acknowledgeth to be her Soveraigne Lord and Protector, and whose lawes and gospel of his Sonne Jesus Christ she seeketh to defend,) will no doubt, but deliver sufficient power into his mayden's hand, his servant Queene Elizabeth, to withstand and confound them all.

And where the seditious trumpetters of infamies and lies have sounded forth and entituled certaine that have suffered for treason, to be martyrs for religion; so may they also at this time (if they list) adde to their forged catalogue the headless bodie of the late miserable Earl of Desmonde, the head of the Irish Rebellion, who, of late, secretly wandering without succour, as a miserable begger, was taken by one of the Irishry in his caben, and (in an Irish sort) after his owne accustomed savage maner, his head cut off from his bodie; an end due to such an arch rebell. And, herewith to remember the ende of his chief confederates, may be noted, for example to others, the strange maner of the death of D. Sanders the Pope's Irish legat, who also, wandering in the mountaines in Ireland without succour, died raving in a phrensey. And before him one James Fitz-Morice, the first traitor of Ireland next to Stukely the rakehel, a man not unknowen in the Pope's palace for a wicked crafty traytour, was slain at one blow by an Irish noble yong gentleman, in defence of his father's countrey-seat, which the traitour sought to burn. A fourth man of singular note was John Desmonde, brother to the Earl, a very bloody and faithles traitour, and a notable murderer of his familiar friendes; who also, wandering to seeke some pray like a wolfe in the woods, was taken and beheaded after his own usage, being as he thought sufficiently armed with the Pope's bulles and certaine Agnus Dei, and one notable ring with a precious stone about his necke sent from the Pope's finger, (as it was said); but these he saw saved not his life.

And such were the fatal ends of all these, being the principal heads of the Irish war and rebellion, so as no one person remaineth at this day in Ireland a known traitour; a work of God and not of man! To this nomber, they may if they seek nomber, also adde a furious young man of Warwickshire, by name Somerville, to increase their kalender of the Pope's martyrs; who of late was discovered and taken in his way, coming with a full intent to have killed her majestie (whose life God alwayes have in his custodie!) The attempt not denied by the traitour himselfe, but confessed; and that he was moved thereto in his wicked spirit, by inticements of certaine seditious and traiterous persons his kinsmen and allies, and also by often reading of sundrie seditious vile books lately published against her majestie, and his end was in desperation to strangle himself to death: an example of God's severitie against such as presume to offer violence to his annoynted! But as God of his goodness hath of long time hitherto preserved her majestie from these and the like trecheries; so hath she no cause to feare being under his protection, she saying with King David in the psalme, 'My God is my helper, and I will trust 'in him; he is my protection, and the strength, or the power of my salvation.' And for the more comfort of al good subjectes against the shadowes of the Pope's bulles, it is manifest to the world, that, from the beginning of her majestie's reigne, by God's singular goodnes, her kingdome hath enjoyed more universall peace; her people increased in more nombers, in more strength, and with greater riches; the earth of her kingdomes hath yeelded more fruits; and generally all kind of wordly felicitie hath more abounded

since and during the time of the Pope's thunders, bulles, curses, and maledictions, then in any other long times before, when the Pope's pardons and blessings came yerely into the realme: so as his curses and maledictions have turned backe to himselfe and his fautors, that it may be said to the blessed Queene of England, Elizabeth, and her people, as was said in Deuteronomy of Balaam: 'The Lord thy God would not heare Balaam, but did turn his maledictions or curses into benedictions or blessings;' the reason is, for 'because thy God loved thee.'

Although these former reasons are sufficient to perswade all kind of reasonable persons to allow of her majestie's actions to be good, reasonable, lawfull, and necessarie; yet because it may be, that such as have by frequent reading of false artificiall libels, and by giving credite to them, upon a prejudice or forejudgment afore grounded, by their rooted opinions in favour of the Pope, will rest unsatisfied: Therefore, as much as may be, to satisfie all persons (as far foorth as common reason may warrant) that her majestie's late action, in executing of certain seditious traitours, hath not proceeded for the holding of opinions, either for the Pope's supremacie, or against her majestie's regalitie, but for the very crymes of sedition and treason, it shall suffice briefly, in a manner of a repetition of the former reasons, to remember these thinges following:

First, it cannot be denied, but that her majestie did, for many yeres, suffer quietly the Pope's bulls and excommunications without punishment of the fautors thereof, accompting of them but as words or winde, or of writings in parchment wayed downe with leade, or as of water-bubbles, commonly called in Latine *Bullæ*, and such like; but yet, after some proofe that courage was taken thereof by some bolde and bad subjectes, she coulde not but then esteeme them to be verie preambles, or as forerunners of greater danger; and, therefore, with what reason coulde any mislike, that her majestie did, for a bare defence against them, without other action or force, use the helpe of reviving of former lawes, to prohibit the publication or execution of such kinde of bulles within her realme.

Secondly, When notwithstanding the prohibition by her lawes, the same bulles were plentifully (but in secret sort) brought into the realme, and at length arrogantly set upon the gates of the Bishop of London's pallace, neere to the cathedrall Church of Paul's, the principal citie of the realme, by a lewd person, using the same like a herald sent from the Pope; who can in any common reason mislike, that her majestie, finding this kinde of denunciation of warre, as a defiance to be made in her principal citie by one of her subjectes, avowing and obstinately maintaining the same, should, according to justice, cause the offender to have the reward due to such a fact? And this was the first action of any capitall punishment inflicted for matter sent from Rome to move rebellion, which was after her majestie had reigned about the space of twelve yeres or more; a time sufficient to prove her majestie's patience.

Thirdly, When the Pope had risen up out of his chaire in his wrath, from words and writings to actions, and had contrary to the advise given by St. Barnard, to one of his predecessors, that is, when by his messages he left *verbum*, and took *ferrum*, that is, left to 'feede by the word,' which was his office; and began to 'strike with the sword,' which was forbidden him, and stirred her noblemen and people directly to disobedience and to open rebellion, which was the office of Dathan and Abyron[27]; and that her lewde subjects by his commandement had executed the same with al the forces which they could make or bring into the field; who with common reason can disallow that her majestie used her royall lawfull authoritie, and by her forces lawfull subdued rebelles forces unlawfull, and punished the authours thereof no otherwise than the Pope himselfe useth to do with his owne rebellious subjectes, in the patrimonie of his church, as not many monthes sithens he had been forced to intend. And, if any prince of people in the world would otherwise neglect his office, and suffer his rebelles to have their wills, none ought to pitie him, if, for want of resistance and courage, he lost both his crowne, his head, his life, and his kingdome.

[27] [Or *Abiram*. See Numb. ch. xvi.]

Fourthly, When her majestie beheld a further increase of the Pope's malice, notwithstanding that the first rebellion was in her north parts vanquished, in that he interteined abroade out of this realme the traitours and rebelles that fledde for the rebellion, and all the rabble of other the fugitives of the realme, and that he sent a number of the same in sorts disguised, into both the realmes of England and Ireland, who there secretly allured her people to newe rebellions, and at the same time spared not his charges to sende also, out of Italy, by sea[28], certaine shippes with captaines of his own, with their bands of soldiours, furnished with treasure, munition, victuals, ensignes, banners, and all other thinges requisite to the warre, into her realme of Ireland, where the same forces, with other auxiliar companies out of Spaine landed, and fortified themselves verie strongly on the sea-side, and proclaymed open warre, erecting the Pope's banner against her majestie: may it be now asked of these persons, favourers of the Romish authoritie, what in reason should have bene done by her majestie otherwise, then first to apprehend all such fugitives so stolne into the realme, and dispersed in disguising habites to sow sedition, as some priestes in their secrete profession, but all in their apparell, as roisters or ruffins, some schollars, like to the basest common people, and them to committe to prisons, and, upon their examinations of their trades and haunts, to convince them of their conspiracies abroade, by testimonies of their owne companions, and of sowing sedition secretly at home in the realme? What may be reasonablie thought was meete to be done with such seditious persons, but by the lawes of the realme to try, condemn, and execute them? And specially having regard to the dangerous time, when the Pope's forces in her realme of Ireland, and more in preparation to followe as well into England as into Ireland, to the resistance whereof, her majestie and her realme was forced to be at greater charges, than ever she had bene, since shee was queene thereof. And so by God's power, which hee gave to her on the one part, she did by her lawes suppresse the seditious stirrers of rebellion in her realme of England; and by her sworde, vanquished all the Pope's forces in her realme of Ireland, excepting certaine captaines of marke that were saved from the sworde, as persons that did renounce their quarrel, and seemed to curse or to blame such as sent them to so unfortunate and desperate a voyage.

But though these reasons, grounded upon rules of naturall reason, shall satisfie a great nomber of the adversaries (who will yeelde that, by good order of civil and Christian policie and government, her majestie could nor can do no lesse than she hath done; first, to subdue with her forces her rebelles and traitours; and nexte, by order of her lawes to correct the ayders and abettors; and, lastly, to put also to the sworde such forces as the Pope sent into her dominions;) yet there are certaine other persons, more nisely addicted to the Pope, that will yet seeme to be unsatisfied, for that, as they will terme the matter, a nomber of sillie poore wretches were put to death as traitours, being but in profession schollars or priestes, by the names of Seminaries, Jesuites, or simple Scholemasters, that came not into the realme with any armour or weapon, by force to aide the rebelles and, traitours, either in England or in Ireland, in their rebellions or warres; of which sort of wretches that comiseration is made, as though for their contrary opinions in religion, or for teaching of the people to disobey the lawes of the realme, they might have been otherwise punished and corrected, but yet not with capitall payne. These kinds of defences tend only to find fault rather with the severitie of their punishments, then to acquite them as innocentes or quiet subjects. But, for answere to the better satisfaction of these nyse and scrupulous favourers and traitours, it must be with reason demaunded of them, (if at least they will open their eares to reason,) whether they thinke that when a king, beeing stablished in his realme, hath a rebellion first secretly practised, and afterwards openly raysed in his realme by his own seditious subjectes, and when, by

[28] This was a second embarkation in 1580, under the command of San Joseppo, an Italian; who landed without opposition, and built a fort, called Fort del Oro, and garrisoned it with 700 men, and arms for five or six-thousand more; which, after a siege of six days, was forced to surrender to Arthur the Lord Grey, deputy of the island, and to the Earl of Ormond; when all the Spaniards were put to the sword, and the Irish, that had joined with them, were hanged. Camden. Stowe.

a forreine potentate or enemy, the same rebellion is mainteyned, and the rebelles by messages and promises comforted to continue, and their treasons against their naturall prince avowed; and consequently when the same potentate and enemie, beeing authour of the said rebellion, shall with his own proper forces invade the realme and subjectes of the prince that is so lawefully and peaceably possessed; in these cases, shall no subject, favouring these rebelles, and yeelding obedience to the enemie the invador, be committed or punished as a traitour, but onely such of them, as shall be found openly to carrie armour and weapon? Shall no subject, that is a spial and an explorer for the rebel or enemie, against his naturall prince, be taken and punished as a traitour, because he is not found with armour or weapon, but yet is taken in his disguised apparell, with scrolles and writings, or other manifest tokens, to prove him a spie for traitours, after he hath wandered secretly in his soveraigne's camp, region, court, or citie? Shall no subject be counted a traitour, that will secretly give earnest and prest money to persons to be rebelles or enemies, or that will attempt to poison the victual, or the fountaines, or secretly set on fire the ships or munition, or that will secretly search and sound the havens and creekes for landing, or measure the depth of ditches, or height of bulwarkes and walles, because these offenders are not founde with armour or weapon? The answere, I thinke, must needes be yeelded (if reason and experience shall have rule with these adversaries) that all these and such like are to be punished as traitours; and the principall reason is because it cannot be denied but that the actions of all these are necessarie accessaries, and adherents proper, to further and continue all rebellions and warres. But if they wil denie, that none are traitours that are not armed, they will make Judas no traitour, that came to Christ without armour, colouring his treason with a kisse.

Now therefore it resteth to applie the factes of these late malefactours, that are pretended to have offended but as schollars, or booke-men; or, at the most, but as persons, that, onely in wordes and doctrine, and not with armour, did favour and helpe the rebelles and the enemies. For which purpose, let these persons be termed, as they list, Schollars, Schoolemasters, Bookemen, Seminaries, Priestes, Jesuites, Fryers, Beade-men, Romanistes, Pardoners, or what else you will; neyther their tytles, nor their apparel hath made them traitours, but their traiterous, secret motions and practises: their persons have not made the warre, but their directions and counsels have set up the rebellions. The very causes final of these rebellions and warres have bene to depose her majestie from her crowne: the Pope's bull hath roared it so to be; the causes instrumental are these kind of seminaries and seedemen of sedition: their secret teachings and reconciliations have confirmed it. The fruites and effectes thereof are, by rebellion, to shedde the blood of all her faithfull subjectes: the rewardes of the invadours (if they could prevaile) should be the disinheriting of al the nobilitie, the clergie, and the whole comminaltie, that would (as they are bounde by the lawes of God, by their birthe, and othes) defend their naturall gracious queene, their native country, their wives, their children, their family, and their houses. And now examine these, which you cal your unarmed schollars and priestes, wherefore they first fled beyond sea out of the realme, and why they lived and were conversant in companie of the principall rebelles and traitours at Rome, and in other places, where, it is proved, that they were partakers of their conspiracies. Let it be answered, why they came thus by stealth into the realme; why they have wandered up and downe in corners, in disguised sort, changing their tytles, names, and maner of apparel; why they have intised and sought to perswade, by their secrete false reasons, the people to allowe and beleeve all the actions and attempts, whatsoever the Pope hath done, or shall do, to be lawfull; why they have reconciled and withdrawen so manie people in corners, from the lawes of the realme, to the obedience of the Pope, a forreyne potentate, and open enemie to the establisht religion and lawes of England, whom they know to have already declared the queene to be no lawfull queene; to have mayntayned the knowne rebelles and traitours; to have invaded her majestie's dominions with open warre. Examine, further, how these vagrant, disguised, unarmed spies have answered, when they were taken and demanded, what they thought of the bull of Pope Pius Quintus, which was published to deprive the queene's majestie,

and to warrant her subjectes to disobey her: whether they thought, that all subjectes ought to obey the same bull, and so to rebell? Secondly, Whether they thought her majesty to be the lawfull queene of the realme, notwithstanding the said bull, or any other bull of the Pope? Thirdly, Whether the Pope might give such licence, as he did, to the Earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, and other her majestie's subjectes, to rebell, as they did; or give power to D. Sanders, a natural borne subject, but an unnaturall worne priest, to take armes, and move warres, as he did in Ireland? Fourthly, Whether the Pope may discharge the subjectes of her majestie, or of any other princes christened, of their othes of obedience? Fifthly, Whether the sayd traiterous priest, D. Sanders, or one Bristowe, a rebellious fugitive, did, in their bookes, write truely or falsly, in approving the sayd bull of Pius Quintus, and the contentes thereof? Lastly, What were to be done, if the Pope, or any other assigned by him, would invade the realme of England; and what part they would take, or what part any faithfull subject of her majestie's ought to take?

To these fewe questions, very apt to trie the trueth, or falshoode, of any such seditious persons, being justly before condemned for their disloyaltie: these lewde, unarmed traitours, I say, would no wise answere directly hereto, as all other faithfull subjectes to any prince christian ought to doe. And, as they, upon refusall to answere directly to these questions onely, might have been justly convinced, as guiltie of treason; so yet were they not thereupon condemned, but upon all their other former actions, committed both abroade, and in the realme, which were no lesse traiterous then the actions of all other the spyes and traitours, and of Judas himselfe afore remembred, which had no armour nor weapon, and yet at all times ought to be adjudged traitours. For these disguised persons (called schollars, or priestes), having bene first conversant of long time with the traitours beyonde the sea in all their conspiracies, came hither by stealth in time of warre and rebellion, by commaundement of the capitall enemie, the Pope, or his legates, to be secret espialles and explorers in the realme for the Pope, to deliver, by secret Romish tokens, as it were an earnest or prest, to them that shoulde be in readiness to joyne with rebelles, or open enemies, and in like sort, with their hallowed baggages from Rome, to poyson the sences of the subjectes, powring into their heartes malicious and pestilent opinions against her majestie and the lawes of the realme; and also to kindle and set on fire the heartes of discontented subjectes with the flames of rebellion, and to search and sound the depthes and secretes of all men's inwarde intentions, either against her majestie, or for her: And, finally, to bring into a beadroll, or, as it were, into a muster-roll, the names and powers, with the dwellings, of all those that shoulde be readie to rebelle, and to ayd the forrein invasion. These kinds of seditious actions for the service of the Pope, and the traitours and rebelles abroade, have made them traitours: not their bookes, nor their beades, no not their cakes of waxe, which they call *Agnus Dei*, nor other their reliques, nor yet their opinions for the ceremonies or rites of the church of Rome; and therefore it is to be certainly concluded, that these did justly deserve their capitall punishments, as traitours, though they were not apprehended with open armour or weapon.

Nowe if this latter repetition, as it were, of all the former causes and reasons afore recited may not serve to stop the boisterous mouthes, and the pestiferous tongues, and venemous breathes of these, that are infected with so grosse errors, as to defende seditious subjectes, stirrers of rebellion against their naturall prince and countrey; then are they to be left, without any further argument, to the judgement of the Almightie God, as persons that have covered their eyes against the sunne's light, stopped their eares against the sound of justice, and oppressed their heartes against the force of reason; and, as the Psalmist saith, 'They speake lyes, they are as venemous as the poison of a serpent, even like the deafe 'adder that stoppeth his eares.'

Wherefore, with Christian charitie to conclude; If these rebels and traitours, and their fautors, woulde yet take some remorse and compassion of their naturall countrey, and would consider, how vaine their attemps have bene so many yeres, and how many of their confederates are wasted by miseries and calamities, and how none of all their attempts, or plotts, have prospered; and therefore would desist from their unnatural practises abroade;

And, if these seminaries, secret wanderers, and explorators in the darke, woulde imploy their traveiles in the workes of light and doctrine, according to the usage of their schooles, and content themselves with their profession and devotion; and that the remnant of the wicked flocke of the seedemen of sedition would cease from their rebellious, false, and infamous railings and libellings, altogether contrary to Christian charitie: there is no doubt, by God's grace (her majestie being so much given to mercie, and devoted to peace) but al colour and occasion of shedding the blood of any more of her naturall subjectes of this land, yea, all furder bodely punishments should utterly cease. Against whose malices, if they should not desiste, Almighty God continue her majestie, with his spirit and power, long to reigne, and live in his feare, and to be able to vanquish all God's enemies, and especially her rebelles and traitours, both at home and abroade, and to maintaine and preserve al her naturall good loving subjectes, to the true service of the same Almightie God, according to his holy worde and will.

Many other thinges might be remembred for defence of other her majestie's princely, honourable, and godly actions in sundrie other thinges, wherein also these and the like seditious railors have of late time, without all shame, by fained and false libels, sought to discredit her majestie and her governement; but at this time, these former causes and reasons, alleadged by way of advertisements, onely for mayntenance of trueth, are sufficient to justifie her majestie's actions to the whole worlde.

2 Esdr. iv.

Magna est veritas, et prævalet.

Great is the truth, and she overcometh.

A Discourse of Marriage and Wiving,[1] and of the greatest Mystery therein contained: How to choose a good Wife from a bad. An Argument of the dearest Use, but the deepest Cunning, that Man may erre in; which is, to cut by a Thread, betweene the greatest Good or Evill in the World. Pertinent to both Sexes, and Conditions, as well those already gone before, as shortly to enter this honest Society.

Amare & sapere vix Diis conceditur.

By Alex. Niccholes, *Batchelour* in the Art he never yet put in Practise.

He that stands by, and doth the game survey,
Sees more oftimes, than those that at it play.

London, printed by N. O. for Leonard Becket, in the Inner-Temple, 1615.

[Quarto, containing Sixty-one pages, including the Dedication and Preface.]

To the virtuous young Gentleman, and his worthily respected friend, Mr. Thomas Edgworth, under-Treasurer of Windsor; health and content in his owne person, and in the happy fruition of his virtuous Wife.

SIR, your felicity, the highest top of enjoyment in this kind, is become the aim, that the practick art, in this school of direction, levelleth at you being already instated (with envy and admiration) in that bliss, which others may thus toil after in most beseeming circumstances (by many degrees) to come short of. When I enter this course of life (as, for aught I know, I may one day marry), be it my highest ambition, with all my directions, to have one to be a near imitator of her so many religious and moral virtues, for whose happy continuance my best wishes shall be spent, that she may long continue yours, to make you a father of happy and undoubted children; sons for the earth, and saints for Heaven; multiplying upon your head all the comforts in that covenant. And for this treatise, which, by your direction, comes forth to direct others to that model of happiness, wherein you stand eminent; may it have that success with all, that it hath had approbation with you, and as kind entertainment with the world, as those best creatures, the subject thereof, in their perfection deserve; which are the seed and seminary thereof, and which (by this means) have maintained that lasting, and yet un-ended war against those two arch and unwearied adversaries of mankind, time and death, the wasters thereof, and consumers of all sublunary things; which began their siege, against the first man that lived, and have ever since held on without league, or imparlance, for the space of these

[1] [An entirely different discourse "Of Marriage and Wiving," translated by R. T. (Rob. Tofte?) from Hercules and Torquato Tasso, was printed in 1599. It contains a Declamation against Marriage by the former, with an answer in favour of the same by the latter. See Oldys's Cat. of Pamphlets, No. 273.]

five-thousand five-hundred years and upwards, and which shall go on and continue the siege, to the end thereof, and consummation of all things. Wherein, if it shall be so happy (beyond expectation) the pain thereof hath been well undertaken, and your encouragement, fortunately seconded, which howsoever I leave it to the adventure, and you to your heart's best wishes.

By him that intirely is dedicated yours,

ALEX. NICCHOLES.

To the Youth and Batchelary of England, hot Bloods at high Revels, which forethought of this Action, and all others, that hereafter intend this Adventure.

SINCE that the meanest blessing, in man's life,
Is not the dowry of a virtuous wife;
No otherwise then is the adverse cross,
To him that bears it, the most easy loss.
Therefore to you, whose weary bonds yet keep,
Severing the arms wherein you long to sleep;
That have, before-hand, many a tedious hour,
Wish'd that approaching minute in your pow'r,
Which when arriv'd, most slowly brought to pass,
Cancels but parchment to inroll in brass:
What not so short a term of years shall end,
Unless one shew himselfe the kinder friend;
Wherein, lest your too forward haste should stray,
Here is before-hand chalked out a way:
(As conscience craveth, for so large connexion
Should not be enter'd in without direction.)
Which who so walks into the true intent,
Shall not commit that action to repent.
The ignorant by this have sharper eyes,
More deeper insight to these mysteries;
And, were their understanding dark or blind,
To pass this labyrinth 'tis here refin'd:
Here are the characters insculp'd and read,
That make a happy or a loathed bed.
What woman is, on whom all these depend,
Her use, creation, excellence, and end.
In making choice how much to be confin'd,
To beauty, riches, parentage, or kind;
What are the chief disturbers of this state,
That soonest point a man that sorest fate.
Her are the rocks discover'd to the eye,
That he that would not shipwreck, may sail by.
And these the rather being aforehand laid.
Unbalanc'd pleasures to each youth and maid,
That, when experience shall their sweetness tell,
Instead of heaven they purchase not a hell.
And that the joy their forward youth hath sought,
Uncrossly match'd, may come more near their thought.
But you[2], whose lusts this limit shall not tie,
For more enlargement to variety,
That will not any your own proper call,
The better interested to commerce with all:
As, when your lord and lady down are laid,
Behind the door to woo the chamber-maid;
Or amongst neighbours, where you lead your lives,
To be the more familiar with their wives;
Or any place where-e'er you do espy
A pretty morsel pleasing to your eye,
To seize it more suspectless, being known,
Than he that hath at home a wife of's own,
Well, take that blessing, but withal this curse,
To walk on weak legs with an empty purse.

THE CONTENTS.

I. OF the first Institution and Author of Marriage.
II. Of the Excellency of Marriage, with the Consequence and Use.
III. Worldly Choice what it is, or how, for the most part, Men choose their Wives.

[2] [To those that forbear marriage for more liberty of sin.]

IV. How to choose a good Wife from a bad.
V. What Years are most convenient for Marriage.
VI. That Conveniency and Fitness, in Choice, is more to be preferred than either Beauty, Riches, or other Additions, of either Mind or Fortune.
VII. What is the chief Moth or Canker, that especially undermineth and fretteth the Marriage-Bed.
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XII. The Pattern of a bad Husband and a good Wife, instanced in two Letters.
XIII. An Admonition to Husbands and Wives, for Unity and Concord.
XIV. Certain Precepts to be observed in Wiving and Marriage, as also Resolutions to Chastity.
XV. Discontents in all Ages, Sexes, States, Conditions.

If by this level thou a good wife hit,
Thank God that e'er this book was bought, or writ.

CHAP. I.

Of the first Institution and Author of Marriage.

'IT is not good for man to be alone [3],' (saith the alone and absolute Goodness of all goodness itself,) *Faciamus ergo adjutorem ei:* 'Let us therefore make him a helper meet for him:' So the creation of the woman was to be a helper to the man, not a hinderer; a companion for his comfort, not a vexation to his sorrow, for *Consortium est solatium*, i. e. 'Company is comfortable,' though never so small, and Adam took no little joy in this, his single companion; being thereby freed from that solitude and silence, which his loneness would else have been subject to, had there been no other end, nor use in her more, than this her bare presence and society alone. But, besides all this, the earth is large and must be peopled, and, therefore, they are now the crown of his workmanship, the last, and best, and perfectest piece of his handy-work, divided into genders, as the rest of his creatures are, male and female, fit and enabled, *procreare sibi similem*, i. e. 'to bring forth their like,' to accomplish his will, who thus blessed their fruitfulness in the bud: 'Increase, and multiply, and replenish 'the earth.' Well might St. Paul say, observing this, 'Marriage is honourable amongst all men, and the bed undefiled;' since God himself was the author and institutor thereof, even in paradise; who gave the woman to the man, before, in his sleep, Adam lost a rib; but, now being awake, *reperit costam*, he hath his rib again, with interest and increase, branched into many veins, and ribs, and bones, and arteries of wonderful use, and admirable quality. So the creation of woman, as it was for man, so it was out of man; Adam was made of the slime of the earth, and, were it not to make woman proud, I would tell her, she was of that better substance, of that well husbanded workmanship and refined matter, refined and purified by the touch of his hands, in moulding to so excellent a proportion as man; of a bone take out of his side (which that side ever wanteth since, as anatomists observe,) to make him the more pliable towards her; not of a bone of his foot, that she should be so low or contemptible, or of his head, so high or ambitious, but of his side, a middle part, that she might be of a middle condi-

[3] Gen. ii. 18

tion, his fellow and companion, not his servant or slave, for *Socii sunt qui junguntur lateribus*, i. e. 'They are fellows that walk side by side;' of a bone near to his heart, to put him in mind of dilection and love; from under his arm of protection and defence, &c. Now the Author of this creation we find here to be the author of this mystery. He, who made the woman of the man, gave her to the man, even God himself, who, as Cassianus saith further, in the very prime and beginning of the world, *dedit* this *unam uni*, i. e. 'gave this one woman to one man,' and no more than one; although for the increase and peopling of all the yet uninhabited regions and kingdoms of the earth: in which, no doubt, the Divine wisdom had a respect to the love, not to the lust of man; aiming hereby to advance the one, and suppress the other; for where love is divided there it is weakened, can never be strong, and as we see by experience, he who loves many formally never loves any fervently; for unity is love's number, cannot transcend, and God would have an entire affection between the husband and the wife, which he himself, in person, thus vouchsafed to honour by conjunction, that, as their bodies were then not two, so their desires should be but one; and withal to insinuate, by this his proper institution, the more respect and reverence to that holy ordination, which had so high a beginning, and so holy an end; honoured by his person, by his prophets, by his miracles, and which should so generally be exercised, throughout all estates and conditions, ages and times, to the end of the world, and desistency of all things, which by this means (before that eternal dissolution) should run a long and continual race in despite of grave and death.

CHAP. II.

Of the Excellency of Marriage, with the Consequence and Use thereof.

THE excellency thereof doth the more manifest itself in this, in that it was an addition of beatitude and blessedness, to that happy and absolute estate that Adam had in his first creation and innocency; that it was so precious a flower, that it would not thrive but in so pure a soil; that God himself was the author to institute it, and the priest to celebrate it, ere ever sin and impurity had tainted the earth, or blemished the angelical beauty of either the bride or bridegroom; and, though the consequence in that place brought sorrow and death, yet hath it a relation to as full, nay more ample joy and life in the extent and determination thereof, than it could otherwise have had in that first perseverance and fruition, from which, though now by sin, our best faculties, privileges, and prerogatives, in all kinds, are so clouded, eclipsed, and fallen away, that we discern not aright the excellencies, true uses and ends of so divine a mystery in itself, notwithstanding we do yet in this twilight perceive such glimpses and sparkles of original purity and felicity unextinguished therein, that we are wedded by our own wills, and induced by so natural a coaction to the embracement thereof, for the mutual society and comfort of life, without which it could neither subsist nor continue, more than to any other duty or action therein commanded or required whatsoever.

From the excellency of the institution, come we to the excellency of the true use, the danger of the contrary; and therefore the deep regard to be had before-hand, as in the enterprise itself, being of such weighty moment and import, of which one, thus farther displaying it, writeth:

Marriage, of all the human actions of a man's life, is one of the greatest weight and consequence, as thereon depending the future good or evil of a man's whole after-time and days; that Gordian knot, once fastened, not to be unloosed but by death; the means either to exalt on high to preferment, or cast down headlong to destruction; and the present disposer of a man's whole estate and fortune to his greatest joy or misery, and therefore with his *tale pondus* (as before) not be danced into lightly or unadvisedly, with the first that comes to hand, as a blind man lays his hold; but soberly entered upon with mature advice, years, and deliberation, consent, and counsel of parents and friends; for

it is in this action as in a stratagem of war: 'Wherein he that errs can err but once, perisheth unrecoverably to all after-advice and relief.' And therefore that merry proverb is not amiss, that thus implieth: 'that in wiving and thriving a man should ask counsel of all the world,' it being a matter of such difficulty, doubt, and danger to be resolved in; such a continual storm and tempest to those that launch not forth in a prosperous gale, having perverted their felicity therein, by running from the rule of God in their choice, that (with Jonas) such, to be delivered, were better be cast alive into the sea, to the belly of the whale, and mercy of the merciless bottomless deep, (though with him they never came to shore again,) than endure such a perpetual vexation it is the harbinger unto, with such a Leviathan of the land as is a furious woman: for, as a virtuous woman is a haven of beauty, so a wicked woman is a sea of evils, and in her tide more full than that element of monsters; worse far to live with than a smoaky house, for that, for the most part, offends only the eyes in the head, but this all the senses in the body; nay, he, that hath such a familiar, hath a worse neighbour of his own than Horsam should have had, if her fabulous dragon had been true; yet though in the curse it be subject to these evils, bless it in the true use, and it is, of all human comforts, the greatest; for, if the mutual society between friend and friend be so great, that in affliction it administereth comfort, and in joy it heapeth the measure to the brim, by detracting from the sour, and adding to the sweet, by a sensible participation of either's quality; how much more then shall it be enlarged by such a friend, who is to us a second self, or treasurer of our own thoughts, and therefore more nearly interested in either the one or the other.

Besides this, in thy marriage, the very name whereof should portend unto the *merryage*, thou not only unitest unto thyself a friend, and comfort for society, but also a companion for pleasure, and in some sort a servant for profit too, for a wife is all these; besides, by the excellency and blessing of this institution, thou continuest thy name, thy likeness, and thy generation walks upon earth, and so livest in thy similitude, in despite of death, when thou thyself are dead, and raked up in dust, and otherwise without remembrance, unless by some ruinous stone, or ragged epitaph; and so (in some sort) makest thy body immortal, like thy soul, and not only by this dost thou add to the 'sons of the earth,' but 'to the saints of heaven.' Besides, by this, so excellent, so honourably accounted of amongst all men, are thy wild and unbridled affections reduced to humanity and civility, to mercy and clemency, and thou thyself called back to look into thyself, and to understand the substance and truth of things; and therefore he that hath no wife, is said to be a man unbuilt that wanteth one of his ribs, asleep as Adam was till his wife was made, for marriage awaketh the understanding as out of a dream; and he that hath no wife, is said to be as a man in the midst of the sea, perishing for want of this ship to waft him to shore; is said to be parching in the heat of the sun, that hath not this vine to rest him under her shadow; if sickness come, it brings thee a physician; if health continue, it is partly a preserver. But to go further, to equal it with the best commended virginity, where is the man this day living, whose virginity may be compared with Abraham's marriage, in whom all the nations of the earth were blessed? St. Austin opposeth it to the virginity of St. John; but the greatest authority we have, in praise of marriage, is the union of Christ with his church compared unto it; the bond whereof is the Holy Ghost, the contract the Gospel, the Apostles the registers, all married men except St. John and St. Paul; and Jesus Christ sealed it with his blood; the betrothing whereof is here below in the church, but the wedding itself shall be solemnized in heaven. It is likewise the original of all pairs, of all couples, *primum par, fundamentum parium*, saith one, father and child, master and servant, husband and wife, all grow out of this first union and conjunction; all kindred and affinity in the world take their birth from this root, without which men would live dispersed like savage beasts, and irrational creatures, without distinction or separation of tribe or family, which are the first parts of a commonwealth.

CHAP. III.

Worldly Choice what it is, or how, for the most part, Men choose their Wives.

IT is a fashion much in use in these times to choose wives as chapmen sell their wares, with *Quantum dabitis?* i. e. 'What is the most you will give?' And if their parents or guardians shall reply, 'Their virtues are their portions, and others have they none;' let them be as dutiful as Sarah, as virtuous as Anna, as obedient as the Virgin Mary; these, to the wise man, every one a rich portion, and more precious than the gold of Ophir, shall be nothing valued, or make up where wealth is wanting; these may be adjuncts or good additions, but money must be the principal of all that marry, and (that scope is large) there are but few that undergo it for the right end and use, whereby it comes to pass that many attain not to the blessedness therein. Some undergo this curse instead of blessing, merely for lust, choosing their wives most unfitly, as adulteresses; and such are said to marry by the eye, looking no further than a carnal beauty is distinguished, which consists in the outward shape and lineaments of the body, as in gait, gesture, countenance, behaviour, &c. And for such a one, so she be fair and can kiss, she hath portion enough for such a pirate; but when this flower withers, as it is of no continuance, for diseases blast it, age devours it, discontent doth wither it, (only virtue is not soiled by these adversaries,) what shall continue love as then to the end? Their winter sure shall be full of want, full of discontent, that thus, grasshopper-like, respected their summer. There are others that marry to join wealth to wealth, and those are said to marry by the fingers' ends: some others there are that take their wives from the report or good liking of others, and those are said to take their wives upon trust; and such, I hope, are not seldom deceived in their venture. There are some that marry for continuance of posterity, and those come nearest to the true intent, for the end of marriage is *proles*, i. e. 'issue;' it was the primal blessing, 'Increase and multiply.' God hath given and bequeathed many precepts and commandments to mankind, yet, of all that ever he delivered never was there any better observed (for the letter) than this; nay, the most part are so ready to accomplish his willherein, that for haste, many times, they overslip the true circumstances thereof, doing it *propter intentionem, præter viam*, for God requires *liberi*, not *spurii*, i. e. 'children, not bastards;' and those that thus increase it, do it more for the manner than the end, more for lust than for love.

CHAP. IV.

How to choose a good Wife from a bad.

THIS undertaking is a matter of some difficulty, for good wives are many times so like unto bad, that they are hardly discerned betwixt, they could not otherwise deceive so many as they do; for 'the devil can transform himself into an angel of light,' the better to draw others into the chains of darkness; so these, his creatures, themselves into the shape of honesty, the better to intangle others in the bonds of repentance: if therefore the yoke of marriage be of such perpetuity, and lasting even *usque ad necem*, i. e. 'until death,' and the joys or grievance thereon depending of equal continuance therewith, either to make a short heaven or hell in this world; it is not therefore to be undergone but upon the duest regard, and most advised consideration that may be; and, because it is such a sea, wherein so many shipwreck for want of better knowledge and advice upon a rock, that took not better counsel in the haven; I have, therefore, in some sort, to prevent this danger, erected (as it were) certain land-marks and directions in the way, to give aim to such passengers as shall hereafter expose themselves to the mercy of this fury; and the rather, because our age is so adventurous, whether boldness or blindness be their guide, that mere children dare undertake with vessels scarce capable to hoist up sail, and adventure those passages, that

former times, which, in their nonage, never precedent us in the like, would have thought scarce navigable; but many times this calm, that leads them forth in a sun-shine with pleasure, brings them home in a tempest, with sorrow; and, therefore (as I said) he that would not repent him afterwards, let him be advised before; for, 'wise foresight, for the most part, is crowned with happy success;' therefore, say not hereafter, (for it is a weak remedy,) *Utinam saperem*, i. e 'Would God I had been better advised;' but be it so.

The first aim that I would give to him, that would adventure this voyage, (for marriage is an adventure, for whosoever marries, adventures; he adventures his peace, his freedom, his liberty, his body; yea, and sometimes his soul too,) is, that in his election, after he hath made choice of his wife, which ever I would have grounded upon some of these promising likelihoods, viz. That she be of a sober and mild aspect, courteous behaviour, decent carriage, of a fixed eye, constant look, and unaffected gait, the contrary being oftentimes signs of ill potent and consequence; for as the common saying is, 'An honest woman dwells at the sign of an honest countenance;' and wild looks (for the most part) accompany wild conditions; a rolling eye is not fixed, but would fix upon objects it likes, it looks for, and affected nicety is ever a sign of lascivious petulancy.

Next, regard, according as thine estate and condition shall best instruct thee, the education and quality of her thou hast so elected, her personage not being unrespected; for love looks sometimes as well with the eye of the body as with the mind, and beauty, in some, begets affection, and affection augmenteth love; whereas the contrary would decrease and diminish it, and so bring thee to a loathed bed, which must be utterly taken heed of, for the dangerous consequences that follow: therefore let thy wisdom so govern thine affection, that, as it seize not up deformity to thine own proper use, for some sinister respect to be shortly after repented of; so, likewise (for the mean is ever best) that it level not at so high and absolute endowment and perfection, that every carnal eye shall bethink the injury; that every goatish disposition shall level to throw open thy inclosures; that thy wife shall be harder to be kept, than the garden of the Hesperides; for as the Italian proverb is,

'Whose horse is white, and wife is fair,
'His head is never void of care.'

Next, after thou hast thus elected thy choice, and considered her in herself, with the aforesaid circumstances, and this one more (not being of his mind, that merrily said, speaking of his wife, 'Since he was to make choice out of things that were evil, he thought it most wisdom to choose the least;') to regard, that she be not of too dwarfish a size and kindred, to store thee with a generation of pigmies, dwarfs, half-men; that want the majesty and power of height and strength, and the comeliness a good stature is, for the most part, wedded unto. After this, a little look back to the stock, from whence she sprung, for, as Ezekiel saith, 'Like mother, like daughter;' and experience and nature approve it, that the fruit will relish of the tree, from whence it sprung, as the rose is not gathered from the hawthorn: and as his majesty[4] well observed, If men be so careful to have their horses and dogs of a good breed and race, which are only for external and superficial uses and pleasures; how much more should they their wives of their own bosoms, from whom they expect to raise and continue their own generations and posterities upon earth, to represent and preserve alive their own image and virtues behind them, from generation to generation, *usque ad longinquum*, &c.

CHAP. V.

What Years are most convenient for Marriage.

THE forward virgins of our age are of opinion, that this commodity can never be taken up too soon; and therefore, howsoever, they neglect in other things, they are sure to catch

[4] [James the First; in the second book of his "Basilicon Doron," addressed to Henry, Prince of Wales.]

time by the forelock in this. If you ask this question, they will resolve you, Fourteen is the best time of their age, if thirteen be not better than that; and they have for the most part the example of their mothers before them, to confirm and approve their ability; and this withal they hold for a certain ground, that, be they never so little, they are sure thereby to become no less: the effects that, for the most part, ensue thereafter, are dangerous births, diminution of stature, brevity of life, and such like; yet all these pains will they adventure for this pleasure. Now as these will not stay till their youth, but marry in their childhood, before either blood or affections ripen them thereto, by their early forwardness; so are there others that as much offend in the contrary, by passing over their youth for certain cautionary worldly respects, to salute this society with their age; like to him that hath suffered his house to burn down to the bottom, before he would seek to extinguish the flame, when the other as needlessly forward, as he foolishly slow, throws on water ere any fire come near it. The extremity in both is utterly distasteful; and, as I have already shewed briefly the indiscretion in either, so I might thus continue it further along in the first: That such should take upon them to govern others, that (which as may well appear in this) know not yet how to govern themselves; the latter, that they utterly abandon the right use of marriage; for, if the chief end thereof be propagation and increase, both for the kingdom of earth and heaven, why then do they defer so long till their blood be frosty, and their bones be empty, their lamps be wasted, and their spirits consumed, hiding in the earth their talents from use, which might have been otherwise multipled, by a lawful usury, to a happy increase and excellent end, and therefore worthy such of their just reward, which is (for the most part) to perish in themselves, as the last of their name and posterity upon earth.

Diogenes being asked, 'What time of a man's life was best to marry?' answered, 'In youth it was too soon, and in age it was too late;' cynically insinuating thereby, that it was best *never*. Indeed, some of our unfortunate conjunctions might have been happy, in embracing his counsel, when planets of malevolent aspect and influence are unfortunately housed, like two opposite poisons in a stomach, one ever sick of another, fearfully portending their own destruction and ruin: yet, not to discomfort any that are to enter herein, the best good and most absolute perfection that ever was in the world, and most general, never did all participate in the fruition thereof, although the greatest number did; God gave sight to all, yet all partake not the benefit thereof; health to all, yet some are daily incumbered with sickness; limbs to all, yet some we see are decrepid and lame; although the most enjoy them, these infirmities having in their being rather deficient than efficient causes: for God created not blindness, lameness, sickness, or such like, but the deprivation of their better opposites is the cause of their producement and effect: so likewise in marriage, God gave a general blessing to the first institution and use thereof; he blessed it by his word, he honoured it by his presence, he confirmed it by his miracles, where he turned water into wine, to shew that those that celebrate it in the right manner, to the lawful and true end, shall have their sorrow turned into joy, their water into wine; but the contrary, their joy into sorrow, that is, their wine into water.

One saith, 'Wives are young men's mistresses, companions for middle age, and old men's nurses;' so that a man may have a quarrel to marry when he will: but the Apostle saith here, 'Rejoice in the wife of thy youth.' As thereby he would point out the fittest time; 'in thy youth,' whilst thou hast blood in thy veins, and marrow in thy bones; health in thy loins, and security in thy sufficiency; when thou mayst beget an offspring, and by course of time be so blessed, as to see thy children's children ingrafted into the church and commonwealth, in honourable offices and functions, to thy peace of conscience, and quietness in thy last *dimittis*. Late repentance, they say, is seldom true repentance; and it is observable, that in these late marriages is seldom found that true comfort and happiness, which it is crowned withal in due season; therefore begin not the world, divide not thyself, thy love, when thou art going out of the world.

CHAP. VI.

That Conveniency and Fitness, in Choice, is more to be regarded, than either Beauty, Riches, or any other Addition of Mind, or Fortune.

IN this one and absolutely greatest action of a man's whole life, men, for the most part, are either so careless in their will, or so blinded in their judgment, or so carried away by affection, that they regard not that which most materially concerneth the peace, the welfare, and felicity of their whole life and conversation therein; for their eye, for the most part, either seizeth upon beauty, and those are such that choose an apple for the red side, (as the serpent deceived Eve,) which afterwards in the taste sets the teeth on edge; or the heart upon riches, and they are rather married to the substance, than the owner. Some again marry for gentility, not respecting their own ignobility and baseness, which, for the most part, it upbraideth them with all their life long; and though all of these are joined by the ring (the emblem of wedlock), yet few understand the moral thereof, which is a representary fitness to be respected. I mean not equality or fitness of stature, for the more equal conjunction and action, but a fitness in affection; for as that being either too big, or too little, pincheth the finger, or stayeth not on; so, where this equality doth not sympathize in affection, there is either a falling off from the bond of this duty, or a shrinking up of the joy and felicity therein. The choleric man, who, for some outward respect, maketh this his expected heaven a hell, by unaptly enjoining unto himself provocation and impatience, ever to kindle that fire afresh, which of itself consumes, without farther addition, the very peace and tranquillity, life and spirit of soul and body, when as he should rather have elected, as an allayer to this fury, meekness, and endurance; such a lenitive as this should rather have wasted the malady, than augmented the misery; for what concord, or society, can be expected to be enjoyed, when natures more repugnant than the elements are joined in one; free spirits with miser dispositions, where they grapple and tug without ease and releasement, for breath and liberty; heroical thoughts with dull affections, where there is no correspondence to their height or elevation; knowledge with ignorance, where there is no zeal to communicate; old age with youth, where there is no desire of enjoyment; preventing the good by some blind inducement, which either might have claimed by their likelihood, in more suitable fitness, bearing the yoke with repining and displeasure, as pressing too heavily, which otherwise might have been supported with ease and delight, as scarce tasted or felt. Therefore, whoever thou art, know this in thy choice, that wouldst for bondage adventure thy freedom, that every good woman makes not for every man a good wife, no otherwise than some one good dish digests with every stomach: therefore, as for thy trade, thou wilt choose a fit person, for thy stomach a fit diet, for thy body fit clothing, so, for thy inseparable, daily, nightly society, choose a fit companion, according to the poet's rule in a lesser sense:

Eligat equalem prudens sibi quisque sodalem.

Let every wise and discreet man
Choose him a fit companion.

The thief for his burglaries takes his fittest opportunity and society; the husbandman his seasons for his seed-time and harvest; the lawyer the advantage of assizes and terms; the merchant for adventure, the tide and the winds; and all these the fitness befriendeth the endeavour: and shall the husband then think to establish his purpose, his peace so great, and so greatly thereon depending, without this vigilancy and observance? The old rule will teach him new wit, in his aptness, which saith,

He, that a fit wife to himself doth wed,
In mind, birth, age, keeps long a quiet bed.

Art thou a remnant of the age of some mispent youth, fallen from the badge of one baseness, to another, as frowned out of some convenient master's favour for not pleasing thy mistress, that now, to support thy creature, would smoak thee out a living in some blind and conscious corner; smell thee then a wife out a little tainted, the sweeter for thy purpose, and as apt to fall down as thy vapour to fly up, taking care (unless thou wilt disrank thyself, or single out from the too common shame and abuse in this kind) that she be such a one as can take it, and being light can light it.

Art thou a merchant, a mariner, a termer, choose thee a wife of some phlegmatic humour, that, like a rich creditor, with her large stock of virtue, without breaking out, can forbear thee, upon occasion, a month or two, a year or two, a term or voyage; lest otherwise, thou abroad, she prove an actor with thy factor at home, or for thee, whilst thou labourest for this right in this case, do against thee that wrong in another, which no law can help, nor prevention hinder, nor patience bear; if otherwise, though thou escape the perils of the sea, thou art in danger of the pirates of the land; or thou, though thou get a judgment at the hall, shalt be sure to have execution against thee at home. And from whence else proceed these lamentable jars of households, worse than the open wars of kingdoms, that devour and eat up whole families? Whence proceed these separations, exclamations, disjunctions? Whence arise they, but exhaled and drawn up with the heat of this parabolical sun (the muck and mammon of the world) the beams whereof blind the eye sometimes of conscience, as well of understanding and judgment; whose conjoining of hands may resemble the league between the Low Countries and Spain, where hearts can no more be brought to unity and affection one with another, than those ever vowed enemies thus taken truce? These respects, I say, like that respect of state, and no other, have prostituted under one covering, many a frosty January, and youthful May; many a green desire, and gray performance; which could no more cohabit than these different seasons, otherwise aforehand meant, and afterwards satisfied, though with a shameful breaking out, to the ruin and destruction of both the one and the other; mere croans, and many of my late remembrance, lip-bearded, as witches, with their warted antiquity and age, have angled into their beds with this golden hook (for lucre of desire and lust) on their parties, youth whose chins have never yet fallen under the razor; less that way, by their heat and hair, expressing man than their wives, (wives, nay, rather matrons, and mothers to their children prostituted,) the shame and unevenness whereof hath even cracked this fore-mentioned wreath in the ring, broke Priscian's head, in the unequal conjugations, the destruction whereof hath not slowly followed, but thus quickly, like a gangrene, crept on by careless neglect in the one, and earnest desire in the other, and a timely repentance in both: the one thus (to his precedent aim) the better supported to his wild pleasures abroad, whilst the other, with her frustrated intention and hope, all tame and penitentiary, left destitute to bewail her grievance at home. But go further; admit impossibilities, that age and youth, summer and winter, could be one; yet how would the autumn with her tempests blast the summer and her tender buds of that season, and summer, again, contradicting her contrary, melting her snows and frosts into nothing, her pangs and travels, and throbs and throws, would they sustain one with the other, till they brought an end and confusion to both? Even to admit, that youth could assume such a habit of gravity that might like an age, and age again so shake off her unnecessaries, that she could look amiable in the fresh and green eye of youth; yet must this mixture of unequal heats be more pernicious to either, than those blasting contrary seasons one to another. From these unequal conjunctions break forth those masterful jealousies, those insupportable discontents, that have not set but even in blood and death; ruined their owners, afflicted and wrung into lamentations their friends, allies, and associates, and drawn blood from the heart of any one that had but a hand or finger in the carriage. Many instances of these we know of late times, which we may remember, whilst I overpass them, to recite one of more antiquity, as it is delivered by tradition.

An alderman's wife[5], sometimes of London, her husband deceased, and she a rich widow

[5] Stowe's Survey

left, but as old in years, as rich in substance, (more for desire of portion than persons, was solicited to an unequal bans and marriage, by a young and courtly gentleman, and which afterwards ended her bane,) whose desire being obtained, and he master of her substance, most lewdly lavished it away upon riotous and evil company, grew careless of her regard, and utterly abandoned her society, both bed and board; which when with sorrow she perceived, with her too late repentance, herself thus rifled of her goods, upbraided of her friends, forsaken of her husband, destitute of all comfort, she took the evening to her mourning, went into a spring near Shoreditch, a place that takes the name from a like fatal accident, and there ended her days and sorrows by drowning; which font to this day is christened by her name, a remembrance of her misery, and warning to after-times, and called by her name *Dame Annis a Clare*[6]. And therefore whoever thou art, entering into this common garden of humanity, respect, for thy better blessing and prosperity therein, more than beauty, birth, or riches, this harmony and fitness, wherein is no jar, no strife, no discontent, nor weariness, and which shall land thee prosperously at the haven of thy rest; when this other tackling, freight, or soil, may endanger to perish thee in the flood.

CHAP. VII.

What is that chief Moth and Canker, that especially undermineth and fretteth the Marriage-bed.

PRIDE, ambition, equality with others, the example of others, variety of appetite, the unrelishness of that which is lawful, desire of that which is restrained, is unlawful; and then the oratory of the devil of darkness, in the shape of an angel of light, working upon these advantages, hath overthrown and betrayed to this vulture, and his merciless talon, that fort and citadel, with as easy resistancy as a bower of glass, that should be so unspotted, but more impregnable than a bulwark of stone; admitted treason to the heart of the city, coped with the most dangerous enemy in the world; opened those gates with weakness, and this stratagem, that an engine should not assail with strength and might; broke down the door that struck dead the owner, laid open these inclosures, that have bondaged the Lord of the soil perpetually till death, to inclose his own supposed interest and use. Ambition and pride, you twin-born sisters, you, you it is, and the dependency of your estate (you true and indulcitate issues of Lucifer) that have broken down this hedge of the greatest consequence and site that ever was erected, and which else had kept out the assailing and seducing enemies that batter and undermine the very supportance, root, and life-blood of chastity itself, letting in, at these casements, evil conceits, and motives more blasting thereto, than the breath of lightning, and made the vows of marriage of less stability than the oaths of drunken men. Ambition, equality, example, you fore-mentioned evils, you foot-ball players, which short-heeled creatures, it is you that are arraigned and found guilty in this trial.

The country damsel under the thatched roof of her natural habitation, where she scarce ever thought of so much pride as handsomeness, never beheld her hue otherwise presented than in a bowl of water, that dreamed more devoutly under that innocent covering, being asleep, than others pray in their lofty palaces, being awake; who can scarce there remember marriage, but she blushes to think what a shame it is to lie with a man; yet afterwards bring her to the city, enter her into that school of vanity, set but example before her eyes, she shall in time become a new creature, and such a strong mutation shall so strangely possess her, that she shall have new thoughts, new purposes and resolutions; and in the end, so shoulder out her modesty, that she shall not blush to do that unlawfully, which before she was bashful to think on lawfully. Come to the city, there you shall have some good amongst many bad, but should have many more, were it not for this sickness of this ill

[6] Where afterwards was kept the cold-bath at Hoxton, near Shoreditch.

example; therefore, well were it with the world, 'if what were most done were most good;' such a one could be content (for any desire of novelty or change, or for any heat in her blood, more than might be lawfully allayed) to be honest, but that she knows such a friend, and such a gentlewoman, her gossip, have their variety of gowns, of gifts, of favours, and variety of pleasures too, interchanging with variety of persons, and in this regard she will be no longer her own foe, to keep herself longer without such a friend; she sees 'the world takes notice of no more than it sees, and they are accounted most chaste, that can best seem so.' In this resolution she pulls up the floodgates, where her tide of vanity is swelled to the brim, which immediately overflows, and drowns her therein, extinguishing all former sparks of virtue and respect, which before this conquest she debated with, and bears her along with the perishing multitude, for these brittle respects, that here she is insnared with.

The court, the very element and center of these sins, the *ne plus ultra*, for an example beyond that, being the pattern to itself, and to others, the respects, that join there, are the respects of pleasure, not of profit; the highest ambition of theirs is to be most allured, most desired, to have most servants, most friends, most favours; and these should presage most falls, whose open outsides, bosoms, were their insides so displayed, it would be found a poor and idle sin, had not there been harboured, whose sattin outsides and silken insides, soft raiment and sweet feeding, so stroke the skin and persuade the blood; that it will not be persuaded.

There is a text in woman, that I would fain have woman to expound, or man either; To what end is the laying out of the embroidered hair, embared breasts, vermilioned[7] cheeks, alluring looks, fashion gaits, and artful countenances, effeminate, intangling, and insnaring gestures, their curls and purls of proclaiming petulancies, boulstered and laid out with such example and authority in these our days, as with allowance and beseeming convenience? Such apish fashions and follies, that the more severer out-worn ages of the world, deceased and gone, should they have but lifted up their head, in their times, would have hissed out of countenance to death: but as, to please, woman hath much starched up man from his slovenry, so to delight man (or rather his enemy) hath the woman thus increased in pride. Doth the world wax barren through decrease of generations, and become, like the earth, less fruitful than heretofore? doth the blood lose his heat, or do the sun-beams become more waterish, and less fervent, than formerly they have been, that men should be thus inflamed and persuaded on to lust? Or hath this age of sin usurped such a seeming purity, or thought, that the most licensed lust hath the original from concupiscence, or some taint of sin, and therefore must be thus dragged up to this anchor, like a pitcher by the ears, by these blood near-touching witcheries, and inducements? No, rather the contrary; witness the superfluity and increase of these our times, of this our kingdom, that hath more people than pasture, more bringing forth than breeding, for that is compelled to empty itself into far distant regions and kingdoms. Is it not rather the contrary; when the youth of both sexes are daily cropped in the blossom by this forward motion, or rather headstrong devil, and unripely pressed to that action, forestalling maturity and fitness, where a vestal should be more pointed at in a cloyster, than a comet in the air? Is it not rather the contrary; when lust is grown so unbounded, so headstrong, that it will not be hemmed, nor incircled within any laws or limits, of God or man; when it will garbage without all respect or controul, upon adultery, fornication, possessed, the unpossessed, the bond, the free; where care shall more possess a man to keep his fair wife from foul play, when he hath her, than jealousy did to lose her, when he first rivalled for her; where virtue shall not so disguise itself, in any habit, but vice will trace it out, and betray it? The ignorant Papists, or other sectaries of heresies, most commonly give no other reason for their seduced errors, than example of multitude, of parents, progenitors, or friends, that went before them; so the example of this evil, so common, so much made of, so cockered, so thriving, so bedecked, so admired, so dandled on the lap of greatness, of

[7] Painted.

authority, draws millions to perdition after it; for the greatest part never look further, than the example of the greatest number: the coach easily runs, that is drawn with many horses; soon follows one where thousands lead the way. These have disjoined in chambers, by the devil, that were conjoined in the church of God; and yet it must be ingenuously confessed, it is but 'a cold comfort to go to hot hell for company.' Lust, that boiling, damned putrefaction of the blood, that raging, ruling, headstrong sin of this age, that is too apt to break out, though it went clothed in sackcloth and hair-cloth, and fed only (as saith an author) with the 'Capuchin[8] diet of grass and herbs,' and such like, and suppressed with all the subjection can be imposed to subdue it, that yet, like lime, it would flash, and fly out through all these impositions. But, on the contrary, we are so far from subduing that passion, and keeping it under, by any such means, that it is attired and set out in the most artful, bewitching, and inticing temptation that may be devised, whole days and nights, and thoughts and studies, and costs and cares, cast away thereon, for the better success therein, though the worse ill thereby; for the end thereof is but repentance and sorrow.

Another main enemy, to open this breach, is impatience of restraint and limitation, for that, which is most forbidden, is most desired. He is the old devil that still tempts in that likeness, that came to Eve in Paradise, and persuaded her to eat the forbidden fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil; upon whom he obtained such a victory and conquest, in that first battle that ever was fought, that never since hath he distrusted the force of that stratagem. Every woman is an abridgement of all woman-kind, contains the shape, the proportion, the lineaments, the members, the use of all the women in the world, and likewise so of man. Why should not desire then, being so linked in the most sufficient and wisest allowance, that God and man thought meet, couch and submit itself to these ordinances, but that concupiscence and lust inkindle desire, and it findeth not delight in that it hath, but in that it would have, according as the poet verifieth:

> Lust never takes delight in what is due,
> But still leaves known delights to seek out new.

It looks out of the window, where fuel is administered, where temptation entereth in: edgeth itself upon one for respects that it can conceive, but not utter; upon another for something it likes, but knows not what; it makes choice of a third for modesty, baits his lust in that flame, to think with what looks it could look in conclusion, that is so fired with blushes in but proffered, concerning circumstances, though far distant and remote from either time or action; upon a fourth, for her quaint conceit, and discovers by debating how she could use it, being put to her nonplus, in the bare point of trial; with the beauty of a fifth, to conceive what a large fruition it were to be inflamed on the promontory of the hill, when the demeans, and adjacent valleys, to that fuller surfeit, restrained not their shades or mountains: and indeed, to conclude, there is none so ugly, none so deformed, but lust will find argument to make use of it, may it but have means to enjoy it.

CHAP. VIII.

Advice for Choice, and whether it be best to marry a Widow, or a Maid.

HE, that marrieth a widow, hath but a reversion in tail; and if she prove good, may thank Death for his aim; if evil, upbraid him, and not unjustly for his occasion. He that takes her thus half worn, makes account she hath that will pay for new dressing; she seems to promise security in her peace, yet invites many times to a troublesome estate, when the conquest atchieved scarce countervails the wars; the principal of her love is perished with the use, for what is once firmly set on, can never be cleanly taken off, and

[8] A Capuchin is a Friar of the most strict observance of St. Francis's order in the Church of Rome.

he must never look to be inriched that hath her. The end of her marriage is lust and ease, more than affection or love; and, deserve what thou canst, the dead shall upbraid thee by the help of her tongue, flattered behind his back, the more to vex thee to thy face: the best is, (though the worst for thee,) they are navigable without difficulty, more passable than Virginia, and lie at an easier road, as unsatiate as the sea, or rather the grave, which many times the sooner presents them thither. At the decease of their first husbands, they learn commonly the tricks to turn over the second or third, and they are in league with death, and coadjutors with him, for they can harden their own hearts like iron to break others that are but earth; and I like them the worse, that they will marry; dislike them utterly, they marry so soon: for she that so soon forgets the flower and bridegroom of her youth, her first love and prime of affection, which, like a colour laid on in oil, or dyed in grain, should cleave fast and wear long, will hardly think of a second in the neglect and decay of her age. Many precedents we have against these sudden, nay against these second marriages, derived from former times, the ages of more constancy, and shame of these latter. The daughter of M. Cato, bewailing a long time the death of her husband, being asked, which day should have her last tear, answered the day of her death, (not the end of a month or year); for, saith she, "should I meet with a good husband, as I had before, I should ever be in fear to lose him; if with a bad one, I had better be without him." In like manner, Porcia, a young and honourable lady, having lost her husband, answered, solicited by another, "A happy and chaste matron never marries but once." Valeria, having lost her husband, importuned by another, answered: "My husband ever lives in my thoughts." Artemisia, the wife of Mausolus, king of Corinth, could not be brought to any such action, but still answered, being mindful of her husband deceased, "Upon thy pillow shall never-second rest his head." "She died a widow, and, in memory of her husband, erected that monument, or tomb, the cost and fame whereof hath overspread the world; which wife and monument Lucinius thus farther commendeth:

Rex dudum erat, &c.
There was a king, of whom it may be read
In ancient stories, sepulchred ere dead.
More wrong you'll say they did him, to deprive
Him of his kingdom thus, he being alive.
No, he had all his rights, more than kings have,
That rul'd a kingdom, and reign'd in his grave;
A kingdom, nay a little[9] world and more,
A great world, and respected as before:
Nay, even a regimen that hath disturb'd
The ablest health and policy to curb,
A woman's heart and mind; and, which more strange,
Free from variety of thought or change:
So willingly subjected to his blood,
Ne'er to depose him, whilst her empire stood.
Of whom all loves and laws did firm remain,
In force, till one stone did inclose them twain.
Of whom it may be said, now she is gone,
There's few such tombs erected, women none.

Such a widow couldst thou marry, she were worthy thy choice; but such a one she could not be, because she would not then marry.

Compare the loyalty of our times with those of more ancient, and see how they equal

[9] If man be a little world, woman is a great world, for the greater contains the less, and not the less the greater.

thy conscience and carcase breaking; how, with thy piled up chests, they build up monuments of remembrances to thy name and memory after death; nay, rather observe, but how their ambition, thus heated, makes them forgetful of themselves, as well as thee. Knowing this, who would not, with these distracted times, to leave the purchase of a ladyship to his wife, glide like a shadow in his life upon earth, with a shrinking inside and penurious outside, and sleep with broken thoughts and distracted dreams, together with pain, and forbear, with want, that which his living enemy may afterwards spend with pleasure, and surfeit with fulness? Who can love those living that he knows will so soon forget him, being dead; they are but summer swallows for the time of felicity, that will hang about one's neck, as if they had never arms for others embraces, or as though extreme affection, without controul, could not but thus manifest itself, and break out; yet decease and such a Lethe of forgetfulness shall so soon overtake thee, as if thou hadst never been: nay, so little a quantity of time shall confine it, that she shall not lie-in her month but she shall be churched again, and open to another all thy fruitions, with as fresh and plenteous an appetite, as the harlot to her next sinner. Younger brothers, and poor knights, may sometimes to these monsters make use of their births and titles, making them pay dear (as it cost) for their dubbing, and release of purgatory they are in with old rank and fashion to their new elysium and instalment; and it must be confessed, unwise they were, but with good boot and addition, to refuse a virginity to accept a widowhood; and yet many times, with a Turkish fate, we pay dear for our *credo quod habemus,* that article of belief we so fondly build upon, when we pay for the jewel that another hath stolen, and in hope of treasure embrace the ransacked casket; yet they are to blame that have thus been to blame, and for their easy punishment their first night shall discover them. Be not sudden then therefore upon thy resolution in this point, because deceit, many times, lurks in a modest face, but let long acquaintance, or inquiry, the more secure thee. The country deceives the city, and the city again returns it with interest, and lust so reigns in both, that there is scarce the quantity of virgins to be found in either to match the parable in the Scripture: they have faces fairer than men, but hearts more deformed than devils; it is ill building upon a broken foundation; amendment may skin the sore, but the scar will long after retain a blemish; yet no doubt free thought, which is free, and dreams and wishes, which are but shadows, though the rifling ruffians that break through all bosoms, and superficially ravish all women kind, from eight to eighty; and no doubt from actual transgressions many may be found free, for there was never infection so general, but it spared some; never battle so great, that all were wounded: some of Eve's offspring have withstood the temptation, all have not tasted the forbidden tree: and such a one, if thou canst pray, to prey upon, she hath portion enough, without other portion, if she thus continue it, for she shall make thee a father of undoubted children; she shall not wrinkle thy thoughts with distracting jealousies, nor upbraid with a former husband thy unkindness; her maiden thoughts shall receive from thee a more perfect impression of love and duty, and return it back more legibly indorsed and written, free from all former character, inscription, or soil; her affection shall be strong, not allayed by former wearing; she shall be such a one, as it is a heaven to live withal, a misery to mourn without; she shall live to thy senses and delight, as the budding rose in the youth of the spring; nay, shall be such a one, that, 'He, that walketh by thy door, shall point at her; and he, that dwells by her, shall envy him that hath her;' and every man shall admire his hap, but he most fully rejoice and be glad that hath her, and all generations shall call such blessed.

CHAP. IX.

Since the End of Marriage is Issue, whether it be lawful for old Couples to marry that are past Hope of Children; or whether it be lawful for an old Man to marry a young Maid, or the Contrary.

THE chief end of marriage is *proles,* i. e. 'issue;' yet there are other respects in that covenant, that, no doubt, may tolerate the most ancient in this kind. God saw that it was not good for Adam to be alone, therefore he made him a helper; and St. Paul saith, 'Rather marry than burn:' and, as it is in another place, *Væ solis:* 'Wo to him that is alone; for, if he fall, he hath none to help him up.' Now those in age, to come nearest to a common and subcorrective understanding, are most defective in their members, and, therefore, most subject to fall; and so, by consequence, have most need of this help, to raise them up, of this staff for their stay; and, besides, for aught that ever I could hear, or observe, that age is most prone to scorch itself in the flames of that fire, and therefore may lawfully partake the remedy against it: and, for the latter proposition for aught I see, the law forbids not the act, but the circumstances may breed some danger; for, if the wife be young enough, though the husband be never so decrepid, she shall not be out of all likelihood to see increase of her body; but he that thus undertakes to manage, in his age, what hath shaken the heart of youth, may be commended for his valour, but shall never be crowned for his wisdom: And for such a one (I trust) he shall not need to be jealous, for that his doubt shall be apparently enough resolved. One asked Diogenes, upon a time, for some direction how to choose a wife, because he was a philosopher; saith he unto him, "Fellow, choose one without a head (if thou canst), without a body, and without limbs; so her hands shall not offend in striking, nor her tongue in railing, nor her body in lusting." Another time, seeing a man in his old age going to church, to make up his second marriage, he said, "O fool, hast thou so lately been shipwrecked, and wilt needs to sea again?" The law of God, nor man, doth not forbid such marriages, but no policy in earth commends them; man and wife should be two in one: but can heat and cold, youth and age, be in one, and not be repugnant? He, that adventures so for sweet-meats, shall find them relished with much bitter sauce. They say, the oak would longer last, were it not for the entwining and embracing ivy; but, in this case, I intend the contrary, for the aged oak here blasteth the younger ivy, which the heat of youth must again renew, according to our poet:

> No sharper corsive to our blooming years,
> Than the cold badge of winter-blasted heirs.

Many worldly respects may conjoin these marriages, but this solder will crack in the wearing; and he, that so old seeks for a nurse so young, shall have 'pap with a hatchet[10],' for his comfort.

CHAP. X.

The Difference between Love and Lust.

LUST, the destroyer of Love, the supplanter and underminer of chastity, the spring-frost of beauty, the tyrant of the night, the enemy of the day, the most potent match-maker in all marriages under thirty, and the chief breaker of all, from eighteen to eight;

[10] ['Pap with a hatchet,' seems to have been a cant phrase for doing a kind thing in an unkind manner, as it would be, so to feed an infant.]

that protests that in a hot blood, that it never performs in a cold; a regarder only of the present, and to that effect will, with Esau, sell a birth-right for a mess of pottage, no longer esteeming the object than the use: which, in like example, is thus further followed, according to the more common observance:

> Friends, soldiers, women, in their prime,
> Are like to dogs in hunting-time:
> Occasion, wars, and beauty gone,
> Friends, soldiers, women, there are none.

More dangerous, when it roves without limits, than the lion without the verge of his grate; for he but only would deprive the body of life, but this both of life, and soul, and fame, subject to more opposite immediate passions and contradictions in itself, than any sense or humour in the nature of man: as now, well treated, fairly spoken, lodged where it best likes; anon, hated without enduring, cursed out of charity, thrust out of doors, and yet not only, though all this more immediately opposite, then preposterously fondly headlong, that, for a minute's joy, will incur a month's sorrow; that for one drop of water, will mud the whole fountain that gave it; for one sweet fruit, will blast the whole tree that bare it: whereas the effect and force of love is contrary, oppressing folly, suppressing fury, aiming to preserve, not to destroy; and, to that end, regards the end, by subduing the passions and motives, that would seem to oppose the tranquillity thereof; and, in conclusion, rejoiceth in the true fruition, without discontent, without satiety, having captivated and subdued, though with some difficulty, those passions, that sense for a time would have been best pleased with, to triumph, at last, in more full fruition, to that purpose that one thus writeth:

> Love comforteth, like sun-shine after rain;
> But lust's effect is tempest after sun.
> Love's golden spring doth ever fresh remain;
> Lust's winter comes, ere summer half be done.

In love, there is no envy, no jealousy, no discontent; no weariness, for it digesteth and maketh sweet the hardest labour; and, of all things, doth the nearest resemble the Divine nature, for 'God is love:' it hath in it unity without division, for true love hath not many objects; it is a fire much water cannot quench. Now lust contradicteth all these; for, whereas love is bounded with easy limits, lust is more spacious, hath no mean, no bound, but not to be at all: more deep, more dangerous than the sea, and less restrained; for the sea hath bounds, but it hath none: not woman, but all woman-kind is the range thereof, and all that whole sect, not able to quench it neither. Full of envy it is, for it envies all without his reach, and envies its own nature, that it cannot be satisfied; walking, for the most part, in similitude of an old goat, in the shape of an incontinent man.

In love, there is no lack; in lust, there is the greatest penury; for, though it be cloyed with too much, it pines for want: ambitious it is, for, where it treads, it puffs up, and leaves a swelling after it; turns low flats into little mountains, down which precipitate folly tumbles headlong to confusion; a hasty breeder of disinheritable sinners it is, such as have more pleasure in the begetting, than comfort in the bringing forth; best contented, when it loseth most labour. To conclude, though love and lust, in a half-brotherhood, dwell both under one roof; yet so opposite they are, that the one, most commonly, burns down the house, that the other would build up.

CHAP. XI.

The best Way to continue a Woman chaste,

Is not the magician's ring, nor the Italian's lock, nor a continual jealousy ever watching over her, nor to humour her will in idle fancies, adorn her with new fangles, (as the well appayed[11] folly of the world, in this kind, can witness,) but for him that would not be basely mad with the multitude; would not bespeak folly to crown him; would not set to sale that he would not have sold: for who sets out his ware to be cheapened, and not bought; that would not for his shop have his wife, for a relative sign; is to adorn her decently, not dotingly; thriftily, not lasciviously; to love her seriously, not ceremoniously; to walk before her in good example, (for, otherwise, how canst thou require that of thy wife, that thou art not, wilt not be thyself; *Vis tu uxorem tuam victricem esse, et tu victus jaces?* i. e. 'Wouldst thou expect thy wife a conqueror, when thou thyself liest foiled at the same weapon?') to acquaint her with, and place about her good and chaste society; to busy and apply her mind and body, in some domestic, convenient, and profitable exercises, according to her education and calling; for example, to the frailty of that whole sex; hath a powerful hand, as it shall induce either to good or evil.

There are of opinion, that there is in marriage, an inevitable destiny, not to be avoided, which is either to be Actæon'd[12], or not to be: if it be not, (as is the opinion of some damned in the error of Predestination,) then let him take a house in Fleet-street, divide it like an inn, into as many several lodgings as rooms; make his wife chamberlain to them all, attire her like a sacrifice, paint her out like a mayor's posts, or May-pole; let her have fresh youth and high feeding, lustful company to excite her, her husband absent; all these opportunities present: yet, notwithstanding, this destiny shall preserve him, to wear his brow as sleek as he that never fetched again the lost rib to his side, as unbunched as the front of a bachelor. But, if the contrary, be she the most pure in seeming, a very sister of that sect, the opinion of the Brownists[13] shall so near cleave to her skin, that she shall befate thy forehead in thy sleep, and kill thee dead in that image of thy grave: Be she Papist, absolution shall so resolve her, that she shall sin upon presumption; nay, though thou hadst Argus's eyes, thou shalt not escape it, for

> No policy, they say, can that prevent,
> Whereto two parties give their full consent.

Be she what she will, in this case, it shall be all one for thee to restrain or give liberty, where thou dwellest, or what thou dost, for thy destiny is so allotted, and it shall be accomplished. The rash opinion, and careless security of either, is worthy the reward, which, for the most part, it doth deservedly receive.

It was an error in religion, that one Ludovicus had, who had given himself over to this damnable opinion and security of the devil, that, if he were ordained to be saved, saved he should be, without any enquiry or diligence of his; if otherwise, though he toiled to death in his best endeavour, it would not help nor reserve him. In this conceit, settling himself in the most Epicurean and dissolute course of living that might be, he continued, till upon a time he fell into a most grievous extremity of sickness, when sending for a physician, who, beforehand acquainted with his damnable error, came not, but sent him word, 'that he needed not his help, for, if his hour were come, he could not preserve him; if otherwise, he should recover, though never any thing were administered unto him; which easy application he understood himself, and that he must use the best means and endeavour, as

[11] [Satisfied.] [12] Horned.

[13] [The sect of the Brownists sprung out of the Puritans. They maintained matrimony to be a political contract only, and condemned the solemnization of it in the church.]

well for the safety of his soul, as the preservation of his body, not knowing the event of their concealed ends;' and so at once (by that means) was happily cured, both in mind and body.

In no less palpable error are those, that so wittingly and violently are carried on either side in this dangerous stream of a corrupted judgment, to the apparentest spectacle, and certainest shame, that woman may do them; making that unquestionably their dishonour by this consequence, which a sober course might have directed to a more certain end. Therefore, whoever thou art, that wouldst not wink at such a shame; that, so profit doth succeed, wouldst not regard whether hand brought it in; use good endeavour, such foresight and wariness as may provide for competency, prevent indigence and want; two great allayers of affection, and a main inciter of impatient bearers to this folly and abuse; and, above all, seek to plant in her religion; for so she cannot love God, but, withal, she must honour thee; increase her knowledge in good things, and give her certain assurance and testimony of thy love, that she may, with her's again, the more reciprocally equal thy affection; for true love hath no power to think, much less act amiss: And these, discreetly put in practice, shall more preserve at all times and temptations, than spies or eyes, jealousy or any restraint; for these sometimes may be deluded, or over-watched, or prevented by opportunity, but this never.

CHAP. XII.

The Pattern of a bad Husband and a good Wife, in two Letters instanced.

FAIR mistress, what so long I have expected-
And, till this opportunity, neglected, [ed,
Is now so happened, as it would invite
Me to enjoy my absolute delight.
Your husband absent, and your servants gone,
And you, but with your maid, left all alone;
Where, lest sad care, or melancholy grieve you,
My best endeavour 's ready to relieve you.
What female comfort can one woman find,
Within the bed with other woman-kind?
What tedious gait the irksome hours do keep,
When there's no joy to wake, no mind to sleep?
Besides, the fearful terrors of the night,
Which women and weak minds do much affright:
All which, fair love, if you'll be rul'd by me,
We will convert so far, from what they be,
That those, which now are bitter for to think,
Shall taste like nectar, that the gods do drink.
The strangest monster that was ever bred,
That seas have nourish'd, or else desart fed,
Transported from his solitary den,
A common object to the sight of men,
Loseth his admiration and delight,
In little time, and pleaseth not our sight:
Our appetite, the viand ne'er so good, [food:
Cloy'd with one dish, will soon distaste her
That music, of all other, best we deem,
If ever in one key, we harsh esteem:
Man's nature doth desire to hear and try
Things that are new, to taste variety;
And I of women this opinion hold, [old;
They are not much in love with things are
Which makes me thus more boldly to discover
Myself unto you, your new friend and lover,
In hope to be accepted; for whose pleasure,
I'll spend my best life, and my dearest treasure.
Object not, you already are enjoy'd,
With Venus' pleasures dull'd and overcloy'd.
Why joyful widows, when their husbands die,
Might this object, but yet you see they try;
Because they think, variety of men
May make old pleasures new delights again.
She, that contents herself with any one,
For many nights, as well might lie alone.
Less diff'rence is not 'twixt the virgin life,
And state of pleasure, being call'd to wife,
Than is between the Elysium of one bed,
That's crossly fated, to that 's largely sped.
I have a wife myself, I tell you true,
Yet in the old kind seek for pleasures new:
Taking not now delight that I have took,
To shake the tree that I so oft have shook.

We see, in any country that we dwell,
The air, the earth, nay all that others tell:
Yet notwithstanding 'tis our common'st fashions,
To seek out other kingdoms, other nations.
Each woman doth abridge all woman-kind,
But yet one woman fits not each man's mind:
Nor every man, experience too too common,
Can fit, can please, or satisfy each woman.
Since then the sense, the appetite, and mind,
In fresh variety all pleasure find;
Let us then meet, all nice respects to smother,
And fully satisfy and joy each other;
So shall I rest, by your obligement due,
A secret friend and faithful servant true.
The world can judge no farther than it spies,
And where we act shall be from sight of eyes;
Windows nor walls can neither hear nor see,
And, for the bed, 'tis try'd for secresy:
Then seem but chaste, which is the chiefest part,
For what we seem each sees, none knows the heart:
And so your husband and the world will deem
You to be what you are not, but do seem.
Your husband he's abroad, where, I'm afraid,
He hath deserved to be so appaid.
My chain here take you, wear it for my sake,
And, as you find me yours, account so make:
And here's my ring in earnest of a friend,
The latest token that my wife did send:
And here's my purse, within it store of gold,
Able to batter down the strongest hold:
Your dainty limbs shall be more neatly clad,
In costlier raiment than they erst have had:
And, for your stomach, it shall not digest
Any thing but the rarest and the best.
These daily from me with a pleasing cheer,
Which husbands grudge to part with once a year.
Though for their maintenance I sell my land,
Disinherit heirs, for that I will not stand:
So you be mine in that sense I conceive you,
Which, till your answer manifest, I leave you.

HER REPLY.

ABUSED Sir, much griev'd am I to see,
That you so long have tarried time and me,
And now, when both your good seem to conspire,
They should in no sort answer your desire:
My husband's absence seemeth to import
In your conceit some hope to scale his fort;
But know by that you small advantage find,
For he is always present in my mind:
The thought of whom, whate'er his person be,
Is able to repulse your battery.
And for the hours that you so tedious deem,
That by your presence would so shorten'd seem:
I cannot tell with others what 't might do,
With me 'twould rather make one honr seem two:
And, for the fearful terrors of the night,
What could affright me worse than would your sight?
My maid and I, a pleasure not repented,
Will tell old stories long ago evented [keep,
To pass the time; or, when such watch we
We'll think good thoughts, or pray until we sleep:
For know my untainted mind did ever hate
To buy damnation at so dear a rate:
To taste sweet nectar for a day or hour,
And ever after to digest the sour.
'Tis not variety I seek or crave,
My whole delight is in the one I have:
And she, that's not contented with her lot,
I hold more monster than the sea hath got.
The friendship which you proffer me preserve, [serve.
For those that will your kindness more de-
Th' objection here you alledge is fondly strange, [to change
That women, though old clothes they love
And fancies too, in something, doth 't infer
That in this gross point they must therefore
I am another's parcel, I confess, [err?
And you by your acknowledgment no less:
Now, what a sin were this unworthy life,
I so to wrong my husband, you your wife!
My husband, who dares swear that I am just,
Should I so much deceive his honest trust?
Your wife, although a party I not know,
I hope, imagines likewise of you so.
For shame go then repent, and be not naught,
Be worth her good opinion, honest thought.
Let fleshly widows, when their husbands die
They ne'er did love, seek new variety:
For me, I vow, if death deprive my bed,
I never after will to church be led
A second bride, nor never that thought have,
To add more weight unto my husband's grave,

In second husband let me be accurst,
None weds the second, but who kills the first[14].
You have a wife, you write, give her your love,
And that will all your wand'ring thoughts remove;
You love her not, by these effects I see,
For, where love is, there's no satiety.
Can you so far forget humanity,
As, having shak'd the fruit, despise the tree?
It is not love, but lust, that thus abuses,
To make it weary of the walks it uses.
Those, who to foreign countries do repair,
Change not their minds, although they change the air[15],
Preferring still, through novelty desire,
Their country's smoke, before another's fire.
Like use observe unto yourself to take
From the objection that you seem to make:
That, though you see of beauteous women many,
And you, by choice, possess the mean'st of any;
More to respect her, you your wife have made,
Than others sun-shine, to your proper shade.
Suppress that lust, that soul and body wounds,
For, where it once breaks o'er, it hath no bounds:
'One woman doth abridge all woman-kind;'
The volume then, at large, why would you find?
For, sure, I think, where that doth bear no prize,
The book at large might weary, not suffice.
Another argument, to back your suit.
You alledge that walls and windows will be mute,
And that the world hath no such piercing eye,
The secret of the dark to search and try:
As if there were not one, whose power imparts,
To see through doors and windows, and through hearts;
From whose bright eye, no secresy can hide
That which is guilty, and would not be spy'd;
Then what avails to have the world acquit us?
When our conscience, like a fiend, shall fright us:
And, for the bed, although it cannot tell,
Yet out their shame will break that do not well.
My husband, he's from home, I must confess,
Whose acts you measure by your guiltiness;
But, wheresoe'er he be, well may he speed,
Ere any such thought from my heart proceed!
Admit he were in evil so compact,
Would I revenge the wrong by such an act?
If that I should, were 't not a helpless part,
To kill my soul, because he breaks my heart?
Your chain of gold here back again I send,
I'll have no earnest sure of such a friend:
And there's your ring, full little doth she know,
That sent in love, that you would use it so:
And there's your purse, and all your gold therein,
They're *wicked angels*[16] that would tempt to sin.
My fort is more impregnable than they,
That much persuade, although they little say.
As for my body's homely clothing-weed,
It keeps me warm, sufficeth nature's need,
Which scarce more costly do; and, for my fare,
My dishes wholesome, though they homely are.
Let those, that discontented do abide,
Go wrong their husbands to maintain their pride:
For me, the meanest rag would hide my skin,
Should better please me, than rich robes of sin;
Which when I ask, my reason shall be such,
No husband in the world shall need to grudge.
Then, for your heirs, reserve your lands unto them,
They shall not curse my bones who did undo them.
Call back yourself, and think I am your friend,
That thus would stay you from your wilful end:
Call back yourself, or I may safely tell
You 're running down the steepest hill to hell;
As, when cold blood and better thoughts shall show,
You'll hold me then your friend, though now your foe;
And more rejoice, in that I did refell
Your lawless pleasure, than consent:—Fare-well.

[14] [This couplet is borrowed from a speech of the player-queen in Shakspeare's Hamlet.]
[15] *Cœlum non animum*, &c.
[16] The angel was an English coin of gold, current in those days.

CHAP. XIII.

An Admonition to Husbands and Wives for Unity and Concord.

IN that you are bound, you must obey; for this knot can neither be cut nor unloosed, but by death: therefore, as wise prisoners, inclosed in narrow rooms, suit their minds to their limits, and not (impatient they can go no further) augment their pain by knocking their heads against the walls; so should it be the wisdom both of husbands and wives, that have undergone either this curse or blessing, as the success or use may make it unto them, to bear it with patience, and content, the assuager of all maladies and misfortunes, and not to storm against that which will but deeper plunge them in their own misery; for what madness were it for any one to cross himself daily, because another hath crossed him once? or because another hath vexed him, therefore to vex himself? Who is so weak in discretion, that, by some disaster having blemished one eye, for grief thereof will weep out the other? That mother tries a merciless conclusion;

> Who, having two sweet babes, when death takes one,
> Will slay the other, and be nurse to none.

Therefore, seeing it is so, whosoever thou art in this disaster, seek to plant an affection and love, at leastwise a patience to that which must of necessity be endured: for there is nothing so easy, that the want of this may not make hard; nor so harsh, that this may not better temper. There are many occasions, that this age administereth, more than former have done, of the use of this armour (though all other rust by the walls of peace) introduced by the over-curious respects of secondary causes, by secondary persons, that for these uses perish the principal, by joining hands, where hearts are more disjunctive than different sectaries; and what is the issue of this, but a wary patience, or sudden destruction? Others conjoin themselves by untimely folly, and these, many times, have a timely repentance when pleasures ebb, and sorrows begin to flow. As, for instance, a youth of able means, hopeful expectation, equal carriage, regardfully befriended, carefully watched over, purposed to better destiny, pricked on by some rebellious blood and guilty opportunity, strikes down all these hopes in the heat of his lust with a greasy kitchen-wench in a corner, and seizeth her to his proper use for unlucky consequences; this being done, oppressed in mind, forsaken of his friends, shall he the more augment his misery, by thought of this his perverted felicity, with rage, and evil suffering? No, rather let him love her, since it was his fortune to have her, and his fault to take her; and endeavour so to work and husband that cross beginning, to a more happy continuance and ending, taking St. Paul's counsel to his practice, which thus adviseth, 'Husbands, love your wives, and be not bitter unto them.' Love them for your own peace, for your own profit; dwell with them according to your wisdoms, as with the weaker vessels; for there is no offence where love is, for love covereth the multitude of offences, of dislikes, and because, the rather, that God instituted it, who himself is love; setting aside contention, domestic, civil, uncivil strife, the forerunner of ruin, and the purgatory upon earth; remembering whoever they be, that fall into this predicament, they have, before God and man, by joining of hands, taken an everlasting peace one of another, more inviolably to be kept, than the leagues of nations: for, as nothing is more odious in the sight of God or man, than self-violence against a man's own person, and there was never any enraged that way, but wanted either reason, or faith, in the deepest discontent; so then, by this consequence, he must either be mad or desperate, that shall, to that end, lay hands on his wife, being part of himself, for they are no more two, but one. As Adam and his rib at first were but one side, till severed and divided from him; so after by marriage it was joined again to as absolute unity as before, after which he pronounceth and thus witnesseth of himself: 'She is flesh of my flesh, and bone of my bone;' he the head, and she as part of the members; which so being, to be divided and at odds were as the hand to lift up, or the foot to kick against the head, the king and gover-

nor, or the head against these his instruments, supporters, and ministers; the harmony whereof, in this little world of man, may instruct, in example, all household commonwealths in the world, to unity. Commonwealths I say; for every married man, for the most part, hath three commonwealths under him; he is a husband of a wife, a father of children, and a master of servants; and therefore had need of government in himself, that must govern all these, and, to that purpose, cannot take unto himself a better practice or precedent, than from this uniformity of the body; where the head stands aloft like a king in his throne, giving direction and command to all his subjects; biddeth the foot go, and it goeth, the hand fight and it fighteth, the members assist, and they assist it; and this harmony preserves the whole man, which otherwise would destroy it; so must it be between man and wife, that mystical head and member, or both perish; and for that reason, shall 'a man forsake father and mother (the nearest that else could be) and cleave to his wife, being then no more two, but one;' and whom he taketh from her parents and friends, not to offer her violence, but to tender that love with increase, which, for his sake in these she parteth with, and she likewise to him, which, besides the profit, hath the applause both of God and man, according to the illusion of the Psalm cxxxiii. *Ecce quàm bonum et jucundum fratres habitare in unum*, i. e. 'Behold how good and pleasant a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.' Therefore, avoid discord, thou that wouldest see the fruit of thy labours, for unity gathereth what discord disperseth; avoid jealousy, that unresolved vexation, that labours to seek out what it hopes it shall not find; that many times foreruns that evil, which it causeth to follow after; being the author of dissension, distaste, misery, and sometimes of murder too, as many examples testify: of which I have here inserted one of most ancient truth, and lamentable action, of a king that had a son, by whose sword it was prophesied his own father and mother should perish, who, therefore, to prevent that fatal destiny, forsook his inheritance, and went into a far distant country to inhabit, where, fortune yet favouring, he increased to great honour and riches, and, to augment his greater felicity, was espoused to a wife, right noble, rich, and exceeding beautiful; of whose welfare and happy success, his father and mother afterwards hearing (being deposed of their kingdom, and in extreme misery) travelled to visit, for relief and succour; and happening to his house in his absence, where making themselves known unto his wife, to be her husband's father and mother, she kindly entertained them, and having well replenished their bodies by food and sustenance, to rest them the easier after their travel, she laid them both in her husband's bed; after which he, suddenly entering in, possessed with this deadly jealousy, and missing his wife, goes into the chamber, where perceiving two in his bed asleep, he so enraged with passion (taking it to be his wife and some adulterer with her) drew forth his sword, and slew them both thereon at once; who, when he perceived his father and mother, heavily repented, with sorrow and woe, and shortly after died with grief and pensiveness. And, besides all this, because it is thought (for the most part) to call a man's own guiltness into question, as Petrauch, to that purpose, well observeth, who thus noteth:

> There's no man jealous, I durst pass my word,
> Nor fears the scabbard, but hath struck with th' sword.

If children (which are the very pledges of love) make you parents, relish their years with learning and piety, let God's law be the seasoning of their first thoughts; for we know by experience, green vessels long relish of the first liquor they receive, and by instruction they may be as soon taught to say, 'Hosanna' to Christ, as 'Bald-pate' to Elisha; as soon a good word as a bad scoff. Affect not one more than another, love them all, but dote upon none, with the folly of the most; let them be children, not wantons; walk before them, especially their riper years, with the more observant example, which will be better to them, than many good lessons. Repine not with the wicked worldling, who had rather see his counting-house environed with upbraiding bags, than his table with this blessed garland of children; but be thankful for them, whatever thy poverty; for, as they are *pignora*, pledges, so are they *benedictiones*, blessings: and it shall be more plea-

sing to thy conscience, upon thy death-bed, to seal them as treasure for the kingdom of Heaven, to yield up thy spirit in the midst of their environing, than to unseal so many bags of evil heaped treasure, too near after performed legacies, every piece wherein shall rend thy heart in pieces at that hour, to think of the guilty atchieving thereof. Besides, he that hath much riches is subject to many cares, many fears, dread of oppression of violence; but he, that hath many children, hath even a peace in war, a security even in greatest danger, for he shall 'speak boldly with his enemies in the gate;' they are as so many swords in thy defence, so many arrows in thy quiver; 'Arrows (as saith one), because they may be so levelled, by good education and example, to shoot at thine enemies, as by the contrary against thyself.' I do not see but that natural reason and mere carnal man may be gravelled, incumbered, and disquieted, in many circumstances of carriage in this business; but those must be debated and forethought, before the entering therein, not repented of afterwards. If thou hast laid thy hand to this plough, become a husbandman in this exercise; thou must not by any means look back, for then the allurement of other beauties will breed a dislike of thine own, in which that thou mayest be the better contented, have some part in thine own portion, for as the saying is:

Who takes a woman foul unto his wife,
Doth penance daily, yet sins all his life.

The charges of children, the unfaithfulness of servants, the disquietness of neighbours, would wish for a former liberty and releasement, and nothing digesteth this course of life more than constancy and perseverance; and, because it is a trade of mystery and art, therefore (as a famous man of our time writeth) 'those, that have but seven years to learn any other, have three times seven to acquaint themselves in the labyrinth of this, and the management thereof, before they undertake it;' therefore having this notion, make use thereof, either discharge it willingly and contentedly, or undertake it not at all.

CHAP. XIV.

Certain Precepts to be observed in either Wiving or Marriage.

1. WOO not by embassador.
2. Make not thy friend too familiar with thy wife.
3. Conceive not an idle jealousy, being a fire, once kindled, not easily put out.
4. Affect him not, that would ill possess thee.
5. Blaze not her beauty with thine own tongue.
6. If thy estate be weak and poor, marry far off and quickly; if otherwise firm and rich, at home and with deliberation.
7. Be advised, before thou conclude; for, though thy error may teach thee wit, it is uncertain in this, whether thou shalt ever have the like occasion to practise it.
8. Marry not for gentility, without her support; because it can buy nothing in the market without money.
9. Make thy choice rather of a virtuous than a learned wife.
10. Esteem rather what she is of herself, than what she should be by inheritance.
11. *Intactum quæris, intactus esto.*—Be that example to thy wife, thou wouldest have her to imitate: for he, that strikes with the point, must be content to be beaten with the pommel.
12. She whose youth hath pleased thee, despise not her age.
13. That thou mayest be loved, be amiable.
14. Sail not on this sea without a good compass; for a wicked woman brings a man to repentance, sooner than a surfeit, sooner than suretiship.
15. It is the greater dispraise to children to be like to wicked parents.

16. It is more torment to be jealous of a man's wife, than resolved of her dishonesty: and the more misery, that a man may be assured of her vice that way, but cannot be of her virtue.

17. True chastity doth not only consist in keeping the body from uncleanness, but in with-holding the mind from lust; and she may be more maid that hath been unwillingly forced thereto in body, than she that barely consented in heart.

18. A true wife should be like a turquoise stone, clear in heart in her husband's health, and cloudy in his sickness: and like a tortoise, under her shell ever bearing her house upon her back.

19. Defer not thy marriage to thy age; for a woman, out of her own choice, seldom plucks a man (as a rose) full blown.

20. Marry so thy body, that thou mayest marry thy mind; which that thou mayest the better do, thus meditate:

1. That, if thou hadst, in variety of women, out-paralleled Solomon, thou shouldest, in the end, give up thy verdict with his; 'That all is but vanity, and vexation of spirit.'

2. That it is in lust, as in riches, where, to desire nothing, and to enjoy all things, is but one. To uncover more several nakednesses than the Turk from his decimary seraglio hath authority for, with an unsatiate illimited appetite; and to desire none, at leastwise, no variety, is the same, ay with advantage.

3. That, if thou shouldest, thus seeking to please thine appetite, enjoy a thousand, and but want one thou desirest, thou shouldest more grieve for that little want, than rejoice in all thy former plenty.

4. Then, since what thou canst enjoy, consume thy oil to the socket, and thy substance to a morsel, will not be one to thy pleasure for ten-thousand that escape it, the variety is so large, never to be gathered into one bundle of thy fruition, to set up thy rest, but, the more thou pursuest it, the more thou art distracted; content thyself within thy lawful limits, and destroy not thyself to run after that thou canst never overtake; which, the faster thou followest it, the swifter it flies from thee.

5. That it were a grief to die for the full pleasure of any sense, but a torment for a taste to a greater distemper; like to him that should purchase, at a dear rate, salt water to quench his thirst, which, the more he should drink, should but the more increase it.

6. That, if beauty, or wisdom, or any other portion of the body or mind assail thee, refel them with this thought, that they are but shadows of that substance, which should the more allure thee; but pictures, which, if they please, are but that the pattern should be the more desired.

Think, that as each day is an abridgement of all time, presents the same light, the same use, the same sun and firmament, and the ending of this renews but the same tomorrow; so each woman, an abridgement of that whole sex and infirmity, how mean soever, expresseth the same substance, the same mould and metal, proportion, quality, and use, of all other in the world. Who then would be so mad against sense, though they would persuade otherwise by title, by trapping, by copious adulterating all parts, to believe (as they would be thought) that they are other than what they are, other than the same, unless worse than other: the same way, and the same fashion, leading to the harborough of the same site, of the same condition and quality; though a little more circumstances (in some than other) beats the bush, and ushers it on. Know this, that the end of all such variety is no more than one dish, dressed and presented by a several cook; and fashion the same, in all one, but in circumstance and carriage. Who would be thus mad, without reason, to toil after the whole alphabet of women, when the least letter in the row expoundeth all that text and coverture? And, for title, or tomb-like bravery, well may they work upon the eye of folly, but never besiege the heart of understanding: and, as it was lately well observed by one, who, to that effect, thus further noted their vanity:

Things were first made, then call'd, woman the same,
With or without false title, or proud name.

And, if this be not yet enough, take with thee, besides, for a conclusion, and bar to all the rest, this motto, or sentence, to lead thee home: that,

Since all earth's pleasures are so short and small,
The way to enjoy most, is to abjure them all.

CHAP. XV.

Discontents in all Ages, Sexes, States, and Conditions.

UNMEDDLED joys here to no man befall, [ver all:
Who least, hath some; who most, hath ne-
I have examin'd from the king on's throne,
To him that at his chained oar doth groan,
Every estate, condition, and degree,
Situate between this large extremity:
Yet, wheresoever that I cast mine eye,
I never was so fortunate to 'spy
That man that had so great a blessing lent him, [him.
That had not somewhat in't to discontent
The rich man, with his cares and fears oppprest,
In all he hath, can find but little rest:
Ill creditors, unthrifty heirs, and losses,
Or else the gout, or something worse, all crosses.
The poor, in want forsaken of his friends,
Thinks, that where wealth is, there all sorrow ends:
But yet, as here, immediately I show,
The rich, that hath it, doth not find it so.
One tradesman, he dislikes his own vocation,
And on a worse he sets his admiration.
The single man commends the married life,
That hath the sweet fruition of a wife;
That opens all her beauties, and her treasure, [sure;
In hills and dales, that he o'erwalks at plea-
That may unstarted and unfear'd, partake,
Whole nights together, that which he doth quake
To snatch in corners, when he must away,
Sometimes disturb'd, when he would longer stay:
Banish'd like Tantalus, in his forced haste,
To touch the sweetness that he may not taste.
The married man, whom all these dainties cloy, [destroy;
Thinks that the sauce the sweetness doth
And that to purchase is so wond'rous dear,
That he had rather fast, than find the cheer.
Then children come, and they augment his charges,
And jealousy, sometimes, all these enlarges:
That what the other thinks doth Heaven excell,
He, that enjoys it, finds it but a Hell:
And wisheth now, but that it is too late,
That with the batchelor he might change his state.
Therefore, methinks, his application fit,
That to a public feast compared it;
Where those that long have sat and cloy'd with meat,
Would fain rise up, as others fain would eat.
Th' ambitious youth, lest folly over-sway him, [him;
Hath tutors, rod, and parents' eye to stay
Noting the liberty of riper years,
With more impatience his restrainings bears:
When elder times again (the more 'tis strange)
Would fain creep back again, and with him change.
The busy lawyer beating of his brain,
To make rough points by precedences plain,
Who, from a judgment wrongfully gone out,
Doth sometimes bring another's right in doubt,
By judging by it; let the first but stray,
And all go wrong, that are adjudged that way:
Noting the merchant, how, from foreign shores,
The winds and waves land wealth unto his doors;

That whe'r he sleep, or wake, or rest, or play,
So airs be prosperous, he grows rich that way;
Dislikes his choice. The merchant he in danger,
T' whom rocks, and shelves, and pirates are no stranger;
That tries the wonders of the unknown deeps,
Whom, but a three-inch'd board, from danger keeps;
Trafficks with unknown airs, and unknown friends,
Leaving his wife at home to doubtful ends;
Who, in his watry pilgrimage is said
To be with neither living nor the dead:
Commends the lawyer that hath power and skill,
Either to make or mar, to save or spill
A man's whole revenue, and therefore need,
Either for speech or silence, to be feed.
The empirick uncredited that tugs, drugs,
With forceless herbs, and with effectless them:
Commends the church-man, for his happy share,
Securely freed from temporary care;
When he again, with discontents full many,
Thinks the physician's happiest life of any;
For, by how much the body's better deem'd
Than is the soul, so much more he's esteem'd;
Which is by much, for let the body grieve it,
There's nothing unattempted may relieve it.
But, for the soul, although it die and languish,
We ne'er regard the dolour, nor the anguish:
But, to the greatest danger, do reply,
It will recover, or, It cannot die:
Therefore, to him that doth the physick bring,
To this regardless disesteemed thing,
Hath a poor meed more recompens'd his merit,
That cures the body, than applies to th' spirit;
And what, in health, men grapple and retain,
If sickness comes, it flies to ease their pain.
He, that by avarice, and damn'd extortion.
Hath heap'd up many a pound, to his heirs portion,
So far from thought of doing any good,
That, what it was, he never understood;
Sets up his rest, for ever here to dwell,
And, therefore, thinks no other Heaven or Hell.
Yet, when this serjeant, Death, comes to assail him, him:
To thee he opens, hoping thou canst bail
And, though thou canst not, do but seem to assent,
And he'll reward thee to thine own content.
Therefore, this art and trade, whoe'er neglect it,
Let him exchange with me, that do affect it.
He that a weary languish'd youth hath led,
To think what pleasures are in marriage-bed;
That hath intreated hours and years to haste them, them:
To cancel bonds, that he may come and taste
When there arriv'd, not finding to content him,
What expectation did before present him,
Let him appease his thoughts upon this ground,
That, in this world, that purchase is not found
There's discontent in every sect and age,
As well in childhood as in parentage.
There's discontent in every man's vocation,
Therefore pursues it newness, innovation.
There's discontent, from sceptre to the swain,
And from the peasant to the king again.
Then whatsoever in thy will afflict thee,
Or, in thy pleasure, seem to contradict thee;
Give it a welcome, as a wholesome friend,
That would instruct thee to a better end:
Since no condition, sect, nor state is free,
Think not to find in this what ne'er can be.

The Anatomy of a Woman's Tongue, divided into Five Parts: A Medicine, a Poison, a Serpent, Fire, and Thunder. Whereunto is added divers new Epigrams never before printed. The Fifth Edition, with more new Additions.

London, printed for Richard Harper, and are to be sold at his Shop, at the Hospital-Gate, 1638.

[Duodecimo, containing Eighteen Pages.]

The Frontispiece, or Meaning of the wooden Picture, in the Title Page.

This little emblem here doth represent
The bless'd condition of a man content;
Bless'd with a blessing sent him from above,
A quiet wife wholly compact of love;
In middle of the title I have plac'd them,
With hand in hand, my muse so much hath grac'd them.
The smiling sun, that o'er their heads doth shine,
Doth shew true love is heavenly and divine.
Now, at each corner of the title here,
Men discontented in their minds appear.
One sadly sits, his wife is grown so curst,
Her words like poison make him swell and burst:
Another man is by a serpent stung;
What is this serpent but a woman's tongue?
Another from the fire seems to turn,
To shew that women's tongues like fire will burn:
Another sounds his horn, and doth rejoice,
To drown a scolding woman's clamorous voice.
The cloud of thunder o'er his head, you see,
Doth shew what thund'ring tongues in women be:
Horns roar, and thunder rattles from the sky,
Yet women they will strain their voice as high.
Reader, no longer on the title look,
But cast thine eye a little on the book:
Read it quite o'er, and surely thou wilt say,
Thy money is well laid out, not cast away.

To the new-married Man.

YOUNG man, that now hast ventur'd on a wife,
And know'st not the conditions of her life;
For thou may'st live perhaps with her a year,
Before her qualities to thee appear:
Make much of her on whom thy love is plac'd,
Be sure thou offer not the first distaste:
For, if thou dost, thou openest a way,
For discontent to enter in, I say;

If she be kind of nature, mild, and chaste,
Make much of her, for thou a jewel hast;
If she be quarrelsome, and curs'd of nature,
Why policy will tame the fiercest creature.
Lions and tigers by policy are tamed,
And other creatures, which here are not named.
Some men will beat their wives, but that's [the way
To make them obstinate and go astray;
Others no means unto their wives allow,
And say, that is the way to make them bow;
But such as these are knaves and clownish boors.
For that's the way to make them to be [whores.
But, if thou seest her strive to wear the breeches,
Then strive to overcome her with kind [speeches.
If this will not prevail, why then be sure
That such a wife as she is quite past cure.
With evil company refuse to go,
For that's enough to make a sheep a shrew:
And to this end that thou should'st careful be,
Here thou shalt know what I have done for thee.
If that a woman's tongue seem strange unto [thee,
I'll shew what good or evil they may do thee.
Into five parts this tongue I will divide,
The first part is the best, as shall be try'd;
And these be they in order written under,
A *salve*, a *poison*, *serpent*, *fire*, and *thunder:*
And first a woman's tongue a salve I'll prove,
If she be one that doth her husband love.

How a Woman's Tongue may be said to be a *Medicine*.

THERE was a comely, handsome, proper maid,
That lov'd a young man very well 'tis said,
Unknown to him or unto any other,
For she conceal'd it even from her mother;
But she grew love-sick, and so wond'rous ill,
Because, poor wench, she could not have her will:
Which made her mother call her then to task,
What ail'd her to be sick, she her did ask.
The bashful maid at first would nothing say,
And yet, she being willing to obey
Her mother's will; thus she to speak began,
And said she was in love with such a man;
If she enjoy'd him not, she was undone,
And made th' unhappiest creature under th' sun.
Her mother did at this begin to chide,
And said she was too young to be a bride:
Nevertheless to the man's friends she went,
To have both his good will, and their consent.
This motion did the young man's mother please,
But yet she said that he had a disease,
That was the cause of all her grief, alas!
But yet she would not tell her what it was.
But, to be short, they married were with speed,
Unto the love-sick maid's content indeed.
And, since she found he was a lusty lad,
She wonder'd what disease her husband had:
She found her husband sound in wind and limb,
And no disease or sickness troubled him;
But on a time he went forth sound and well,
And came home very sick, the truth to tell;
For he had been among a druken crew,
So the new-married wife his sickness knew:
"Husband, (quoth she,) I now do understand
What your disease is, come give me your hand:
Be of good comfort, for I will assure you,
I under God will undertake to cure you.
It is a catching sickness and disease,
Which to prevent, I'll tell you, if you please;
My words shall be as physick for your soul,
If I may freely speak without control."
He gave consent, and thus she did begin,
To tell her husband 'twas a grievous sin:
"It will (quoth she) if you do use this thing,
Both soul and body to confusion bring:
And that in time it will impair your health,
Weaken your body, and consume your wealth:
'Twill rob you of your senses and your wit,
And for all goodness make you quite unfit;
O'erthrow your credit: O let me persuade
You from this vice! Wherefore should it be said,
That you, that are of all men held discreet,
Should come home stumbling, reeling in the street?
When every little boy, to your disgrace,
Will laugh at you, and jeer you to your face:

And which is more, if this I often see,
It will go near to break the heart of me.
Then, if you love me, and me well respect,
Banish that vice, sweet-heart, and now reject
That company that you esteem so dear,
That ne'er will leave you till they leave you bare."

So with such words as these she did prevail;
For she, poor heart, could neither scold nor rail:
And her kind loving words were not in vain,
For he was never after drunk again.
O happy men that do such wives enjoy,
Whose tongues are medicines to cure annoy!

How a Woman's Tongue may be said to be a *Poison*.

A MAN that had a nimble-tongued wife,
With whom he liv'd a discontented life:
For she would tell all that her husband did;
And from her gossips nothing should be hid.
If he sometimes did come home drunk to bed,
About the town it should be published.
If he a woman do salute or kiss,
Why all the town, forsooth, must know of this.
This made the poor man weary of his life,
Because he had such an unnat'ral wife.
Upon a time to his neighbour's house he went,
Much vex'd in mind, and wond'rous discontent.
He sits him down, but not a word he spake,
Until his buttons from his doublet brake;

It seems his heart, poor man, with grief was thrust, [burst.
Which made his buttons from his doublet
He swell'd, as if he poisoned had been,
Which caused them to call their neighbours in;
Which when the people saw, quoth they, "The man
Is surely poison'd;" so away they ran,
Some for strong waters, some for sallet oil;
Which when he saw, he could no less but smile:
Quoth he, "'Tis true, it was a Woman's tongue, [wrong:
That hath, like poison, done me so much
No poison worse than this, for certainly
It made my buttons from my doublet fly.
O women! be not cruel unto men, [then."
I'll words are worse than poison now and

How a Woman's Tongue may be said to be a *Serpent*.

THERE was a man was by a serpent stung,
And asked counsel both of old and young,
What med'cine to apply unto his sore,
Which every day did vex him more and more;
At last a woman, old, and lame, and blind,
Told him that if that serpent he could find,
Bid him pull out the sting, and not in vain,
For he should mend, and soon be well again.
"It is impossible for me, (quoth he,)
So many serpents in that place there be,
To find the self-same serpent out again,
That puts me now unto such grief and pain."
Another man stood by that had a wife,
That was a shrew, that raised wond'rous strife:

Quoth he, "I have a serpent every night,
That lieth in my bosom, and can bite;
And sure I think the best way it will be,
To cut that sting out that so troubleth me:
And by experience I do know her tongue
To be that sting that does me so much wrong."
So home he goes, and doth her kindly greet,
And takes his wife and binds her hands and feet:
With that the tempest did begin to rise,
She swore that she would claw out both his eyes.
"Ay, (quoth the man) I'll give you leave to claw,
Your hands being bound;" so he his knife did draw:

"What, will you murder me, you knave?" (quoth she.)
"No, I will only cut thy tongue from thee;"
Reply'd the man: When she heard him say so,
My gentlewoman knew not what to do.
But she intreated him to spare her tongue,
And promis'd she would never do him wrong,
But that she would be loving, kind, and mild,
And ev'n as harmless as the new-born child;
Bid him do what he will, if base he found her:
So upon this condition he unbound her;
And, having tamed her by policy,
They ever after lived quietly,
Men have enough to do that marry shrews,
Better tame them by policy than blows.

How a Woman's Tongue may be said to be a *Fire*.

A SIMPLE countryman a wife had married,
So good, that he wish'd longer he had tarried:
To plough and cart he used for to go,
But the poor man was troubled with a shrew;
And, being one day vexed in his mind,
He went abroad some comfort for to find.
He overtook two men in discontent,
That had shrews to their wives, to whom he went.
"Well overtaken, honest men, (quoth he,)
Let not my company offensive be,
Nor me reject, 'cause I am something rude,
And do into your company intrude;
For I walk here, only to ease my mind,
Because small comfort I at home can find.
'Tis true, when any storm is on the sea,
Men seek for harbour, 'cause they safe would be;
And, when a storm upon the land doth rise,
He that makes little haste home is unwise:
But when a storm is in the house, O! then,
The field and sea are best for such poor men."
"Faith, friend, (said they,) we know your meaning well,
Our cases are alike, the truth to tell:
And here we walk like pilgrims, as you see,
And right glad of your company we be."
Then one of them out of his pocket took
Some notes out of an old decayed book,
And 'cause the rest should not his words despise, [wise;
He took some notes from Scripture too like-
These were the words, as I remember well,
'The tongue is set upon the fire of hell.'
"O, (quoth the plough-man) if these things be true,
It will be ne'er the worse for me nor you:
For we, that have our hell upon the earth,
Shall have, I hope, our heaven after death."
So home he goes unto his wife with speed,
And, though that he could neither write nor read,
Yet he had learn'd enough to school his wife,
Hoping hereby to make her mend her life;
So in he comes, and with his wife is bold,
Thinking 'twould not be long ere she would scold: [her,
Which to prevent, because he did misdoubt
He told her that "she carried hell about her;
And that one told him, being a scholar great,
A woman's tongue it is the devil's seat;
And that it is a most pernicious lyar,
A backbiter and a consuming fire."
The woman, hearing this, did hide her face,
It was a certain sign she had some grace.
When he saw this, he kiss'd her lovingly,
And after that they lived quietly:
And some report her eyes in tears she drench'd,
And with those tears, hell-fire itself was quench'd.

How a Woman's Tongue may be said to be a *Thunder*.

THERE was a huntsman did a wife enjoy, [annoy;
Whose tongue did breed him oftimes much
But when she scolded, he his horn would sound, [drown'd:
So purposely her clamorous tongue he

But, on a time, her voice so high she rears,
She drowns the horn, and the poor huntsman's fears.
Away he goes unto a neighbour's house,
To drink away his grief, and to carouse:
"Neighbour, (quoth he,) pray take it not in scorn,
Resolve me what is louder than a horn?"
"Thunder (quoth he) is louder, my good friend:"
"Now Heaven (quoth the huntsman) me defend
From such like thunder as I heard ev'n now,
That drowned my shrill horn, and fear'd me too:
Thunder brings rain, (quoth he,) O Heavens save you,
Take in your clothes, and say, I warning gave you."
Quoth the other man, "You know not what you say,
For there hath been no thunder all this day."
"Yes, (quoth the huntsman,) I dare boldly swear,
Such a like thunder I did never hear,
Not in the element, but here below,
Unto my terror, yet unknown to you.
The thunder is in my wife's tongue too common,
No thunder like the thund'ring of a woman."
He takes his leave, and homewards he makes haste,
Hoping, that now the tempest is quite past;
But, all the way he goes, he cries a-main,
"Women, take in your sheets, 'tis like to rain;
For, since it thunder'd, 'tis not yet an hour,
And, after thunder, is usually a show'r."
But, when his wife did come to know of this,
Her tongue did never after do amiss:
Nor was she after known to be so bold,
To thunder with her tongue, to rail, or scold.
Thus policy, by wise men, still is us'd
To tame a shrew, by whom they are abus'd.
Thus in five parts I do divide the tongue,
And yet no civil woman do I wrong;
Nor yet uncivil women can deny,
But that, of them, I speak but sparingly;
For, I protest, I wish so well to all,
That I will never dip my pen in gall.

THE SONG.

To the Tune of 'The Old Bride.'

WHEN the world was made, as I understood,
All that was made, God saw it was good;
Then God made Adam; and gave him life,
And, of his rib, he made him a wife:
So mild, so wond'rous mild,
Was Adam's sweet wife,
That it was ne'er known
Her tongue raised strife.

But, when the world received a curse,
Then women, like men, grew worse and worse.
Among these weeds, to supply men's wants;
There grow some medicinary plants,
So good, so wond'rous good,
That man may procure
A wife, as a medicine,
To heal the impure.

But do not to that woman sue,
That hath a tongue as long as two;
For, if thou love her wond'rous well,
Her poison'd words will make thee swell:
Such grief, such wond'rous grief,
Thy heart will possess,
That all thy life-time
Thou wilt live in distress.

Nor come not to that woman's house,
That takes delight to drink and carouse;
For, when she is drunk, she'll prove thy foe,
And thy reputation overthrow:
So false, so wond'rous false,
Her tongue it will be,
And, in the end, prove
A serpent to thee.

If thou hear a woman curse and swear,
To love such a woman I wish thee forbear;
For all the town doth know full well,
Her tongue is set on the fire of hell:
Such flames, such wond'rous flames,
From her tongue will come,

'Twere better that such
A woman were dumb.

If thou see a woman loud and high,
As loud as thunder from the sky,
Then stop thine ears, and go thy way;
It is no boot for thee to stay:
So loud, so wond'rous loud,
Her tongue it will be,
As thou shalt find
Like thunder to thee.

There is a way to tame a shrew,
And this is it, if thou wilt know;
Thy love must teach her, by degrees,
How she the serpent's head may squeeze:
So subtle, so wond'rous subtle,
This serpent appears,
That man and wife
He sets by the ears.

Now, if these lines she understand,
And bring herself under command;
If she her duty so well know,
Then, take my word, she'll be no shrew:
So good, so wond'rous good,
This woman will be,
In after-times,
A comfort to thee.

Epigram I.

THERE was a fellow, that would undergo
To tame the fiercest and the cruell'st shrew,
That liv'd on the earth; and so 'twas try'd;
For, after that, he had one to his bride.
With whom he liv'd in discontent and strife,
That made him almost weary of his life:
She brought him to his night-cap, and, with grief,
He took his bed, refusing all relief.
It chanced on a time, a bull broke loose
Out of a butcher's yard or slaughter-house,
Stark-mad, and with his horns the ground up-tears,
With twenty mastiff-dogs about his ears.
The woman-conquer'd man, that lay in bed,
Hearing a noise, steps up, like one half-dead,
And, opening the casement in great haste,
Looking upon the bull, did take distaste
To see him hal'd with ropes, and tore with dogs,
With hooting boys skipping about like frogs;
Begins to call to them, "Ho, hold your hands,
And understand now how the matter stands;
Why hale you so the bull? Let him alone;
'Tis too much odds, so many unto one:
But, if you'll have him tam'd, be rul'd by me,
Give him a wife, and he'll soon tamed be."

Epigram II.

THERE was an ancient batchelor of late,
Could not endure to hear a woman prate;
And, to prevent the mischief of the tongue,
The man did live a batchelor so long:
An old, decayed maid to him did come,
That lack'd a service, feeble, lame, and dumb; [fer,
Made signs to him, that he would her pre-
That she might serve this ancient batchelor.
To whom he said, "Now welcome, honest Mab;
For, since I cannot brook a prattling drab,
I'll marry thee, though thou be dumb and old,
Because I know thou wilt not prove a scold:
What shall I say? My mind I'll freely break:"— [speak.
The dumb had better luck, than some can

Epigram III.

JOAN, I do hear, that thou art turned scold,
And I am sorry thou art grown so bold,
Since I do know, when thou wast counted civil;
Can man's ill manners make a woman evil?
Then I to wed persuaded will by no man,
Because I will not overthrow a woman.

Epigram IV.

Qu. PEG, what's the reason you so crab-bed are? [care.
Ans. Because, to live, you have no better
Q. Why do you to the ale-house follow me?
A. Because I you at home had rather see.
Q. Why do you scold, when I at home do come? [dumb?
A. Would you be drunk, and have me to be
Q. And why speak you not of it on the morrow? [sorrow.
A. Because my heart is then too full of
Alas, poor heart, 'tis time for me to mend;
Pity to break the heart of such a friend.

Epigram V.

I HAD a bird, which, with great care and pains,
I taught to sing; my pleasure was my gains:
But, O! I had a parrot at the last,
That, without teaching, learn'd to speak too fast.

Epigram VI.

A SCOLDING woman vex'd her husband so,
That out of doors he discontent did go;
And, as he sadly went along the street,
A discontented man this man did meet,
Weeping and wailing, wringing of his hands:
Of whom the other man of him demands,
What was the cause, that he lamented so?
"O friend, (quoth he,) the cause of this my woe
Is this: My wife is dead, and I am left
Comfortless, and of comfort quite bereft;
As good a creature as e'er liv'd on earth,
This morning did she lose her vital breath."
"Was she so good? (quoth he,) so is not mine:
I would my wife had then excused thine."

Epigram VII.

TWO men did walk together in the street;
Neighbours they were, and both of them discreet:
"Friend, (quoth the one,) the death of my good wife
Doth grieve me so, I think 'twill end my life."
"And truly, (quoth the other,) neighbour John,
I may rejoice, that mine is dead and gone;
For, whilst she liv'd, I ne'er liv'd merry day,
And, now she's dead, I may both sport and play;
Follow my work, and never be controul'd:
No grief like his, that's troubled with a scold."
No sooner had he spoke, but two stout dames
Were scolding, and forgot each other's names;
Whore, slut, and drab, between these two, were common,
The ordinary language of bad women.
He that was troubled with the scolding wife,
Did run, as he had run ev'n for his life;
And would not be persuaded otherwise,
But that his wife then from her grave did rise,
And that she follow'd him, and kept a stir
Because she heard him talk so much of her:
"Art come again (quoth he) for to torment me?
Now I do wonder who the devil sent thee."
O, if the remembrance of a scold do so,
What will the living presence of them do?

Epigram VIII.

THERE was a woman known to be so bold,
That she was noted for a common scold;
And on a time, it seems, she wrong'd her betters,
Who sent her unto prison, bound in fetters:
The day of her arraignment being come,
Before grave elders, this then was her doom:
She should be ducked over head and ears,
In a deep pond, before her overseers.
Thrice was she under water, yet not fainted,
Nor yet, for aught that I could see, was daunted;
For, when with water she was covered,
She clapp'd her hands together o'er her head,
To signify, that then she could not talk,
But yet she would be sure her hands should walk:
She had no power, but yet she had a will,
That, if she could, she would have scolded still:
For, after that, when they did her up-hale,
Fiercely against them all then did she rail.
This proves some women void of reasonable wit; [submit.
Which if they had, then would they soon

Epigram IX.

A COUNTRYMAN being troubled with a shrew,
Sold all his living, and to Spain would go:
His wife went with him; though she were unkind,
None could persuade her for to stay behind,
They shipping took; and, as they sail'd along, [strong,
The billows rose, the wind grew wond'rous
So that there was a mighty tempest then,
Which caus'd the captain to command the men
To cast their greatest burdens over-board;
The which was done according to his word.

The countryman, observing what they did,
Took up his wife upon his back, unbid,
And went to cast her o'er into the sea,
Crying aloud, "This is a happy day,
This is the greatest burden that I have,
'Tis best for me to make the sea her grave:"
But she entreated him to spare her life,
And she would prove a kind and loving wife;
And some report, this fear with her so wrought,
That she became good, that before was naught.

Epigram X.

TWO young men for a maid of late did strive,
Ere either of them knew the May to thrive:
One challenged the other for to fight;
But this same challenge did him so affright,
That he, on even terms, gave o'er the suit,
Without an arbitrator to dispute;
And, 'cause that fighting he did so abhor,
He said, "she was not worth the fighting for:
Nevertheless, because he lov'd her, though,
At cross and pile[1] he was content to throw."
Now, reader, do not think the wench mistook him,
The wench was cross enough, for she forsook him;
Upon the other fellow did she smile,
So cross to one, and to the other pile.

Epigram XI.

HARRY was marry'd to a Guildhall wife,
And he that parchment wench did often curse:
Though she, poor wench, was still, and void of strife.
Yet he burn'd her, and took on ten times worse.
Well, Harry, if this die, shake off thy fetter;
Marry no more, for seldom comes the better.

Epigram XII.

AN honest man, being troubled with a scold,
Told her, if she continued so bold,
That he would have a case made out of hand,
To keep her tongue in, under his command.
Well, she had need to have a special care,
Lest she, with scolding, wear her tongue threadbare;
Which if she do, 'twill be so poor and base,
That, sure, her tongue will not be worth a case.

Epigram XIII.

AN honest waterman, that kept a ferry,
Did take delight to see his children merry;
And on the tongs sometimes he'd play a fit,
And the poor children would dance after it;
And always, when his wife did scold, they say,
The good man he upon the tongs would play:
Methought it was a strange sight to behold
A man play, children dance, and woman scold.

Epigram XIV.

A WRETCHED woman strove to wear the breeches,
And to her husband us'd uncivil speeches:
Nay, she was not content ill words to send him,
But she a box o' th' ear at last did lend him:
The man did for her valour praise her much,
Because she gave him such a gentle touch.
"Come, faith, (quoth he,) the first three hits for six-pence,
Here, take this cudgel, try how thou canst fence;
I hope I am not such a silly elf,
But I am able to defend myself."
Together by the ears, at last, they fell,
And cudgell'd one another very well.
A porter, loaden with neat's tongues and sowce,
Enquired for the master of the house.
"Faith, friend, (quoth he,) I'll tell you presently,
For we are striving for the mastery."
At length the woman did begin to yield,
The man, with much ado, did win the field.
"Porter, (quoth he,) now speak your mind to me,
For I am master of the house, you see."

[1] [*Cross and pile*, says Mr. Strutt, is evidently derived from a pastime called *Ostrachinda;* known in ancient times to the Grecian boys, and practised by them upon various occasions. With us it is now called *Head or Tail*, and is properly confined to the most vulgar classes of the community.—Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, p. 250.]

"Sir, (quoth the porter,) your wife's friends have sent [Lent."
Neats tongues and sowce, to feed upon this
"How tongues? (quoth he.) Take them away again,
For an ill tongue hath almost been my bane:
Go, tell my wife's friends, of all meats that be
The tongue agreeth worst of all with me:
And, as for sowce, I sowsing have enough;
She cannot only scold, but she can cuff."

Epigram XV.

A WOMAN, that did love a cup of ale,
Would oft be drunken, and would often rail
And scold at every one she met withal,
And being drunk upon a time did fall
Scolding at every one that passed by,
And being drunk, the people let her lie:
At length a certain parrot heard her talk,
And talk'd as fast as she, and cried, "Walk, walk." [hand,
"Ay, (quoth the woman) send me now your
And I'll walk home;" and yet she could not stand.
Betwixt these two there is a difference;
I fain would know who spoke the better sense?

Epigram XVI.

JOHN BARRET had a parrot for to sell,
And went about where gentlemen did dwell,
To sell his parrot; at the length he met
A friend of his, that inwardly did fret;
For he, it seems, had married with a shrew,
That vex'd his mind wherever he did go.
Quoth Barret, "Friend, will you my parrot buy, [tily?"
Which can both talk and prate most dain-
"No, (quoth the man,) I thank you, good John Barret:
Faith, I am too much troubled with a parrot;
Yet, in regard you are a friend of mine,
I am content to change my bird for thine."
"O, (quoth John Barret,) are you grown so wise? [eyes."
Your bird I fear will claw out both mine

Epigram XVII.

A FELLOW, that was troubled with a wife,
With whom he liv'd a discontented life,
Set up a bill, and colour'd it with green:—
"Within this place (quoth he) is to be seen
A monster like a woman, more uncivil,
In form a woman, but in speech a devil."

Epigram XVIII.

A WOMAN did demand of me of late,
Why I condemn'd her for her idle prate;
Since that her tongue, although a member bad,
Was all the 'fensive weapon that she had.
I cannot tell, how it did her defend,
But I am sure, that it did me offend:
For a sharp-weapon'd woman I will praise her;
For why? her tongue is sharper than a razor.

Epigram XIX.

TWO men complained sorely of their wives,
And said they lived very unnat'ral lives,
"My wife (quoth one) my very heart will break,
For she is sullen, and she will not speak."
"O, (quoth the other,) 'tis a sweet distress,
For of two evils always choose the less;
Thy wife wants tongue, and mine she hath too much: [such."
Unhappy are those men, whose wives are

Epigram XX.

THERE was a woman, a notorious scold,
That used to be so audacious bold,
That, when her husband to the ale-house went, [spent;
Would follow him, although small coin he
And she would scold so wond'rous loud and fierce,
'Tis past my skill the same for to rehearse:
But, when she was rebuk'd, she would reply,
"It was her nature to talk hastily."
If it be so, pray tell me, good John Golding,
What difference is 'twixt hasty talk and scolding?

Epigram XXI.

THERE was a certain man a wife did wed,
That was but meanly taught, but better fed;
For always, when he was dispos'd to play,
This woman would be sullen all the day;

Which vexed him, who thought he had great wrong, [tongue:
Complaining that his wife had ne'er a
But I think no; for I have heard it told,
That he was bless'd, because she would not scold:
But he did vex her so, that, at the last,
She that had lost her tongue did prate too fast.

An Epitaph.

HERE lies my wife in earthly mould,
Who, when she liv'd, did nought but scold.
Peace, wake her not; for now she's still:
She *had,* but now I have *my will.*

A Dream.

I WANDER'D forth a while agone,
And went I knew not whither,
But there were beauties many a one
Appeared all together

In a pleasant field of mirth,
I walked all about;
In the garden of the earth
A spirit found me out.

Jealousy her heart did wound,
She was made the people's wonder;
Like a tempest was her sound,
And her speech like claps of thunder.

Homewards then I went with speed,
Reason good, and why? Because
I perceiv'd that Jove decreed,
Sweet meat should have sour sauce:
Vinegar was mixt with cream;—
But all this was but a dream.

The faithful Shepherd's dying Song.

To the Tune of

'Madam, be covered; why stand you bare?'

COME, shepherds, cast your pipes away,
No time for mirth when grief is near;
If that you please a while to stay,
My sorrow to you I'll declare:
Unhappy I that plac'd my love
On her that did inconstant prove.

As I sat by my flocks of sheep,
Upon a merry holiday,
Although my flocks I safe did keep,
Yet beauty stole my heart away.

A heavenly beauty came to me,
And did salute me with a smile;
From Cupid's snares I lived free,
Until her looks did me beguile.

I wedded her, made her my own,
She was as neighbour to my heart;
My fortunes I have overthrown,
For she from me did quickly start.

Her company I could not have,
Neither by night, nor yet by day:
I was no better than her slave,
For I did work, when she did play.

Then was I forc'd the sea to cross,
And leave my wedded wife behind;
But I was happy in my loss,
Because to me she prov'd unkind.

In three years after I was gone,
She chose herself another mate;
I found her with another man,
And then she said, I came too late.

Then I was shipp'd away again,
I was betray'd I know not how,
And landed on the coast of Spain,
And now again return'd to you.

You woods, you hills, you dales, you groves,
You brooks, and every pleasant spring,
You creatures, come, whom nothing moves,
And hear a woful shepherd sing.

For, to my fellow shepherd swains,
I oftentimes have made my moan,
But what my mournful words contains
Is rightly understood of none.

O sacred Heavens! why do I spend
My just endeavours thus in vain;
Since what the fates do fore-intend,
They never after change again?

Nor faith, nor love, nor true desert,
Nor all that woful man can do,
Can win him place within her heart,
That finds he was not born thereto.

And so farewell, kind shepherds all,
Adieu, adieu, false shepherdess;
Thou art the cause of this my call,
For thou hast brought me to distress.

He sent his groans up to the skies,
And yielded up his vital breath:—
The shepherds closed up his eyes,
And laid him in his bed of death.

They sung a mournful elegy
Over his grave, whereas he lay,
All flesh, quoth they, is born to die;
And this shall be his epitaph:

'Lo, here lies he that plac'd his love
'On her that did inconstant prove.'

A Postscript.

SINCE first my book was printed, I do hear,
Some women no good-will to me do bear:
But I must needs confess, that they were such
Even of the vulgar sort, that I did touch;
And such, whose carriage with their breeding shown,
Unto the world their weakness have made known;
Prov'd themselves guilty of the things I writ,
Shewing but little manners, and less wit.
But, since I find my book hath done some good,
I will go forward, though by them withstood:
It hath converted two, and made them civil,
That were almost as bad as is the Devil;
They did confess, they did disgrace their marriage,
And wrong their husbands by their evil carriage;
They did confess, that I was in no fault,
By shewing them how poorly they did halt;
They do confess, how they indebted are
For my good will to them, and honest care
Had to their credit and their reputation,
And glad was I of this their recantation:
And glad was I when this I understood,
That I was born to do a woman good.
Henceforth I promise, and I do not flatter,
To rest their servant in a greater matter.

A brief Relation of a wonderful Accident, a Dissolution of the Earth, in the Forest of Charnwood[1], about Two Miles from Loughborough in Leicestershire; lately done, and discovered, and resorted to, by many People, both old, and young. Published by two Lovers of Art, I. C. and I. W. MDCLXXIX.

[Quarto, containing Six Pages.]

To the Reader.

To your ingenuous acceptation, we communicate these our observations; not for 'filthy lucre's sake,' but for public satisfaction, and truth sake; being provoked thereto by some persons of quality: Considering the evil custom of erroneous reports, and the fearful rumours of ignorant people.

Read, and judge charitably, without critical or incredulous censure: here is no wandering prolixity, nor superfluous embellishment of eloquence, but a scrutiny into the proper antithesis, apparelled with necessary language. Be candid, not cunning.

Vale.

THE figure is almost circular, posited in a declining condition to the horizon; it being the end or fragment of a hilly body, and contains about two acres of ground. In its upper division, or primary breach, the lower, or fallen part of it, lies a yard (in some places) beneath the unmoved body. About three parts of this circular wonder shews symptoms of the efficient cause; and the rest shews little, or no defect.

About three paces from the upper breach, or prime division, is a second trench all down one curve of the circle, aforesaid, and some second fractures be on the other side these; over the prime trench, or breach, lieth a narrow path-way; the fallen part, whose hypotenusal should fall upon the true angular point (if it had a perpendicular fall), is subverted, and turned aside one foot and more.

Between the prime breach and second curvery fracture, the earth shews a perpendicular descent, or down-right falling, because it doth thrust itself within its former bounds: on the other side of the curve, which is higher ground, the parts of the earth fallen, and unfallen, shew the distance of a foot: which, if it should be raised to a parallel, with its former bounds, would differ half a yard. The sine for these curves is the radius, or total sine.

The lower part of the periphery[2] (or arch opposite to the primary breach) is rolled in, with an overshooting of its bounds; as if it were driven, being light in substance, and stones (in some places thereof) thrust forth themselves. This lower curve contains about half the radius for its versed sine.

The unbreached part of the periphery lies on the lower side of the hill, in respect to the hill's ridge.

Some persons judge water to be the cause of the breach; others say wind.

The latter we account proper, and consider both, in method and manner following:

1. That it was not water. 2. That it was occasioned by wind.

[1] [The forest of Charnwood, or Charley, is now nearly disforested, and in respect to timber almost barren, but affording pasturage for cattle, sheep, &c.—Nichols's Leicestershire, vol. iii. part 2.]

[2] [Circumference.]

Reasons negative, and affirmative.

That it was not water.

1. Water doth naturally run in a channel hasting forward, yea, and that where the ground is level: but, where the ground descendeth, through which it is to pass, there it forceth with a more direct course, and speedy stream; not dilating itself, but rather drawing its body more close into narrow bounds.

2. If water had been the cause, then it should not have run in a round figure, where the hill is so much descending; unless some artificial pipes had been laid, which by the attractive power of the air should draw the water up gain; which if fancy, or any person's supposition, should incline to, yet nevertheless it would have more powerful force in its descent, than ascent.

3. Had water (by its violent billows) caused this accident, it would either have done it by an eruption outward, or a dissolution of the earth within; whereby the upper superficies should have fallen in, or sunk within its counterminal sides. Indeed, some part of the ground we allow to be depressed, but another part is not, but rather heightened, by rolling up: and, how any thing should produce contrary effects to its nature, is marvellous!

4. Had water been the cause, by demolishing the entrails of the earth, then (running in a channel) the breach should be opposite to its current; and should, from hence, the current of water be guessed to fall where the ground is fallen in, all down one curve of the circle, then should not another breach considerable appear from its production, and the earth would have been overshot or carried that way as the current of water past; but the earth is carried that way where no such falling-in appears.

That it was wind.

1. Because it is so improbable to be water; we judge wind might be the cause, forasmuch as it is its property to produce such effects.

2. For wind being gathered, and straitened within the bowels of the earth, in order to an earthquake, doth at last (by a volatile motion) break or burst forth in some place or other, with great violence; rending, twisting in, and burying the earth within its own bowels; and in its motion, arching, flying, and searching about, might (very naturally) cause this breach.

3. Because the lower part of the periphery, which is overshot, lies rolled in, huft, or blown, darting from its swoln (or enlarged) pores, stones of a considerable weight; as also the root of a tree, which is turned up in the primary breach.

4. This being at the front of a hilly range, the earthquake might come running along, and there disburden itself; and that moreover, as it is free from rocks, the ground solvible, and consequently the pores more easily extended.

Arguments corresponding with the former reasons.

1. If water had been the cause; then from a slant descent or ascent, the breach would have shewn itself in a right-lined, or serpentine figure, and more especially in a right-lined figure, its surface having declination.

But this breach is circular, and declining, contrary to a right-lined, or serpentine figure.

Therefore the cause could not be water.

2. Water was not the cause, but rather wind; for wind is volatile, light, and forcible, and known to be of circular motion: where it is straitened, and wants liberty to disburden, or disperse itself into its own element, it searches a passage; and, by operation, is (by philosophers) accounted the cause of earthquakes: it vents, and turns up the earth in its delivery thence.

But, in this breach, the figure is circular, diversely fractured, blown or huft up, and writhed, which are the symptoms of an earthquake.

Ergo, Wind was the proper and true cause.

Now it remains, that we answer three objections, and conclude.

1. Some may say, had there been an earthquake, why was it not discerned, felt, or discovered by one or other?

2. Though towns be not very high, yet there be some inhabitants on the forest nigh resident; and would not they have been sensible of some motion or noise which accompany earthquakes?

3. There be many trees, not far off; would not some of them have received prejudice by overturning, or rocks, where you suppose the windy commotion ran along?

Answers to the objections.

1. Had there been any inhabitants dwelling on the said hill, they might then have felt it.

2. As for them that dwell nigh, they might very well be insensible of noise, or motion which might happen in the night; and because earthquakes (more general ones) have been experienced to operate in one part of the town, and not in another part of the same; or in a various manner, in a little distance; no wonder then, if such inhabitants perceive it not.

3. As for trees, how should they be prejudiced, where the earthquake came not? But, had trees stood where the breach was made, they would probably then have been overthrown, as the root of a tree aforesaid; and, as for rocks not being removed over the windy passage, they might be spared for the same reason that the ground in those places was; and both spared, because the disturbance hastens along to the front, as a stone to its center.

The Geography and History of Mons[1]. First written in French for the Service of an Imperial Officer, in the Army about Mons; and now done, a second Time, in English, for the Satisfaction of our British Officers. By John Mack Gregory, LL.L. Professor of Geography and History.

Printed at Edinburgh, in the Year MDCCIX.

[Quarto, containing Forty-four Pages.]

MONS is a great town, the capital city of all Hainault, and the principal place of residence of the governor, and the other officers who compose both the particular courts, and the general councils of that whole province.

It is situated on the banks of the river Trouille, in the middle of a large plain, that reigns all around it, for several leagues, on both sides the river Haine. But, just where the town stands, there is a small eminence, included within it; the bank of the Trouille, on the one side there, being a little rising ground, or hill; that on the other side, a great level, or plain. And, immediately without the town, the ground is a great marsh, caused principally by an abundance of waters proceeding from the confluence of those two rivers, of a great many rivulets, of some brooks, and of several canals, all rendezvousing thereabouts; and partly by the continuance of the plain, which favours that of the marsh, making it to run out for half a league from the walls, for three quarters, and for a whole league in some places; so that it reigns about the town, for a great way off, and with such a great deal of water, that it cannot be well drained, except on the east-side towards Na-

[1] [A city of the Austrian Netherlands, and capital of the province of Hainault.]

mur, where the ground rises too high for it, and on the west towards Valenciennes, where there is likewise a little rising.

The chief of those waters, that render the country about Mons so marshy, are these two rivers, the Trouille and the Haine.

The Trouille is but a small river, taking its rise near the village of Merieux, in the same province of Hainault, three leagues and a half from the town of Mons, on the south-side. It has at first its course from south to north, then makes a turn within Mons, runs afterwards from east to west, and, at length, falls into the river Haine, a league above the fortress of St. Guislain, likewise in the same province, three quarters of a league from Mons, on the west-side.

Upon both the sides of this river, just where it makes the turn from the north to the west, or rather from the north-east to the north-west, stands Mons, seated upon the two banks; the bank there, on the east-side, being an eminence or hill; that on the west-side, a flat ground or plain; and the river running through the town, north-east when it goes in, and north-west when it goes out, divides it into two very unequal parts, the part on the east-side, upon the hill, being by far the greater; that on the west side, in the plain, much the lesser; just three leagues and a half below where it rises, near Merieux, and about three quarters of a league, above where it falls into the Haine, not far from St. Guislain. That part of the river, which is above Mons, is called the Upper Trouille; and below, it is named the Lower.

The Haine is also but a small river, though somewhat greater than the Trouille, having its source near the town of Fontaine l'Eveque, in the same province of Hainault, four leagues and a half from the town of Mons, on the east-side. At first it runs north, then turns west, afterwards north-west, then south-west, and again west: so, making a great many turnings and windings, as it goes through the country, but having the main of its course from east to west, especially it is so as it passes by Mons; it at length falls into the river Scheld, a little above the fortress of Condé, likewise in the same province, four leagues and a quarter from Mons, on the west-side.

Upon the south-side of this river, at a place where it runs from east to west, or rather from north-east to south-west, stands Mons, seated on an eminence, upon the banks of the Trouille, in the middle of the plain on that side the Haine, and at the distance of betwixt a quarter and half a league from the river, where it passes by the town; just four leagues and a half below where it rises, near Fontaine l'Eveque; and about four leagues and a quarter above where it falls into the Scheld, hard by Condé. That part of the river, which is above Mons, is called the Upper Haine; and below, it is named the Lower.

Besides those two rivers, there are abundance of other waters, that contribute to render the ground thereabouts a marsh; a great many rivulets, of lesser note, some brooks, and several canals, detached from those rivers both above and below Mons, that are all made to run, turning and winding through the country, about the town, into the lakes and ponds, to supply them with water; through the town, into the ditches and kennels, for the conveniency of the people; and out of the town, away into the channels of the lower Trouille and Haine, with design to render them navigable.

In this manner, it happens, that the country about Mons is so marshy. The town is so surrounded, and the territory adjoining so planted, with such an abundance and plenty of waters, proceeding from a confluence and complication of so many rivers, rivulets, brooks, and canals, all rendezvousing there on purpose, as it were, to make a marsh, and the ground thereabouts is so continued a level and plain, that it cannot well be otherwise; and, for the conveniency and advantages of water, one may say, there is not, perhaps, such another inland situation of a town, as that of Mons is, in Europe, if it be not that of Ghent. As for what inconveniencies may arise there, from the superabundance of these waters, they are wisely provided against, as much as may be, by the industry and care of the inhabitants, who, by the multiplying of canals and ditches, by the keeping clean and neat their channels, by the variety of ponds and little lakes, but especially by the number and good government of sluices, have them so under command, that they can let

them out, or keep them in, or make of them what they please: and consequently, by such means in the case of a siege, the people within Mons can egregiously incommode an enemy without, by inunding the whole country that is immediately about the town; which they do effectually, to the distance of a quarter of a league from the walls, of half a league, and of three quarters in some places; so as to make the inundation reign around, for a good way off, and with such a deepness of water, as to render the town inaccessible, except on the east-side towards Namur, where the ground rises too high for it; and where an enemy might encamp and intrench, and from thence approach and batter the place, in spite of the inundation: the same might be done on the west-side towards Valenciennes, where there is likewise a little rising; but not so well, because the ground there does not rise to such a height.

This town was at first founded by Alberon, a prince of France, son to Clodion the Hairy, king of France, and grandson to Pharamond the Great, first king thereof; who, in the year of our Lord 449, being left, by his father's death, to the guardianship of his kinsman Merovee; and his guardian having deprived him of his inheritance, and usurped his crown to himself, went thereupon into Germany, to solicit assistance to recover his right, and was assisted by the Germans so powerfully, as that, in progress of time, he recovered all the lower Austrasia, and a good part of Belgium, as far as Tournay and Cambray; and, in the year 481, he came hither into that country, where now Mons is, which was then all covered with wood as well as with water, being a part of the *Saltus Carbonarius*, which was a skirt of the forest of Ardenna, and built a high tower there, on the top of a small eminence, upon the bank of the river Trouille, towards the east, hard by the water-side, just where it, running from the south, makes a turn from the north to the west, in the middle of a large plain, covered then with a great deal both of wood and water, though now with the last more than the first, on the bank of the river Haine towards the south, not far from the water-side, just where it runs from east to west, towards the north: which tower served him, as a house, or palace, where he lodged; as an observatory, or watering-place, from whence he discovered the country about; and as a fortress, or place of security, by the means of which he maintained himself there, notwithstanding the efforts of his enemies, the Merovignians, to turn him out. He likewise cut down all the trees, which covered the eminence where the tower stood, and by such means discovered it all around, so as to make an explanade, or empty space, immediately about the tower, in the middle of the wood that reigned, from the top, where the tower was, to the bottom, where it was bordered with trees, all about the eminence: and this explanade served him as a camp-post, or place of arms, where he was wont to rendezvous his soldiers, and to draw them up in order of battle.

The same Prince Alberon continuing, so long as he lived, to have sharp war with the Merovignians, upon the account of the usurpation of his dominions, (and consequently, having frequent occasion to have his troops lodged nigh to him,) first pitched tents for them in the explanade about his tower; then built huts and houses, which, by degrees and through time, grew out into a considerable village all around the tower, under the defence of which it was secure; and afterwards, to secure it further from the sudden attempts of his enemies, he inclosed it with a hedge of bushes and branches joined and interlaced, which, from a village, made it become a town. This was done in the year of our Lord 490, and it is the first inclosure of Mons. The town was called Alberon's Camp-post, which name it retained for a long time after; and the tower, Alberon's Tower, which name it retains to this day.

What sort of town this camp-post of Prince Alberon's has been, we cannot well tell, for now there are no vestiges of it to be found: but I have seen a plan of it, in miniature, in an old Latin manuscript, preserved by the ladies[2] of St. Waltrud's at Mons, and to be read in their library; by which it appears, that it has been of a round figure, lying on the east-side the Trouille, hard by the river-side, where it, running from the south to the

[2] See a description of these ladies below.

north, makes a turnaway to the west, and on the south-side the Haine, not far from the river-side, where it runs from east to west, towards the north, including just the eminence, where the tower stood, and occupying just the explanade, that reigned about, between the top, where the tower was, and the bottom, where it was inclosed with a hedge, and no more.

As for Alberon's tower, we can give some account of it, it being still on foot and entire, though, by this time, beginning to look pretty ancient, and engaged with another edifice that was afterwards adjoined to it, standing just on the top of that eminence, which was once occupied by Alberon's camp-post, and is now in a place within Mons, that makes exactly the middle of the town, at the distance of near five-hundred paces from the side of the Trouille, towards the east, and about two-thousand and five-hundred paces from the Haine-side, towards the south. It is a tower round, having in diameter sixty feet, built of hewn stone, to the height of a hundred and twenty feet, the wall being five feet thick, consisting of six stories, adorned at the bottom with a base, and a gate arched towards the south, accompanied with its pilasters, with borders at the division of stories, and windows round, towards all points, accompanied with their chanbranles, and at the top with a cornish; above which there is an attick, terminated in a platform, guarded with a balustrade, and surmounted with a globe, of timber covered with lead, bearing up a flag-staff and flag, having blazoned the arms of the sovereign: the whole a piece of Gothick work, engaged with another edifice, adjoined afterwards to it, that because of its age, and its being seated upon a height, where it is exposed a great deal to the injuries of weather, as well as of time, has now, at this day, very much the face and air of an antiquity.

This was the condition of Mons, as Prince Alberon, of France, founded it. And, it continued in the same state, till the year of our Lord 520, when, Walbert, son and successor to Prince Alberon, and the first Earl of Hainault, having continued the war his father had begun against the Merovignians, upon the account of the usurpation of their inheritance; and being married to the Lady Lucilla, sister to Zeno, emperor of the East; the emperor thereupon took part with his brother-in-law, in his quarrel against Clovis the Great, king of France, whom he forced to enter into a treaty with him, and to restore to him the county of Hainault; which was accordingly done at Cambray, that year, when King Clovis resigned so much territory to Prince Walbert, and the Emperor Zeno erected it into an earldom in his favour, giving him this for a coat of arms: *Or*, a lion rampant *Sable*, armed and langued *Gules;* for a crest, an earl's coronet *Or*, adorned with eight flowers of the same. From that time, Earl Walbert, and his successors, (being at peace with the Merovignians, and having no war with any other of their neighbours,) had but little occasion to fear any thing, and be obliged to be much upon their guard, to live in the midst of a wood, and have their troops lodged always nigh to them, as their predecessor, Prince Alberon, had done: but they chose rather to dwell elsewhere, in more convenient places, and neglected the dwelling-place of Prince Alberon; so that Alberon's tower thereupon became a waste, and Alberon's camp-post returned to be a desart, as it had been formerly.

It continued so, till the days of the Lady Waltrud, otherwise St. Waltrud, Countess and heiress of Hainault, daughter to Earl Walbert the Fourth, and wife to Maldegair, otherwise St. Vincent; a prince of Ireland, who, by virtue of his marriage, was likewise Earl of Hainault. This religious princess, being inclined to renounce the world, and looking out for a convenient retiring-place, was persuaded by St. Guislain and others, her spiritual directors, to make choice of the dwelling-place of Prince Alberon, in the wood, which by that time was become waste, turned quite a desart, and covered with trees as much as ever; where first she built a cell and a chapel for herself, in Alberon's camp-post, hard by Alberon's tower; and afterwards founded a church, and a cloister for others, in the same place, in which she began and instituted that famous college, or congregation, of religious ladies or noble women, canonesses secular, without any rule, which continues there, and flourishes to this day. Saint Waltrud went thither to live, about the year of our Lord 603, and she made that institution of ladies in the year 609; which gave

occasion to a great many other people, gentlemen as well as ladies, poor as well as rich, and laicks as well as religious, to resort to the same place, and build houses for themselves there, in Alberon's camp-post, under the shadow of Alberon's tower, and in the neighbourhood of S. Waltrud's church; so that Alberon's camp-post, by degrees, came again to be very well inhabited; and, through time, grew out into a considerable town, being inclosed with a new hedge of bushes and branches rebuilt, including the eminence, and occupying the explanade all around, between the tower, which defended it at top, and the hedge which inclosed it at the bottom, as it was before. And they changed the name of Alberon's Camp-post, and called it by that of *Bergen*, signifying, in Teutonick or old High Dutch, the ancient language of that country, as much, as if one would say, by way of distinction, 'The Hill:' which name they designedly gave it, both because it was built upon a little hill, the only hill in the country thereabouts, and because of the respect and veneration they had for the dwelling-place of so many religious persons, as lived there a pious and devout life; which respect they thought they expressed a little, by calling it with a distinction, 'The Hill.' At the same rate of speaking, and, for the same reasons, in Latin, it was called *Monś:* and both these names it retains to this day; the one, Mons, is used commonly by foreigners; the other, Bergen, is only known among the natives.

What sort of town this hill of St. Waltrud's has been, we cannot at all tell; because now there are no vestiges of it to be found; and as for plans of it I have never seen any. However, we may presume, that, being built upon the same ground with Prince Alberon's camp-post, it has been much of the same figure, and situate the same way; has included the same eminence, and occupied the same explanade, that reigned about, between the top, where Alberon's tower was, and the bottom, where it was inclosed with a new hedge, as before.

This was the condition of Mons, as St. Waltrud and her ladies, and their followers, refounded it. It continued in the same state, till the year of our Lord 680, in the days of Alberick, Earl of Hainault, son to Earl Brunulph, a prince of a public spirit, and a great lover of building, who did a great deal of that kind for Mons, and made it, indeed, look like a town.

First, because it was the place, where his predecessor St. Waltrud and several other saints had lived, out of the respect and veneration he had to their names and memory, he loved mightily to dwell in it; and, because he found that the lodgings in Prince Alberon's tower were both too little for him, and become ruinous; he not only repaired them, but also built a castle of his own, a great and noble edifice, upon the top of the same eminence, where Alberon's tower stood, and adjoining to it on the south-side, the tower being engaged with it on the north; which castle and tower together, made such a large and capacious dwelling-place for him, that it served him conveniently as a house where he lodged; as an observatory, from whence he discovered the country about; and as a fortress, by the means of which, he not only maintained himself, but likewise defended the town; and, upon an occasion, could command the same. He also cut down all the wood, which covered the ground, both within and without the town, especially without; and by such means discovered it all around, so as to make a grand explanade, immediately without the inclosure, that reigned for a great way off, all about the town; and this explanade served him as a large camp-post, where he rendezvoused his troops when he had occasion, and drew them up in order of battle.

Then, for the further defence of the town, (which, till this time, never had any better inclosure than hedges,) he was the first who conceived the design of inclosing it with a wall, and took care to have his design put in execution; in order to which, he cut down the hedge-inclosure, that had been begun by Prince Alberon, and continued by his successors till then; extended the pomœrium, or explanade, on it, a good way beyond it, further into the country, and there built another of his own, being a wall of stone, making it go quite round the town with a larger compass; so as to take in not only the eminence upon which the town stood, with the castle and tower at the top, but likewise a good deal of

more ground at the bottom of it, which he designed should serve as an empty space, for the inhabitants to build houses farther upon. This was done in the year of our Lord 687, and it is the second inclosure of Mons, which made it, indeed, look like a town; whereas, till that time, having never any thing but a hedge about it, it looked no better than like a village: of which and of all the other public works of Earl Alberick's about Mons, an account may be gathered from the inscriptions that are to be seen in and about his castle; it being still on foot and entire, whereas of his wall there is not the least vestige to be found, it having been so completely overthrown and ruined, that one cannot know now where it has been; but the ancient history of Mons is to be read more at large, in a book, intituled, 'The Annals of Hainault,' a Walloon manuscript, written in the year 1360, by Jacques de Guyse, a native of Mons, and a licentiate in divinity, of the order of St. Francis, preserved by the ladies of St. Waltrud there, and to be seen in their library by any one that calls for it.

What kind of inclosure this wall of Earl Alberick's has been, we cannot well tell; for now there are no vestiges of it to be found: but I have seen a profile on it, in oil, in a prospect of old Mons, hanging in the closet of the Lady Margaret of Croy, (a princess of the family of Rœulx, and one of the ladies of St. Waltrud's there,) by which it appears, that it has been built of hewn stone, in the Roman fashion, and fortified with square towers, at equal distances, and a third part higher, having three gates, but no ditch; and that it has run about the town in an oblong figure, stretching itself from east to west, so as to approach nearer to the Trouille side, the river running from south to north, and to take in the eminence upon which the town stood, with a good deal more. As for Earl Alberick's castle, we can give some account of it, it being on foot and entire to this day, (though beginning now to look pretty ancient,) standing on the same eminence with Prince Alberon's tower, where they together occupy all the top of it; the tower being engaged with the castle on the north-side, and the castle adjoined to the tower on the south, the eminence stretching itself east and west: it is four pavilions round, joined together with four sides oblong, making up a court square, the root of the interior square being eighty feet, that of the exterior an hundred and sixty; built of hewn stone, the sides to the breadth of forty feet, the pavilions to the solidity of sixty, and both of a height equal to their respective breadth and solidity, the walls to the thickness of five feet, and to a height different as the parts of the edifice require; the sides consisting of two stories, the pavilions of three, adorned without and within, with a base continued at the bottom, and a gate arched, on the south-side, accompanied with its pilasters, with borders likewise continued at the division of stories, and windows cornered on all sides, accompanied with their chanbranles, and with a cornish at the top discontinued, the parts of the edifice differing in height; above which there is an attick, terminated in a platform, guarded with a balustrade, all discontinued and surmounted, the sides with a roof pavilion-wise, of timber, covered with lead, the pavilion with a dome and cupola, bearing up a fane-staff and fane[3]; and, as Alberon's round tower is on the north-side engaged in the body of the edifice, so corresponding to it on the south-side, just over the gate, there is another tower square, the root of the square being sixty feet, built as the rest of the edifice, to the height of an hundred and twenty feet, consisting of six stories, adorned at the bottom with a base and a portal arched, accompanied with its pilasters, with borders at the division of stories, and windows cornered, accompanied with their chanbranles, and with a cornish at the top, having above it an attick, terminated in a platform, guarded with a balustrade, and surmounted with a spire of timber, covered with lead, bearing up a flag-staff and flag, having blazoned the arms of the sovereign: the whole a mass of Gothick work, adjoined to Alberon's tower, that, because of its situation as well as of its age, upon the top of a rising ground or height, where, consequently, it is exposed very much to the injuries both of time and weather, begins now, at this day, to look like an antiquity; and as, by reason of its being seated upon an eminence, (the only eminence

[3] [Or rather *vane*.]

in the country thereabouts,) it is seen a great way off all around, by those who come towards the town; so the best prospect that one can have of Mons, and of the ground about it, is from the platforms of the castle within it; especially from those of the two towers, and particularly that of Alberon's, which stands just upon the top of the eminence, on the very highest spot of it all, and where the curious traveller should not neglect to go up to the platform of it; because from thence he can discover and view all at once, the town, its situation, and fortification, the ground, its rising, and falling, the waters, their course, and quantity, the rivers, canals, lakes, and marshes, and all that is of it.

This was the condition of Mons, as it was built by Earl Alberick: and it continued so, in the same state, without any further alteration or change, either for its increase, or for its better defence, till a long time after.

In the year of our Lord 812, in the days of the Lady Renny, Countess and heiress of Hainault, daughter to Earl Walter the Third, and wife to Albo, a prince of Lorrain, who, by his marriage, was likewise Earl of Hainault, Charles the Great, King of France, and Emperor of the West, had so much good will for Mons, (partly for the sake of Earl Walter the Third, who was killed in his service against the Saxons, in the year 800; but principally upon the account it had been the dwelling-place of St. Waltrud, and several other great saints,) that, as a mark of the respect and veneration he had for the name and memory of those worthies, he not only declared it a noble town, and gave it all the privileges of a free city, but, besides, made it the capital of all Hainault; and, what was more, erected it, and the territory about it, into a particular earldom by itself, distinct from the earldom of Hainault, in favour of the Countess Renny and of Earl Albo, to whom he had beforehand married her, giving it this for a coat of arms:—*Argent*, a castle triple-towered *Gules;* for a crest, an earl's coronet *Or*, adorned with eight flowers of the same. From that time, the Earls of Hainault were likewise Earls of Mons, and used both titles together, quartering the armorial ensigns of both earldoms, so as to make up an escutcheon in this manner: Quarterly, in the first and fourth, *Or*, a lion rampant *Sable*, armed and langued *Gules*, for Hainault; in the second and third, *Argent*, a castle triple-towered *Gules*, for Mons; for a crest, an earl's coronet *Or*, adorned with eight flowers of the same: and it continued to be so till the days of Earl John.

Ranier the First, Earl of Hainault and Mons, cousin to Earl Manassy, having sharp war in his time with Otho the Great, Emperor of Germany, and Bruno, Archbishop of Cologn, two brothers, in the year of our Lord 959, went out to meet the Archbishop, who, in the emperor's name, was come against him with a great army into Hainault, and met him near Valenciennes, where they fought; but the Archbishop, being much superior to him, in quality, as well as in number of troops, not only defeated his army, but likewise took himself prisoner, and carried him in chains to Cologn, where he kept him till he died. He also, the same year, took possession of both the Earldoms of Hainault and Mons, for the Emperor; and disposed of them by his authority, by giving them to governors, who held them in his name; excluding both Earl Ranier, whom he kept prisoner, and his children, whom he banished the country. In this manner, the town of Mons, and the territory about it, came into the hands of the Emperor Otho, and his governors; and it continued to be so for the space of nineteen years; that is, till the year 978; when Ranier the Second, son and successor to the other, after having made many efforts, during the time of his banishment, to revenge his father's quarrel, and recover his own inheritance, and all to no purpose; (being then a refugee at the court of France, and married there to a French princess, the Lady Havidea, daughter to Hugh Capet, Earl of Paris;) and a peace being, that year, concluded between Otho the Second, Emperor of Germany, and Lothair, King of France, by an article of that treaty, it was provided for his restoration; so, by means of his foreign alliance, he, at length, recovered his own country, after having been banished it nineteen years.

In the year of our Lord 1113, in the days of Baldwin the Second, Earl of Hainault and Mons, Earl Baldwin the First's son, a terrible fire broke out in Mons, which reduced almost the whole town to ashes. It lay in ruins till the year 1145, that Baldwin the Third, son

and successor to the former, began to rebuild it, and continued to do so as long as he lived; that is, till the year 1171; but, having sharp and violent war in his time, with Thierry of Alsace, Earl of Flanders, upon the account of the succession to that earldom, by reason of his affairs abroad, his buildings at home did not advance, and were not perfected in his life-time; except the wall about Mons, which, for the security of his house and family, as well as for the defence of the town and burghers, he took care to have advanced, and perfected very quickly; so that, in a short time, it came to be in as good a case as before.

What kind of inclosure this wall of Earl Baldwin the Third's has been, we cannot at all tell, there being now no vestiges of it to be found; and, as for plans or profiles of it, I have never seen any. However, we may presume, that being built upon the same bounds, and on the same foundation with the former, it has likewise been in the same fashion, of the same figure, and the same every other way.

This was the condition of Mons, as it was rebuilt by Earl Baldwin the Third: and it continued in that state, only till the year of our Lord 1186; for then, Baldwin the Fourth, surnamed the Builder (because of the great inclination he had that way), son and successor to the other, a public-spirited prince, who, alone, did more for Mons, than all those who were before him; having perfected the buildings his father had begun, and added a great many other edifices of his own, so as to take up all the ground that was included within the town, and be obliged to go without, if he had a mind to build any more; fell thereupon into a dislike of the inclosure, as being of too narrow bounds, conceived the design of another larger; and immediately put his design in execution, throwing down the wall that had been built by Earl Alberick, and lately rebuilt by his father, extending the pomœrium on it a good way beyond it, further into the country, and there building another of his own, likewise of stone, together with a ditch, making both go quite round, with a greater circumference, so as to take in, not only the town, but a good deal of ground more, which he designed should serve as an empty space, for himself, and his successors, as well as for the inhabitants, to build further upon. This was done, that same year; and it is the third inclosure of Mons, which did, indeed, render it a great deal larger than what it was formerly; as it was in this prince's time, that the town arrived at a pitch of splendour and magnificence, beyond what it had ever been at before. Of which, and of all the other public works of Earl Baldwin, the Builder, about Mons, an account may be gathered from the inscriptions, that are to be seen in and about the town-house, and the other edifices which he built there, being most of them still on foot, and entire; though of his wall and ditch there is not the least vestige to be found, they having been so completely destroyed; the one filled up, the other pulled down, and both levelled to the ground, so that one cannot know where they have been; but the history of Earl Baldwin, the Builder, and of his works, is to be read more at large, in a book, intituled, 'The Annals of Mons,' a Walloon manuscript, written in different times, by the town-clerks there, preserved in the town-house, among the archives, and to be seen by those who have acquaintance enough among the magistrates.

What kind of inclosure this wall of Earl Baldwin, the Builder, has been, we cannot well tell; for now there are no vestiges of it to be found. But I have seen a profile of it, in destrampature[4], in a prospect of old Mons, upon the wall of the council-chamber, in the town-house there, by which it appears, that it has been built of hewn stone, in the Roman fashion, and fortified with round towers, at equal distances, and a third part higher, having five gates, with a large ditch; and that it has run about the town in an oblong figure, stretching itself from east to west, so as to touch upon the Trouille-side, the river running from south to north, and to take in the town, with a good deal more.

This was the condition of Mons, as it was rebuilt by Earl Baldwin, the Builder: and it continued so, in the same state, without any further addition or change, either in its buildings or government, for a long time after.

In the year of our Lord 1252, in the days of the Lady Margaret, Countess and heiress of Hainault and Mons, daughter to Earl Baldwin of Constantinople, and widow to

[4] [Or rather distemper.]

Burchard, surnamed of Avesnnes, (a nobleman of the same country, who, by virtue of his marriage, had been likewise administrator of Hainault and Mons,) an unnatural war broke out in Hainault between the Countess Margaret, and her own son, Prince John of Avesnnes; who, immediately upon his father the administrator's death, would not wait the succession, till his mother the heiress died also, but conceived the design of turning her out; and by the assistance of William the Second, Earl of Holland, and King of the Romans, (whose sister, the Lady Alice, he had married, and who, for that reason, was a stout friend to the son, and a bitter enemy to the mother,) did almost put his design in execution; for partly by King William's assistance, and partly by the means of a strong party, which he made among the nobility of Hainault, he very soon possessed himself of Mons, and of most of the other towns in that province; meaning no less than to take the whole, and drive his mother quite out of it; as in effect he did at length, and obliged her to retire into France. But, in the year 1254, the Countess Margaret, being assisted with troops by Lewis the Ninth (otherwise St. Lewis, King of France), returned into Hainault, where she recovered Mons, and the other towns, and reduced the whole province to her obedience; upon which, her son (not having the patience to wait the succession till her death) broke his heart, and died in the year 1255; after having shewn himself to be a son unworthy to have lived so long, by his having so unworthily treated a lady, who was both his own mother, and his father's widow, and whose dominions he was to have all, without dispute, immediately upon her demise, which happened in the year 1280.

John surnamed of Avesnnes, Earl of Hainault and Mons, Prince John of Avesnnes's son, in the year of our Lord 1299, by the right of his mother, the Lady Alice of Holland, Earl William the Second, otherwise King William's sister, succeeding likewise in the earldoms of Holland and Zealand; by which means, four earldoms came then to be joined in the person of this Earl, who thereupon changed the escutcheon of the Earls of Hainault, by putting out the arms of Mons, and putting in those of Holland in their room; quartering the original escutcheons of Hainault and Holland, so as to make up a coat of arms in this manner: Quarterly; in the first and fourth, *Or*, a lion rampant *Sable*, armed and langued *Gules*, for Hainault; in the second and third, *Or*, a lion rampant *Gules*, for Holland; for a crest, an Earl's coronet, *Or*, adorned with eight flowers of the same: and it continues to be so to this day. He also neglected, among his titles, to use that of Earl of Mons; so from that time it went into desuetude.

In the year of our Lord 1339, in the days of William the Second, Earl of Hainault and Holland, son to Earl William the Good, Edward the Third, King of England, being constituted by Lewis of Bavaria, Emperor of Germany, Great Vicar of the Holy Empire, and having occasion to go from England into Germany, about the affairs that belonged to his charge, passed the way of Mons, and staid two days in the town, where he was splendidly and magnificently received and entertained, by Earl William and his nobility.

In the year of our Lord 1424, in the days of the Lady Jaquelin, Countess and heiress of Hainault and Holland, daughter to Earl William of Bavaria, and wife to John Duke of Brabant, (who, by his marriage, was likewise administrator of Hainault and Holland,) a terrible war broke out in Hainault, upon the following occasion: The Countess Jaquelin was lawfully married to Duke John of Brabant, as we have said; but afterwards disliked him, and, he being still alive, married again adulterously to Humphry Duke of Gloucester, King Henry the Fifth of England's brother; upon which Duke John the administrator, being assisted by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, came into Hainault, in the year 1424, and, either by force of arms, or a voluntary submission, reduced into his power all the town in the province, except Mons, in a very short time. The next year, 1425, the two Dukes, John and Philip, came together before Mons, besieged it, and took it upon terms. It continued in the hands of the Brabançons, so long as Duke John the administrator lived, that is, till the year 1426; when Duke Philip, as next heir to the Countess Jaquelin, who was banished the country, succeeded in the administratorship of Hainault, and the Burgundians took possession of Mons, and kept it, till at length, in the year 1436, the Countess Jaquelin died, and Duke Philip, then succeeded to her as heir-general.

About this prince's time, that is, after the year of our Lord 1436, a great many foreigners, especially Dutch and Burgundians, came thronging thither to Mons, and made the town increase so much in the number both of its inhabitants and houses, that there was not room enough for them within Earl Baldwin the Builder's wall; for all the ground included with it was entirely taken up: so that, afterwards, they were obliged to begin to build without the ditch, along the sides of the high-ways, that run out from the gates; which buildings, at length, grew out into suburbs, having each of them the same name, with the gate they run out from.

Duke Philip, having first had Mons as administrator for another, and afterwards got it in sovereignty to himself, being at sharp and violent war, in his time, with Charles the Seventh, King of France, (upon the account of the death of his father, who was killed upon the bridge at Montreau, in Champagne, by the French King's orders,) and considering the importance of the town of Mons, being a frontier to him on the side towards France, how weakly it was fortified, having nothing but Earl Baldwin the Builder's wall and ditch to defend it; and that then, after the invention of powder and gun, towns wanted to be fortified at a better rate, than ever they had been before; was thereupon the first who conceived the design of throwing up a rampart about it: and, because the town, by reason of its excrescence into suburbs, that was likewise grown considerable, required a new inclosure, he designed also, that the rampart should inclose and go quite round it, with such a large compass, by the outer ends of all the suburbs, as to take in town, suburbs river, and all that was on it. Which design he began to put in execution, in the year of our Lord 1460, when, in order to it, he first destroyed Earl Baldwin's inclosure, by throwing down the wall, filling up the ditch, and levelling both to the ground; then extended the pomœrium of all the town, into the country, beyond the far-ends of the suburbs, and the river, and there built an inclosure of his own, by cutting out a ditch, throwing up a rampart, and making both go clear round, with such a large circumference, as to surround and shut up all. It was completed in the year 1467, the last year of Duke Philip's life; and it is the fourth and last inclosure of Mons, which, among all those that the town has had, is the only one that continues on foot, and entire to this day; and, though it be now above two-hundred years old, yet it is all that Mons has about it.

What kind of inclosure this rampart of Duke Philip the Good's is, we can very well tell; for it is still on foot and entire, and I have seen and observed it very exactly. It is not a simple wall of stone, as the other inclosures were, but a thick rampart of earth, built in the ancient fashion, not after the modern; altogether irregular, not according to art; and fortified with towers and bulwarks intermixed, not bastions, being a confused mass of Roman and Gothick work together, that discovers, by its mixture, the age it was done in, as well as the hands who did it. It is hard to tell its dimensions, because of its irregularity; for we could not take them, otherwise than measuring them by common paces; which we did, walking it on foot, both within and without the town: So, according to what we found, I shall endeavour to give a description of it as full and exact as is possible. And, to begin with its plan:

It is built in form of a polygon, or figure having many sides, of an oblong, round, or parabolic kind: consisting of two unequal parts upon the two sides of the Trouille; of several irregular sides on both sides the river, and having seven gates in it, two sluices, and a great many towers and bulwarks intermixed, at unequal and irregular distances.

The great semidiameter of the interior polygon is just a thousand common paces, five-hundred geometrical paces, or a third part of a British mile; which doubled, makes the length of the ground, within this polygon, two thousand common paces, or a thousand geometrical paces, or two-thirds of a British mile. The great semidiameter of the exterior polygon is a thousand and forty-two common paces, that is, five-hundred and twenty-one geometrical paces, or somewhat more than a third of a British mile; which, doubled, makes the length of the ground within this polygon, or the greatest length of the place. Take it which way you will, two-thousand and eighty-four common paces, or a thousand and forty-two geometrical

paces, or somewhat more than two-thirds of a British mile. The little semidiameter of the interior polygon is just seven-hundred and fifty common paces, that is, three-hundred and seventy-five geometrical paces, or a quarter of a British mile; which, doubled, makes the breadth of the ground, within this polygon, fifteen-hundred common paces, or seven-hundred and fifty geometrical paces, or half a British mile. The little semidiameter of the exterior polygon is seven-hundred and ninety-two common paces, that is, three-hundred and ninety-six geometrical paces, or somewhat more than a quarter of a British mile; which, doubled, makes the breadth of the ground within this polygon, or the greatest breadth of the place, take it which way you will, fifteen-hundred and eighty-four common paces, or seven-hundred and ninety-two geometrical paces, or somewhat more than half a British mile.

The sides of both the polygons being of an unequal length, and the towers and bulwarks of an irregular situation, at unequal and irregular distances, we could not well take the dimensions of them all separately; but, jointly all together, we found the circumference of the interior polygon to be just six-thousand common paces, that is, three-thousand geometrical paces, or two British miles; and the circumference of the exterior polygon, six-thousand two-hundred and fifty-two common paces, or three-thousand a hundred and twenty-six geometrical paces, or somewhat more than two British miles. But the circumference, measuring it upon the top of the rampart, going along the corridor, or gallery, and around the platforms, or terrasses of the towers and bulwarks by the foot in the battlement or breast-work, and reckoning all the sides and angles, or turnings in and out of the ramparts, towers, and bulwarks, or the greatest circumference of the place, take it which way you will, is exactly seven-thousand two-hundred and forty common paces; that is, three-thousand six-hundred and twenty geometrical paces, or two British miles, and somewhat more than a third of a mile.

There are seven gates in this rampart; five in that part of it which surrounds the greater part of the town, on the east-side the river, commonly called 'the Great Town,' being by far the greater part of it; and two in that part which surrounds the lesser part of the town, on the west-side the river, named 'the Little Town,' being much the lesser part. The gates on the east side, in the rampart about the Great Town, beginning at the river, at the lower end towards the north, from thence going eastwards, and so round, are reckoned in this order, and thus named: The Water-gate, the Castle-gate, the Park-gate, the Nimy-gate, and the Havre-gate. Those in the west-side, in the rampart about the Little Town, beginning at the river, at the upper end towards the south, from thence going westwards, round, are reckoned and named so: The Hayon-gate, and the Bartemont-gate. And upon the river, at each end of the town, whereas, originally, there was nothing but a pannel or piece of wall, with a little gate in it, for the water to pass through, built by the Burgundians, to join the rampart on the one side, and that on the other side together, and so to complete the inclosure; instead of those pannels of wall, there are now two sluices, lately made by the Spaniards, which serve the turn of joining the two ramparts, and completing the inclosure to better purpose; for, besides, the joining of the ramparts by these sluices, the people of the town have the command of the river-water, so as to be able to let it out, or keep it in, or make of it what they please; whereas, by those pannels of wall, they could do nothing with it.

It is fortified all about with round towers, and bulwarks, likewise round, intermixed, at unequal and irregular distances; and every one of those gates and sluices is so placed in the middle between two towers one on each side of it, and so nigh to one another, that it stands equally defended and hid between them.

As to its profile; The rampart, the gates, the towers, the bulwarks, and all that is on it, is built of earth thrown up, revested on the outside, and incrusted on the inside, with facades of hewn stone; the rampart and gates being to the thickness of seventy feet, that is, reckoning the mass of earth, with the revesture and incrusture of stone, and to the height of eight and twenty; the towers to the solidity of five and thirty feet, and to the height of two and forty, that is, a third part higher than the rampart, after the manner

practised in the towers of the Aurelian wall about Rome; and the bulwarks to both a solidity and a height equal to those of the rampart, according to the common practice. The ramparts and gates are terminated with a grand corridor, or gallery, being a kind of terra-plain, running along the top of it; the towers and bulwarks with grand platforms, or terrasses, some of which are covered, and some discovered; and both terra-plain and platforms are guarded on the outside with a grand battlement, or breast-work, being a kind of parapet, likewise of earth cast up, revested, and incrusted with hewn stone, to the thickness of one and twenty feet, and to the height of seven; founded upon the top of the rampart and gates, the towers and bulwarks, and reigning along the terra-plain, and around the platforms, all about the town: by which means, though the rampart and gates be seventy feet thick, yet the terra-plain, in the top of them, comes to be only forty-nine feet broad, by reason that one and twenty feet, the thickness of the parapet, are taken from it; and, the parapet going round the towers and bulwarks, as well as along the rampart and gates, the breadth of their platforms comes also to be diminished in proportion.

Without the rampart is the ditch, being a moat or wet ditch, a hundred and forty feet broad, and twelve feet deep. It is cut out of the earth, has its scarp and counter-scarp incrusted with hewn stone, and is always full of water from the river, and the other neighbouring waters that are made to run into it. Over it, before the gates, are seven bridges, that is, one before each gate, giving passage into, and out from the town; and having, at the outer ends of them, as many high-ways, that, from thence, run out into the adjacent country, and have each the same name with the gate it runs out from. They were originally fixed bridges of stone, built by the Burgundians, but now they are draw ones of timber, lately made by the Spaniards; that is, before each gate there is now a draw-bridge, or rather a concatenation of such bridges, one beyond another, placed upon mounts or pillars, founded in the ditch to such a length, as to cross it over, and to the ordinary breadth of bridges.

The river Trouille, whether within or without the town, is but very small and inconsiderable; however, it is navigable for boats, as much as is of it below Mons, and bordered all along with a quay, or landing-place, revested with stone, its channel being incrusted with the same. As for the bridges, that are over it, joining the two parts of the town together, (the one part on the east-side, being by far the greater, the other on the west-side much the lesser,) there are a great many of them, one in every street that touches upon it, but none of them considerable, the river being but small. They are all fixed bridges of stone, as they have always been, built originally by the Burgundians, and rebuilt lately by the Spaniards; terminated in the top with a cause-way, or street, guarded on both sides with a balustrade, or rail; the whole of hewn stone.

That was the condition of Mons, as Duke Philip the Good fortified it, and this is all the length its fortifications came, in his life-time; for, according to the knowledge the Burgundians had of the art of military architecture, in those days, being surrounded with a rampart and a ditch, they reckoned it a town completely fortified.

Charles the Warrior, Duke Philip's son and successor, having likewise sharp and violent war, in this time, against Lewis the Eleventh, King of France, upon the account of his grand-father's death, and the knowledge of the art of military architecture being come a great length in his days, than it was in his father's, considered farther of fortifying Mons, being a principal frontier-town to him on the side towards France, by the addition of out-works to its strength; and, in order to it, he first cut down all the wood which covered the country about the town, and, by such means, discovered it all around, so as to make a grand explanade, immediately without the ditch, that reigned, for a great way off, all about the place; then he cut out another ditch, likewise a moat, making it go quite round, a little without the former, and disposed of the other waters about the town, so as, by the means of canals, to make them run into the ditches, to fill them. And last of all, for the better defence of the rampart, on the south and west sides of the town (being the sides towards France and Flanders) he erected two forts, being a kind of ravelin,

upon the ground included between the two ditches, the one before the Hayon-gate, towards the south, the other before the Bartemont-gate, towards the west. This was done in the year of our Lord 1470; and he would, perhaps, have done more towards the fortifying of Mons, if his death, which happened at the battle of Nancy, in the year 1477, had not prevented him.

What kind of works these out-works of Duke Charles the Warrior's were then, we cannot precisely tell; for now they are either taken in, and embodied with the Spanish and French works that have been since made, or levelled. However, I have seen a draught of them in the hall of the castle at Mons; by which it appears, that the forts have been good large works, built of earth, revested and incrusted with stone, to a solidity double of the thickness of the rampart, and to a height equal to the depth of the ditches, between which they were erected, terminated in the top with platforms, guarded on the outside with battlements, fortified with round turrets, and having bridges of stone over the two ditches, both before and behind them; the whole being suitable to the rest of the fortification: that the ditch has been a moat, half as broad as the other, and whole as deep, going round, sometimes at a great, and sometimes at a lesser distance; and that the wood has been discovered, for a great way off, and all about the town.

That was the condition of Mons, as Duke Charles the Warrior further fortified it, and this is the length its fortifications came in his life-time; when, according to the rate of reckoning the strength of towns in those days, it was indeed become pretty strong: being inclosed with a rampart, fortified with towers and bulwarks, further fortified with some outworks, and surrounded with a double ditch; all which did indeed make it strong at that time, though now it would signify nothing.

However, it continued so in the same state, without any further alteration or change befalling it, either in its edifices or government, till the days of Philip the Second, King of Spain, Duke of Burgundy, and Earl of Hainault, son to the Emperor Charles the Fifth. This prince had no war in his time with the French, but cruel and bloody war with the Dutch, the States-general of the United Provinces, who naturally were his subjects, but had made a general defection from him, because of his tyranny and oppression towards them, upon the account of their differing in religion from him, they being Protestants, and he a Papist, and established a republick of their own, which was headed by William the First, Prince of Orange, and Lewis, Earl of Nassau, his brother, who, in the year of our Lord 1572, being assisted with the Protestants of France, came into Hainault, drew near to Mons in the night-time, and took it by a stratagem. But it was retaken by force, the same year, by Don Ferdinand, Duke of Alva, Governor for King Philip in the Low Countries, and Don Frederick of Toledo, his son, who besieged it closely for two months, and then forced it to surrender upon terms.

King Philip having recovered it into his hands, and the bloody war betwixt him and the States-general becoming more violent, considering the weakness of the rampart about it, by reason of the slenderness of its fortification, and the Spaniards being come a greater length in the knowledge of the art of military architecture, than the Burgundians ever were, resolved to provide for the further security of the town, by amending the defects in its strength. So accordingly, in the year of our Lord 1576, for the better defence of the rampart, he fell a fortifying it with bastions, such as the Spaniards in his time could construct; and begun on the east-side at the gate of Nimy, where, the ground being a rising ground, or hill, he thought it was most attackable, from thence going southwards, round; but he only perfected two of them during all the rest of his life-time; the one at the saillant angle, on the right of the gate of Nimy, towards the east; the other at the saillant angle in the middle of the distance between that and the gate of Havre, towards the south-east.

What kind of works these bastions of Philip the Second's were, we can very well tell, they being still on foot and entire, and free from any other edifice; they are bastions flat, not royal; built of earth, revested with stone to a solidity triple of the thickness of the rampart, and to a height equal to that of the same; terminated in the top with platforms,

or terrasses, guarded on the outside with parapets or battlements, and banquets or foot-steps, suitable to the rest of the fortification.

That was the condition of Mons, as King Philip the Second amended it, and this is all the length its fortifications came in his time; he would perhaps have done more towards the strengthening of the town, if the cruel and bloody religious war, which happened in his reign, had not hindered him.

Albert, Arch-duke of Austria, King Philip the Second's son-in-law, by marrying his daughter Donna Isabella, and successor in the dominion of the Low-Countries, though he had little or no war during his government, with the Dutch, or any other of his neighbours, yet continued the design his father had begun, of amending the defects in the strength of Mons, and fortifying the rampart with bastions; and accordingly, in the year of our Lord 1603, added one on the south-west side, near the gate of Bartemont, where there being likewise a little rising ground, he thought it was somewhat attackable; it is at the saillant angle on the left of the gate of Bartemont towards the south-west.

What kind of work this bastion of Arch-duke Albert was, we can likewise very well tell; it being still on foot and entire. It is of the same figure, has the same dimensions, and is every way the same with the other two that are already described.

That was the condition of Mons, as Arch-duke Albert further amended it, and this is the length its fortifications came in his government. It continued so in the same state, without any further addition to its strength, till the days of Philip the Fourth, King of Spain, and Earl of Hainault, King Philip the Third's son; who having sharp war in his time with the French, during the minority of Lewis the Fourteenth, the present King of France, and the Spaniards being come a greater length in the knowledge of the art of military architecture than formerly, considered further of strengthening the defence of Mons, by completing its fortification with outworks; in order to which, in the year of our Lord 1660, he first enlarged Duke Philip the Good's Ditch, in such and such places, so as to render it capable of the works he designed in it; and then, beginning on the east-side, at the gate of Nimy, where, the ground being high, he thought the town was most attackable, from thence going southwards round, he planted and raised the following outworks: a large ravelin, just before the Nimy-gate, towards the east; a half-moon in the middle of the distance, between King Philip the Second's two bastions, likewise towards the east; another half-moon before the Hayon-gate, towards the south; a third half-moon in the middle of the distance, between that and Arch-duke Albert's bastion, likewise towards the south; a fourth and large half-moon, just before the Bartemont-gate, towards the west; and a horn-work before the Water-gate, towards the north-west.

What kind of works these outworks of King Philip the Fourth's were, we can well enough tell; they being still on foot and entire, and free from other edifices. They are built of earth revested and incrusted with stone, to a solidity and height in proportion to the rampart; terminated with platforms, guarded with parapets and banquets, suitable to the rest of the fortification; planted in the ditch, at the distance of its ordinary breadth from the rampart, that is, beyond the general ditch, which accompanies the rampart all along; surrounded with water, that is, their particular ditches, which only accompany them, and are commonly half the breadth of the other, both being but one ditch enlarged, originally cut out by Duke Philip the Good; and joined to the scarp or slope on the inside, and to the counter-scarp, or contrary slope, on the outside, with draw-bridges.

That was the condition of Mons, as King Philip the Fourth completed it, and this is all the length its fortifications came in his reign. Perhaps, he would have done more, but his death, which happened in the year of our Lord 1665, prevented him.

Charles the Second, late King of Spain, King Philip the Fourth's son, and successor to the earldom of Hainault, having likewise sharp and violent war in his time, with the present King Lewis the Fourteenth of France, continued the design his father had begun, of strengthening the defence of Mons, by completing its fortifications with outworks, and partly by the means of the knowledge that the Spaniards were then come to in military architecture, partly by the help of the skill of some straggling French pretenders to that

art, who, either by chance, or out of design, were got into his service, did more of this kind for that town than all those who were before him, though to no great purpose.

First, In the year of our Lord 1670, in Duke Philip the Good's Ditch, beginning on the east-side, where the town, because of the rising ground, is most attackable, at the gate of the park, from thence going southwards, round, he added these following outworks to those that were in it before: a half-moon, just before the Park-gate, towards the north-east; another half-moon in the middle of the distance, between that and King Philip the Fourth's Ravelin, before the Nimy-gate, likewise towards the north-east; an irregular horn-work, with a small ravelin before it, covering King Philip the Second's Bastion, on the right of the Nimy-gate, towards the east; and a third half-moon in the middle of the distance, between the Havre-gate and the Hayon-gate, towards the south. Then he converted the ground, included between Duke Philip the Good's Ditch, and Duke Charles the Warrior's, into a grand covered way, with a glacis, or parapet, on the outside; reigning quite round the town, and being tenailed or angled all along; divided in some places, because of its too great breadth, and intercut in others, for the sake of a communication of water between the ditches. Afterwards, without Duke Charles the Warrior's Ditch, for the further fortification of the place, he added these outworks; small swallow-tail, with a moat, or wet ditch, separated at some distance from the other, in the middle of the distance, between the Castle-gate and the Park-gate, towards the north-east; a small half-moon, with a moat, at a good distance from the other, before the Nimy-gate, towards the east; two ravelins, and a half-moon, consecutively, in a lake, considerably both broad and deep, (that reigns, instead of Duke Charles's Ditch, immediately without the glacis, and Duke Philip's Ditch, all along from the Nimy-gate, on the east-side the town, to the Hayon-gate, on the south, so as to surround it on these two sides; the part of it on the east being called the Apostles' Lake, that on the west, Priests' Lake,) at some distance from the glacis, without the horn work and ravelin, that covers Duke Philip the Second's Bastion, on the right of the Nimy-gate, towards the east; a triple fortification of a horn-work, a singular tenaille, and a double tenaille, one without another with moats accompanying them, at the distance of the breadth of the lake from the glacis, and Duke Philip's Ditch, they being all on the other side of it, before the Havre-gate, towards the south; three ravelins, consecutively, in the lake, at some distance from the glacis, on the right of the Hayon-gate, likewise towards the south; an odd unaccountable fortification, of an irregular horn-work, with a counter swallow-tail, at some distance from it towards the left, and two small ravelins and a quarter-moon lying scattered between them, all in Duke Charles's Ditch enlarged, without the glacis, before the Bartemont-gate, towards the west; and a grand single tenaille, with a ravelin before the angle of the right, in Duke Charles's Ditch, covering King Philip the Fourth's horn-work, before the Water-gate, towards the north-west. Last of all, for the further security of his outworks, he cut out a third ditch, likewise a moat, making it go round the town on two sides, that is, the west and north, a little without Duke Charles's Ditch; whereas, on the other two, the east and south sides, it was before-hand surrounded, and abundantly secured, with the lake, that is, the Apostles' Lake on the east, and Priests' Lake on the south; both being but one lake, though, by the works before the Havre-gate, divided into two, and of a sufficient both breadth and deepness to secure the town on those sides. He also disposed of the other waters about the town, so as, by the means of canals, to make them run into the ditches, into the lakes, or into the marshes, as he had a mind; and, by the means of sluices, to make them run, or not run, as he had a mind, whatever way he would.

What kind of works these outworks of King Charles the Second's were, we cannot precisely tell, as to them all; some of them being still on foot, and entire, and free from other edifices; others, either taken in, and embodied with the French works that have been since made, or levelled; but, by an account of those that are on foot, and free, one may guess at what the others have been. They are built of earth, revested and incrusted with stone, having their dimensions somewhat, but not altogether, in proportion to the

rampart; terminated with platforms, guarded with parapets and banquets suitable to the rest of the fortification; planted in the ditches, at the distance of their ordinary breadth from the interior works towards the town; surrounded with water or their particular ditches, and joined to the scarps and counter-scarps, as well as to one another, with draw-bridges.

That was the condition of Mons, as King Charles the Second further completed it; and this is the length its fortifications came, in the time that he had it; for, after he had brought them so far, his engineers, both Spaniards and French, told him it was a town both completely and right fortified; but it afterwards appeared, how much they were wrong.

In the year of our Lord 1678, the war continuing, between King Charles the Second of Spain and King Lewis the Fourteenth of France, King Lewis marched an army into Hainault, under the command of Julius, late Duke of Luxemburg, who came before Mons, and besieged it, but afterwards found it convenient (because of the watery situation of the place) to convert the siege into a blockade; which he continued so long, that those within the town were reduced to very great straits; when the army of Great-Britain and Holland, and of the other powers in alliance with King Charles, under the command of William the Third, late Prince of Orange, and afterwards King of Great-Britain, came seasonably to their relief, attacked the Duke of Luxemburg with the French army, fought them, and gained a complete victory over them, at the memorable battle of St. Dennis, where the Scotch and English troops did wonders; and where the Prince of Orange, engaging too far among the enemy, would certainly have been either taken, or killed, by a French officer, if Mynheer Overkirk had not come time enough, and shot that officer through the head. So, by the means of the good success of that day, on the side of King Charles and his allies, the town of Mons, for that time, narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the French, and continued still to be under the dominion of the Spaniards. This action was immediately followed by a separate peace, betwixt France and Holland, which, afterwards, drew on a general one.

In the year of our Lord 1691, the war being again broke out, between King Charles of Spain and King Lewis of France, King Lewis came himself in person, with a great army, into Hainault, sat down before Mons, and, by the means of that odd unaccountable fortification, of an irregular horn-work, a counter swallow-tail, with two little ravelins and a quarter-moon lying between, before the Bartemont-gate, towards the west, which the French took, sword in hand, forced the town to surrender upon terms, after a siege of three and twenty days. The Prince of Orange, then King of Great-Britain, had gathered an army to endeavour its relief, but could not come up to it in time: so the Spaniards lost the town of Mons, with all its fine fortifications, to the French, who kept it during all the rest of that war, and have had it ever since, except for a very little while.

No sooner King Lewis had got Mons into his hands, but, knowing the importance of the place, he resolved well to keep it if he could; and, considering the faults of its fortification, immediately begun, that same year, to amend them: and, the French being one of the nations of Europe that understand the art of military architecture best, they never gave over the fortifying of Mons, till by making alterations and additions suitable to its weakness and wants, they rendered it a town completely and rightly fortified, with all the art and skill they were masters of; the principal direction of the work being committed to the particular care of the famous Monsieur de Vauban, lieutenant-general and chief engineer of France, who has indeed given it the finishing stroke, and acquitted himself very handsomely in it, both as to design and execution.

First, he repaired the breaches that had been made during the siege in the rampart, and those in the outworks, which he had a mind to preserve as they were; then, beginning at the river where it goes out of the town, at the north-west corner, on the left of the Water-gate, from thence, going eastwards round, he made the following alterations and additions. In the Rampart: a small bastion, flat, at the saillant angle, where the Park-gate is, towards the north-east; another, irregular, of the same kind, in the middle of the distance between King Philip the Second's bastions, towards the east; and a demi-bastion, likewise flat, at the saillant angle, on the left of the Water-gate, towards the north-west.

In Duke Philip the Good's Ditch: a small ravelin, before King Philip the Fourth's horn-work, covering the Water-gate, towards the north-east; the tenaille of King Charles the Second, there, being converted into a part of his covered way and glacis: a second rampart, taken off from the too great breadth of King Charles's grand covered way, beginning near the Water-gate, having two bastions flat in it, and ending upon a large half-moon before the Castle-gate; which, with King Charles's two half-moons without the Park-gate, and King Philip's ravelin before the Nimy-gate, are joined together, consecutively, with traverses or galleries; the whole being at the distance of the ordinary breadth of the ditch from the first rampart, towards the north and north-east; a small tenaille before the courtine, and behind the ravelin, of King Charles's irregular horn-work, covering King Philip the Second's bastion, on the right of the Nimy-gate towards the east; a half moon, covering the point of King Philip's other bastion (King Philip the Fourth's half-moon being between the two) towards the south-east; two small traverses, one without another, a half-moon, and another traverse, consecutively, or one after another, in the way from thence to the Havre-gate, likewise towards the south-east; after King Charles's next half-moon, there, the river, where it enters the town, on the south side, on the left of the Hayon-gate, King Philip the Fourth's two half-moons, Arch-duke Albert's bastion, and King Philip's other half-moon, before the Bartemont-gate, a cut-work, on the right of the half-moon, with a double counter-guard, before the two, all three without the Bartemont-gate, towards the west; a half-moon, a traverse, another half-moon, and another traverse, consecutively, joined together, and ending upon the river, where it goes out of the town, on the left of the Water-gate, towards the north-west, from whence he began his course. In King Charles the Second's Covered Way and Glacis: the covered way reformed to an ordinary breadth: the glacis double-tenailled or double-angled all around; both cut in some places, on the left of the Water-gate, towards the north-west, at the point of King Philip the Second's second bastion, towards the south-east, on the left of the Hayon-gate, towards the south, on the right of Arch-duke Albert's bastion, towards the south-west, and entirely destroyed in one place, on the right and left of the Havre-gate, towards the south and south-east, for the sake of the passage of the river, into and out of the town, and of a communication of water, between the ditches and lakes about the town. In Duke Charles the Warrior's Ditch: three half-moons, consecutively, in the distance between the Water-gate, and the Castle-gate, towards the north: a large voluminous horn-work, with a tenaille, and a ravelin, before it, in the room of King Charles's swallow-tail, in the middle of the distance between the Castle-gate and the Park-gate, towards the north-east, where a canal from the north enters the ditch, and where the grounds begin to rise, and, consequently, the town to be more attackable; a grand complex fortification, of three large horn-works, with their accompaniments, one without another, the first having a tenaille before it, the second a tenaille, a ravelin, a cut-work, and a quarter-moon; the third a tenaille, and a ravelin; the whole running out, from between the Park-gate and the Nimy-gate, a good way into the country, towards the east, where a canal from the east enters the ditch, and where the ground rises most, and, consequently, the town is most attackable; Duke Charles's Ditch ending, and the lake beginning, immediately after the three horn-works, in the Apostles' Lake, a cut-work, and a quarter-moon, consecutively, in the room of King Charles's two ravelins, and half-moon, before the Nimy-gate, likewise towards the east, where the ground falls low again, and consequently, is less attackable; a half-moon, on the left of the Havre-gate, towards the south-east; Duke Charles's fort, as well as King Charles's horn-work, remaining before the Havre-gate, the first serving as a work of communication through the lake to the last, and consequently, dividing the lake into two; a small ravelin, before the horn-work, on the other side the lake, before the Havre-gate, towards the south, the single tenaille and double tenaille of King Charles, there, being converted into a covered way and glacis, tenailled, and surrounded with a moat; in Priests-lake a ravelin in the middle of the distance, between the Havre-gate and the Hayon-gate, likewise towards the south; the lake ending on the one side, the river from the south entering the town, and Duke Charles's Ditch beginning again, on the other side, another grand fortification, of a large horn-work, a ravelin,

a double tenaille, and another horn-work, one without another, running out, from the right of the Hayon-gate, into the country, towards the south-west, where the ground rises a little along the river side, and, consequently, is somewhat attackable; a ravelin on the right of the Hayon-gate, likewise towards the south-west; a half-moon on the right of Arch-duke Albert's bastion, likewise towards the south-west; a horn-work, with a small ravelin before it, in the room of that odd unaccountable fortification of King Charles's, an irregular horn-work, a counter-swallow tail, with two little ravelins, and a quarter-moon lying between, by means of which, the French easily took the town, before the Bartemont-gate, towards the west, where, likewise, the ground rising a little, the town is somewhat attackable; two ravelins, and a half moon, consecutively, in the distance between the right of the Bartemont-gate, and the Water-gate, where the river goes out of the town towards the north-west, where he began his course. In the ground, between Duke Charles's Ditch, and King Charles's third one, a new covered way and glacis, regular and tenailled; reigning round the town on all sides, except where the lake is, there being no need for it on those sides, by reason of the lake's being sufficiently broad to guard the works there; cut in some places, on the left of the Water-gate, towards the north-west, before the large horn-work, in the middle, between the Castle-gate and the Park-gate, towards the north-east, on the right of the three horn-works, between the Park-gate and the Nimy-gate, towards the east, on the left of the outermost horn-work, on the right of the Hayon-gate, towards the south-west; and entirely wanting in one place, on the right and left of the Havre-gate, towards the south and south-east, for the sake of the passage of the river, into and out of the town, of the entrance of two canals, from the north, and from the east, into the ditches, and of a communication of water between the ditches and the two lakes, about the town. As for King Charles's Ditch, he destroyed it, and, instead of it, converted the ground immediately, without the outer glacis, into a grand explanade, reigning for a great way off, all about the town, which he fortified with redoubts, upon the avenues to the place, as follows: Without the Water-gate, towards the north-west, on the right of the river, a ravelin, in a moat, joined to Duke Charles's Ditch with a traverse of water; and, beyond it, a lozenge, likewise moated, on the river-side, further into the country; in the middle of the distance, betwen the Water-gate and the Castle-gate, towards the north, a ravelin, moated, and joined to Duke Charles's Ditch, with a traverse, as before; without the Castle-gate, likewise, towards the north, on the left of the canal that comes from thence, a lozenge, moated, as before; beyond it, further into the country, another of the same, and the village of Espinlien, on the other side of the canal, inclosed with a horn-work; in the middle of the distance, between the Park-gate and the Nimy-gate, towards the north-east, a ravelin, moated, and joined with a traverse, as before; without the Hayon-gate, towards the south, on the right of the river, upon the water-side, the mill of St. Peter's, inclosed with an irregular fort, being a polygon, on both sides the river, with a small ravelin before it, on the right; in the distance between the Hayon-gate and the Bartemont-gate, towards the south and south-west, two ravelins, moated, and joined, as before, consecutively, one after another; in the distance between the Bartemont-gate, and the Water-gate, towards the west and north-west, three ravelins, consecutively, moated, and joined, each of them, as before. He also disposed of the waters about the town so, as, by the means of canals, to make them run into the ditches; and, by the means of sluices, to make them run or not run, as he had a mind, and run which way he would. Especially, he made two complications of canals, the one near the village of Espinlien, towards the north; the other, over-against St. Peter's mill, towards the south, which equally contribute to drain the ground, and to defend the town on those sides. Last of all, he built a citadel within the town, being a demi-hexagon, adjoining to the rampart, on the inside, at the saillant angles, in the middle of the distance, between the Bartemont-gate and the Water-gate, towards the west; which, because it is inconsiderable and of no consequence, upon the double account of its low situation and weak defence, both lying in a plain, and having nothing but an explanade about it, with a small ravelin before the mid-courtine, towards the town, I shall supersede any further description of it.

What kind of works these outworks of King Lewis's were, we can very well tell; for they are still on foot and entire; and I have seen and observed them both very exactly, and very lately. They are built all of earth, revested and incrusted with stone and brick, intermixed; having their dimensions in proportion to the rampart, as well as to one another; terminated with platforms, guarded with parapets and banquets, suitable to the rest of the fortification; planted in the ditches, at regular distances; surrounded with an abundance of water, and joined to the scarps and counter-scarps, as well as to one another, with timber bridges, some of which are draw-ones, and some fixed.

That was the condition of Mons, as King Lewis the Fourteenth of France finished it; and this is the complete and right length its fortifications came, in the time that he first had it; by the means of which, and of its situation, it was certainly then become, both naturally and artificially, one of the strongest and most impregnable towns in the world: and it continues to be so to this day.

King Lewis kept it, that first time, till the year of our Lord 1697, when, a general peace being concluded at Ryswick, between himself and the princes in confederacy against him, by the seventh article of that treaty, he was obliged to restore it to King Charles.

It continued again in the hands of the Spaniards, till the year of our Lord 1701, when, King Charles the Second being dead, and having constituted, by a testament [5], Philip, Duke of Anjou, King Lewis's grand-son, and his own grand-nephew, his heir and successor, by virtue of that claim to the Monarchy of Spain, King Lewis seized upon the town of Mons, among others, for Duke Philip, and keeps it now a second time, for him, to this day. But, the war breaking immediately out again, upon that ground of the Spanish succession, and being just now on foot, between Charles the Third, present King of Spain, cousin and successor to the former, and King Lewis of France, with Duke Philip of Anjou, who pretends likewise to be King of Spain, and King Charles being powerfully assisted by his allies, the Emperor, the Queen of Great Britain, and the States-General of the United Provinces, in the pursuit and recovery of his right, they are like to drive his enemies, King Lewis and Duke Philip, out of his territories, by a sharp and victorious war, and oblige them to quit their pretensions, by a sure and lasting peace. Last year, they luckily got Lisle from them; this year, they easily took Tournay; very lately, they bravely fought them at the battle of Arquennes; and just now, they are closely besieging Mons: but, whether or not they will have it, at this time, is doubtful.

In fine, this is the condition of Mons, as King Lewis of France now has it, and that the complete and right length its buildings and fortifications are come, at this time, as it was founded by Prince Alberon of France, refounded by St. Waltrud, Countess of Hainault, built by Earl Alberick of Hainault, rebuilt by Earl Baldwin the Third, further rebuilt by Earl Baldwin the Builder, and has been fortified by Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy, further fortified by Duke Charles the Warrior, amended by King Philip the Second of Spain, further amended by Arch-duke Albert of Austria, completed by King Philip the Fourth of Spain, further completed by King Charles the Second, and finished by King Lewis the Fourteenth of France.

It is of an oblong, round, or parabolic figure, lying cross the river, on both sides, and stretching itself from east to west, the river running from south to north. It has in length, taking it, from the Nimy-gate, on the east-side, to the Bartemont gate on the west, just two-thousand common paces, that is, a thousand geometrical paces, or two-third parts of a British mile; in breadth, reckoning, from the Castle-gate on the north side, to the Hayon-gate on the south, it is fifteen-hundred common paces, or seven-hundred and fifty geometrical paces, or half a British mile; and in circumference, going round within, on the inside the rampart, there are exactly six-thousand common paces, that is, three-thousand geometrical paces, or two British miles; but the measuring it without, on the outside the outer ditch and lake, we found it to be as good as fifteen-thousand common paces, or seven thousand and five-hundred geometrical paces, or five British miles.

[5] *Forged:* See the Succession of the House of Austria to the Crown of Spain, in Vol. I. p. 202.

St. Hilary's Tears: Shed upon all Professions, from the Judge to the Pettifogger: From the spruce Dames of the Exchange, to the dirty walking Fishmongers: From the Covent-Garden Lady of Iniquity, to the Turnbal-street Trull; and indeed, from the Tower-stairs, to Westminster-ferry. For Want of a stirring Midsummer-Term, this Year of Disasters, 1642. Written by one of his Secretaries, that had nothing else to do.

London, printed Anno Dom. 1642.

[Quarto, containing Six Pages.]

WHAT? Midsummer! How comes it then, the sun and moon, of gold and silver, which had wont to disperse their radiant lustre with greater brightness and consolation than those that shine in the zodiac, have now withdrawn their splendour, and left us in the Cimmerian night of small takings? A Term so like a vacation, you would take them to be the Gemini, which constellation never appears but out of darkness; there is no plague to fright away the termers, unless it be that plague of plagues, want of trading, which their money would easily cure.

At Westminster-hall, where in pristine ages you might without offence shoulder a lord to get through the press, now you may walk in the same posture a justice of peace doth in his own great hall at the examination of a delinquent, play with your band-strings, and twist your beard with the same gravity, and not an elbow-rub to disturb you; the benches are better than half empty, and those few judges left have time enough to get a nap, and no noise to awake them; the bars, that had wont to swell with a five-fold row of listed gowns, where the favourites in the front imbursed more fees than would supply an army, and the rest (by Lady), had good doings, a motion, or a short cause to open, are now so empty, that boys may peep over them; the surly tipstaff and messenger, whom your best oratory, and money to boot, would hardly persuade to admit you within the bench-room, stands looking over the door as it were through a pillory, to ask you, 'Sir, shall I open?' and, for the tester you give him, kisses his hand and scrapes you a leg, as fawningly as a hungry spaniel takes a bone from his master; the lawyers, instead of perusing the breviates, and reducing the matter in question to cases, now buying up all the pamphlets, and dispersing themselves into corners to read them; thereby to keep their tongues in use, lest the faculties of brawling should be dried up with unwilling silence.

The prime court, the Chancery, (wherein the clerks had wont to dash their clients out of countenance with long dashes; the examiners to take the depositions in hyperboles, and run about Robinhood circumstances, with saids and aforesaids, to enlarge the number of sheets; the registers, to whom you used to come, in the same equipage as if you had a suit to the Council-board, and had this ready answer, 'Well, you must wait till the latter end of the Term;') now as silent as a puritan conventicle when the lights are out; no waiting, no hyperboles, no dashes, nor any employment, towards maintenance of taffata, sack, wenches, and other the usual prodigalities and luxuries, whereunto the gentlemen that practise there are addicted. That court, that hath been known to decree *pro*, review and decree *con*, hath the bar now empty of *pro*'s and *con*'s; no wrangling, no noise, but the lamentation of my lord's escape.

The Court of Requests, to whom so many thousands of loyal, faithful, and obedient subjects have come humbly complaining, and shewing, can shew you at this present no subject, but its own humble complaint; you that knew it, when the necessity of over-great employment caused it to double the number of its clerks, and they to treble theirs, when it was solicited by petitions as numberless as hops or ants, which all her Welch kindred had brought two-hundred and twelve and twenty miles, to get admitted in *formâ pauperis*, and thereby enabled to do more mischief than the best-pursed clients in England, would wonder how it should tumble from such a throng, to such a vacation of employment; that that court, that hath made two-hundred orders in one cause, should be in danger not to have one cause to order; it is methinks a lamentable change!

The ministers of the Court of Wards do all wear mourning liveries in their faces, as if fate had granted out writs in the nature of a *diem clausit extremum*, after the death of *feoda multa*, to find their offices for *vacua plurima;* and of all courts else the Chequers must needs come within the limitation of this calamity, because they stand so much for the King; and in that predicament is the King's-Bench; marry, if any thrive, it must needs be the Common Pleas; for, as the times go, nothing stands stiff, but what pertains to the Commons, and yet they meet with revolts too as well as the rest.

On both sides of the Hall they complain: at Heaven, they say there is not a lawyer nor a clerk comes near them; and at Hell, where they were wont to flock like swallows to a reed-bush, they come dropping in but now and then one, as opportunity of business makes them able: the coaches which had wont to rumble up and down as they would challenge Heaven to thunder for a wager, and did use to lie in the Palace-yard, and before the Inns of Court gates, like so many basses, or fleets of fisher-boats in harbour, peering over the haven-keys, now seem like western barges on the Thames at a high tide, here and there one.

And you are no sooner out of the Hall-yard, but, entering into King-street, you find the cooks leaning against door-posts, ruminating upon those halcyon Terms, when whole herds of clerks, solicitors, and their clients, had wont to come with their sharp-set noses and stomachs from the Hall, and devour the puddings and minced pies by dozens, as swiftly as a kennel of hounds would worry up a dead horse; and now the courts are risen before they are hungry: the taverns, where an iron mill would hardly have drowned the noise of the yawling boys, the bar-bell, the fiddling and roaring above stairs, are now so silent you may rock a child asleep: the spruce mistress, that had wont to sit in the bar, domineering over the drawers, and not to be spoken withal, if you would kiss her a— to speak with her; now, so familiar, bids you so heartily welcome, and will come and join her half-pint with you, and let you salute her, and thank you, and think it very well, if all that courtesy will invite you to mount the reckoning to a pottle: the ale-houses and tobacco-shops are grown sweet for want of takings, you may walk by them without danger of being choaked.

All along the Strand (lodgings being empty) you shall find the house-keepers generally projecting where to borrow, and what to pawn towards payment of their quarter's rents, thereby to preserve their leases from forfeiture, and themselves from the tyranny of their stern landlords, who are very infidels in trusting, and will not forbear a minute; nay, the mischief on it is, there are no courtiers nor bad paymasters to curse and rail at for want of money, and that is the heaviest torment of all.

If you step aside into Covent-Garden, Long-Acre, and Drury-Lane, where those doves of Venus, those birds of youth and beauty (the wanton ladies) do build their nests; you shall find them in such a dump of amazement, to see the hopes of their trading frustrate, their beauties decayed for want of means to procure pomatum and *fucus:* their eyes, which like the glistering comets had wont to dazzle their idolaters, now shadowed, with clouds of grief; their golden tresses, which had wont to flag about their shoulders, like so many ensigns in Cupid's regiment, and every hair thereof had a servant or visitant, which did superstitiously dote on it, now for want of curling and ordering, grown to the fashion of an Irish rug; and what a misery it is to see the velvets, sattins, and taffaties, nay the

curious smocks sent to the brokers, and the whole wardrobe, that was purchased with so large a proportion of free favours and communities, now reduced to one poor tufted Holland suit! Is it not pity to see them, poor souls, who had wont to shine like so many constellations in the firmament of the suburbs, and to be hurried in coaches to the taverns, and asparagus-gardens, where ten or twenty pounds' suppers were but trifles with them, should now go to the chandlers and herb-wives in slip-shoes, for cheese and onions to dinner? Well, content yourselves (you attractive loadstones, of delicious and smooth damnation) and doubtless the arch-angel, my successor, will bring your angels to redeem all; and your champions and cavaliers will return with pockets doubly furnished, for you are as sure of them, as they are of your diseases; they are now but only purchasing, and laying up for you against their coming home: this dearth of traffick is but a preparation to a large mart to follow, and this devouring winter of penury doth but presage a lively spring in the hot blood of the young gallantry, which when it comes, you shall again enjoy those blessings of wine, musk, good clothes, money, and dainty fare; be enabled to pay your railing landladies, and defy the beadle with as much impudence, as ever you did.

Well, from you, I must follow the steps of many an old lecherous citizen, and walk into London, where, at the Exchange, the only question that is asked is, What news? Not from Aleppo, Constantinople, the Streights, or Indies; but from York, Ireland, and the Parliament? The answer is, 'Why, the King is still obstinate, we shall have all our throats cut; those Epicurean throats of ours are doomed to be cut, for swallowing so many luxurious cates: we had need to prick up our ears, and elevate our broad overgrown horns for the safety of ourselves, estates, and children; marry, as for our wives, they know well enough already the dangers of courtiers and cavaliers, and therefore dare meet the roughest gamester of them all in any posture whatsoever.'

From hence I travel to Guildhall, where I find the lawyers complaining of infinite numbers of bankrupts, men so far decayed in estate, that they will compound to pay more than half, confess judgments, render their bodies to prison, prostitute their wives, or any thing rather than stand out the prosecution of a suit at law.

Then at the halls of every several company, where, in former ages, all the elements would scarce afford variety to please the ingenious gluttony of one single feast, now you shall hear the meaner sort of tradesmen cursing those devouring foxes, the masters and wardens, for the infinite charge their insatiate stomachs do put them to: from hence go to their particular shops, where there is nothing amongst the tradesmen, but condoling the want of the courtiers' money, and their wives and daughters almost distracted for want of their company; there are no upstart gallants to draw into their books, no young heirs to exchange shop-ware for lordships withal, nor any trading one with another, in which they are so familiarly acquainted with each other's knaveries, that, alas! their gains are as good as nothing: and amongst them all, that quintessence of unquestionable simplicity, the very spirit of villainy, extracted out of all compounded villainies; that master-piece or idea of dissimulation, which nature made her example to portraiture a rogue by, the Roundhead, who had wont to eat and pray, for the propagation of the brethren and sisters of the seditious faction, now is invoking of curses upon the malignant party (the Ahithophels, as he calls them, of the King's council), he sneaks into the corners of the city, and, after a licking of his lips, a spitting, and a casting up his ugly eyes towards the place he is not worthy to look at, he whispers a tale through his rotten nose, of a great danger that is fallen upon the kingdom; and strange discoveries of imminent mischiefs, which had happened if by some providence towards the brethren of the selected sedition, and for their sakes only, it had not been prevented; and then at length he tells you, that if the prince were but at St. James's, there would be something done that St. Hilary dares not repeat after him. This thin-jawed, ill-looking, hungry rascal; this beetle-browed, hollow-eyed, long-nosed, wide-mouthed cur; this carrion that stinks worse than the corrupted river of Egypt; this cockatrice that hath hatched more serpentine distempers, than all the grave wisdom of a pregnant kingdom can pacify, hath

been the sole cause of poor St. Hilary's tears; who would think this idiot, this fathomless-bellied, thin-gutted snake should begin to hiss and shew his sting, before the glorious splendour of those excellent worthies of our hopeful parliament could have leisure to disperse itself upon their starved kingdom ; that this owl, this buzzard, should be the instrument to bring clouds upon all their proceedings, and yet, without doubt, will be the first that will oppose, and curse them, when they shall please to declare, that, in the title of Puritan, they never intended blue-apron preachers, Brownist or Anabaptist : and yet this secure, confident, impudent, malignant, twenty times damned heretick, dares attribute all their favour to himself: well may St. Hilary's curse pursue him. May the unquenchable zeal of his next prayer prolong the nonsense and foolery thereof to so large a measure of time, that all the roast-meat be burnt off the spit, before he has done; the white-broth boiled dry, and the stewed and baked meat scorched to cinders (which in his opinion is one of the greatest earthly curses that can befall him :) may his wife be catched in the spiritual act of her next carnal copulation, that all the world may discover what yet they carry so closely : may the fervency of his hot zeal to the younger sisters burn his reins and kidneys to ashes ; and, instead of an hospital, let him be cast into the saw-pit he so often defiled under pretence of edification ; let him be buried amongst the dung-hills, as not worthy to come near the church he so abused, where none may find his grave but dogs to p— against it: may the ashes of his loathed carcase be collected from the pestiferous urn, by murderers and mountebanks, to mix with their killing potions; and may no poison ever hereafter be operative, but what is compounded with that infernaldust; that, as he lived to the confusion of all goodness and virtue, so he may after death be known or mentioned by no other notion, than some fate-boding character, that brings with it the dreadful summons of a woeful horrour to ensue, till which end be fallen upon him we shall never see day of good trading again : but, when it is accomplished, St. Hilary will make holiday, and, instead of his tears, will send you hymns and madrigals for joy of the Round-heads' confusion, and your more full employment.

Instructions for the Increasing and Planting of Mulberrie[1] Trees, and the Breeding of Silke-wormes, for the making of Silke in this Kingdome. Whereunto is annexed his Majestie's Letters to the Lords Lieftenants of the severall Shiers of England tending to that Purpose. Newly printed, MDCIX.

[Quarto, containing Two Sheets.]

It is more than probable, that the fine Mulberry-trees, which abound in some parts of England, and grow as high and extensive as any in France or Italy, are the monuments of this laudable scheme, and royal encouragement to promote the growth and making of Silk, within ourselves. But how so advantageous and profitable an undertaking should be

[1] [Mr. Malone has remarked, in his account of Shakspeare, that there were scarce any trees of this species in England till the year 1609 ; when, by order of King James, many hundred thousand young mulberry-trees were imported from France, and sent into the different counties, with a view to the feeding of silk-worms, and the encouragement of the silk manufacture. See Camden's Annals, and Howe's edition of Stowe's Chronicle. It appears, however, that private endeavours had been previously made to render the breeding of silk-worms an object of national attention ; since in 1599 was published a didactic essay on the subject, intitled, "Silke-wormes and their Flies, lively described in verse by T. M. a countrie farmer, and an apprentice in physicke."]

now dwindled to nothing, in a nation, of all others, the most industrious, and able to improve every branch of trade, is a matter of the greatest speculation and amazement: for, by experience, both the animal and its food propagate and thrive in our soil and climate, and both the rich and poor must have found their advantage in conducting so large a manufacture; besides the national interest; which must have not only saved immense sums of money sent abroad to purchase silks, but have been able to draw the riches of more Northern nations into its own bank, by this new mart of silken goods. This certainly was the intention of those times, in which those instructions were written, and was so explained in his Majesty's Letters-patents hereunto annexed.

To the Reader.

As one desirous of nothing more then the publike good, I here most willingly impart unto thee (gentle reader) that which by my owne experience I finde, in regard of the benefit it affoards, worthy thy paines and observation. It hath pleased his Majestie, out of his deepe discerning judgement, to give my purpose a speciall approbation, and withall to expresse a willingnesse in himselfe to further so good a businesse, as by his gratious letters hereunto annexed most manifestly appeares. Accept therefore of these my briefe directions, and approove of them as they proove: I could have extended them to a farther length, but oratorie needes not where the thing itselfe perswades. Yet some, peradventure, that have laboured in the like before, will take occasion to countenance themselves, and make my brevity an argument of unsufficiencie; although I hope, they will consider that a king's picture may be as perfect in a pennie, as in the largest coine.

And whatsoever hath beene by them published, interpreting other men's workes, according to the practise thereof in forraigne parts, where the same as yet is generally better understood, I doubt not but future triall will verifie this my booke to be every way here more correspondent to the creature whereof it treates: and for such I commend it to each unpartial understanding. Remaining alwaies

Thine, for the publike weale.

JAMES Rex.

Right trustie and welbeloved, we greete you well.

IT is a principall part of that Christian care which appertaineth to sovereigntie, to endeavour, by all meanes possible, as well to beget as to increase, among their people, the knowledge and practise of all artes and trades, whereby they may be both wained from idlenesse and the enormities thereof, which are infinite; and exercised in such industries and labours, as are accompanied with evident hopes, not only of preserving people from the shame and griefe of penury, but also of raysing and encreasing them in wealth and abundance; the scope which every free-borne spirit aimeth at, not in regard of himselfe onely and the ease which a plentifull estate bringeth to every one in his particular, but also in regard of the honour of their native countrey, whose commendation is no way more set forth then in the people's activenes and industry. The consideration whereof having of late occupied our minde, who always esteeme our people's good our necessary contemplation, we have conceived as well by the discourse of our owne reason, as by information gathered from others, that the making of Silke might as well be effected here, as it is in the kingdome of France, where the same hath of late years been put in practise. For neither is the clymate of this Isle so far distinct or different in condition from that countrey, especially from the hither parts therof, but that it is to be hoped that those things, which by industrie prosper there, may, by like industrie used here, have like succesee; and many private persons, who, for their pleasure, have bred of those worms, have

found no experience to the contrarie, but that they may be nourished and maintained here, if provision were made for planting mulberrie trees, whose leaves are the food of the wormes. And, therefore, we have thought good hereby to let you understand, that although, in suffering this invention to take place, we doe shew our selves somewhat an adversarie to our profit, which, in the matter of our customes for silke brought from beyond the seas, will receive deminution: neverthelesse, when there is question of so great and publique utilitie to come to our kingdome and subjectes in generall, and whereby (besides multitudes of people of both sexes and all ages) such, as in regard of impotencie are unfit for other labour, may be set on worke, comforted, and releeved, we are content that our private benefit shall give way to our publique; and therefore beeing perswaded that no well-affected subject will refuse to put his helping hand to such a worke, as can have no other private ende in us, but the desire of the wel-fare of our people, we have thought good in this forme onely to require you[2] (as a person of greatest authoritie within that countie) and from whome the generalitie may receive notice of our pleasure (with more conveniencie then otherwise) to take occasion either at the quarter-sessions, or at some other publique place of meeting, to perswade and require such as are of abilitie (without descending to trouble the poore, for whome we seeke to provide) to buie and distribute, in that countie, the number of ten-thousand mulberrie plants, which shall be delivered unto them at our citie of, &c. at the rate of three farthings the plant, or at six shillings the hundred, containing five-score plants. And because the buying of the said plants, at this rate, may at first seem chargeable to our said subjectes (whom we would be loath to burthen) we have taken order, that, in March or April next, there shall be delivered at the said place a good quantitie of mulberrie seedes, there to be sold to such as will buie them, by meanes whereof the said plants will be delivered at a smaller rate then they can be afforded beeing carried from hence; having resolved also in the meane time, that there shall be published, in print, a plaine instruction and direction, both for the increasing of the said mulberrie trees, the breeding of the silk-wormes, and all other thinges needfull to be understood, for the perfecting of a worke every way so commendable and profitable, as well to the planter as to those that shall use the trade. Having now made knowne unto you the motives as they stand, with the publique good, wherein every man is interested; because, we know, how much the example of our owne deputie-lieftenants and justices will further this cause, if you, and other your neighbours, will be content to take some good quantities hereof, to distribute upon your own lands: we are content to acknowledge thus much more in this direction of ours, that all things of this nature tending to plantations, increase of science, and workes of industrie, are things so naturally pleasing to our owne disposition, as we shall take it for an argument of extraordinarie affection towards our person; besides, the judgment we shall make of the good dispositions, in all those that shall expresse in any kinde their readie minds, to further the same, and shall esteeme that, in furthering the same, they seeke to further our honour and contentment, who having seene in few yeares space past, that our brother, the French king, hath, since his coming to that crowne, both begunne and brought to perfection the making of silkes in his country, whereby he hath wonne to himself honour, and to his subjectes a mervailous increase of wealth, would account it no little happinesse to us, if the same worke, which we begun among our people with no lesse zeale to their good (than any prince can have to the good of theirs) might, in our time, produce the fruits which there it hath done; whereof we nothing doubt, if ours will be found as tractable and apt to further their own good, now the way is shewed them by us their sovereigne, as these of France have beene to conforme themselves to the directions of their king.

Given under our signet at our pallace of Westminster, the nineteenth of January, in the sixth yeare of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the two and fortieth.

[2] The lord-lieutenant of the county.

What Ground is fit for the Mulberrie Seedes, how the same is to be ordered, and in what Sort the Seedes are to be sowed therein.

THE ground which ought to be appointed for this purpose, besides the naturall goodnesse of it, must be reasonably well dunged, and withall so scituated, as that the heate of the sunne may cherish it, and the nipping blasts of either the north winde, or the east, may not annoy it. The choise thereof thus made; that the seedes may the better prosper, and come up after they besowne, you shall digge it two feete deepe, breaking the clods as small as may be, and afterward you shall devide the same into severall beds of not above five feete in breadth; so that you shall not neede to indanger the plants by treading upon them, when either you water or weede them.

The mulberrie seedes you shall lay in water for the space of twenty-two hours, and after that you shall drie them againe halfe drie, or somewhat more, that when you sowe them they may not cleave together. Thus done, you must cast them upon the foresaid beds, (not altogether so thicke as you use to doe other garden-seedes,) and then cover them with some fine earth (past through a sieve) about halfe an inch thicke. In dry weather you shall water them every two dayes at the farthest, as likewise the plants that shall come of them; and keepe them as cleane from weedes as possibly you can.

The time, in which you ought to sowe them for your best advantage, is either in March, April, or May; when frostes are either altogether past, or at the least not so sharpe, or of so long continuance, as to indanger their upspring.

There is yet another way to sowe them, and that is as followeth. You shall (beeing directed by a straite line) make certaine furrowes in the beds above mentioned of some foure fingers deepe, and about a foote in distance the one from the other: after this, you shall open the earth with your hands, on either side of the aforesaid furrowes, some two fingers from the bottome, and, where you have so opened it, shall you sowe your seedes; and then cover them half a finger thicke with the earth which before you opened.

When the Plants, that are sprung up of the Seedes, are to be remooved; and, how they are to be planted the first Time.

IN the moneths of September, October, November, December, March, or Aprill, the next yeare after the seedes are sowne, you may remoove their plants (or in the moneth of Januarie, if it be not in frostie weather) and set them in the like beds as before; but first you must cut off their rootes, leaving them about eight inches in length, and their tops about halfe a foote above their rootes, more or lesse, according to the strength of the said plants; for, the weaker they be, the lesse tops you shall leave them. In this sort you may suffer them to remain (weeding and watering them as need shall require) till they be grown sixe feete in length above their rootes; whereunto when once they have attained, you may cut their tops, and suffer them to spread; alwaies having a care to take away the many branches or succours, that may any way hinder their growth, untill they be come to their full length of sixe feete, as aforesaid.

When and how the Plants are to be remooved the second Time, and in what Manner they are to be planted where they shall remaine.

IN the moneths aforesaide (according as your plants are waxen strong) you may remoove them either into the hedges of your fields, or into any other grounds. If in hedges, you must set them sixteene feete the one from the other; if in other ground, intending to

make a wood of them, eighteene feete at the least. But, a moneth before you doe remoove them, you must make the holes (wherein you purpose to set them) about foure feete in breadth, and so deepe as that their rootes may be well covered, and some halfe a foote of loose earth left under them; having alwaies a speciall care so to place them, that they may receive the benefit of the sunne, and not to be shadowed or overspread by any neighbouring trees.

When and how the Egges of the Silk-wormes are to be hatched, and how to order the Wormes that shall come of them

WHEN the leaves of mulberrie trees begin a little to bud forth, take the egges of your silke-wormes, and lay them in a peece of say, or such like stuffe, and in the day-time carrie them in some warme place about you, in a little safe-boxe; but, in the night, either lay them in your bed, or betweene two warme pillowes, untill such time as the wormes begin to come forth. Then, take a peece of paper of the widenesse of the said boxe, and having cut it full of small holes, lay it within the same upon the egges, and upon that againe some few mulberrie leaves[3], to which the wormes, as they are hatched, will continually come. These leaves, with the wormes upon them, you must still remoove into other boxes, laying fresh leaves as well on those that are remooved, as on the paper where the egges are: and this is the course, which must be duly kept and observed, untill such times as all the wormes be come forth of their shells; still keeping their boxes warme as aforesaid, but no longer about you, but untill the wormes begin to come forth; out of which boxes, you may safely take them, when once they have past their second sicknesse, and feede them upon shelves of two feete in breadth, and eighteene inches one above the other.

The said shelves are not to be placed in any ground roome, nor yet next unto the tyles, but in some middle roome of your house, which openeth upon the north and south, that you may the more conveniently give them either heate or aire, according as the time and season shall require. Besides you must not make them close unto the walles, but so as you may passe about them, the better to looke unto the wormes, and keep them from rats and mice, which otherwise might devoure them. You must observe the times of their comming foorth, and keepe everye one or two daies hatching by themselves, that you may the better understand their severall sicknesses or sleepings, which are foure in the time of their feeding. The first commonly some twelve daies after they are hatched, and from that time at the end of every eight daies, according to the weather, and their good or ill usage: during which time of every sickenesse, which lasteth two or three daies, you must feede them but verie little, as onely to releeve such of them, as shall have past their sicknesse before the rest, and those that shall not fall into their sicknesse so soone.

The whole time that the wormes doe feede, is about nine weekes; whereof, untill they come unto their first sickenes, give them young mulberrie leaves twice every day, but fewe at a time; from thence untill their second sicknesse, twice every day in greater quantitie; and so from their second to their third sickenesse, increasing the quantitie of the leaves, according as you perceive the wormes to growe in strength, and cleare of sickenesse: from the third untill their fourth sickenesse, you may give them leaves thrice every day; and, the fourth beeing past, you may let them have so many as they will eate; alwaies having a care that you give them none, but such as are drie, and well ayred upon a table or cloath before they be laid upon them; and withall gathered so neere as may be, at such times as either the sunne or wind hath cleared them of the dewe that falleth upon them.

[3] [As silk-worms in England, without the forcing process here recommended, are commonly hatched two or three weeks before the mulberry-leaves make their appearance, it is found necessary to feed them at first with lettuce or other tender leaves.]

For the feeding of wormes you neede observe no other order than this; Lay the mulberrie leaves upon them, and every two or three dayes remoove them, and make clean their boxes or shelves, unlesse in times of their sicknesse, for then they are not to be touched. The leaves which you take from them, when you give them fresh to feede upon, you must lay in some convenient place, and upon them, a fewe newe leaves, to which the wormes, that lay hidden in the olde, will come; and then you may passe them with the said new leaves to the rest of the wormes: and now, least any thing should be omitted, which serves to perfect the discoverie of so excellent a benefit, I will advise you to be very diligent in keeping cleane their boxes, or shelves, as beeing a speciall meanes whereby to preserve them; wherefore, when you intend to doe it, you shall remoove them together with the uppermoste leaves whereon they lie, unto other boxes or shelves, for with your hands you may not touch them, till they have thoroughly undergone their third sicknesse, and then you may passe them gently with cleane hands, without doing them any harme; provided that the partie that commeth neere them smell not of garlick, onyons, or the like. The first five weekes of their age, you must be very carefull to keepe them warme, and in time of raine or cold weather, to set in the roome where they remaine, a pan with coales, burning in it now and then some juniper, benjamin, and such like, that yeeldeth sweete smells: but afterwards, unlesse in time of extraordinarie cold, give them ayre, and take heede of keeping them too hot; being alwaise mindefull to store the roome with hearbes and flowers which are delightfull and pleasing to the smell. As the wormes increase in bignesse, you shall disperse them abroad upon more boards or shelves, and not suffer them to lie too thicke together; and if you finde any of them broken, or of a yellowe glistering colour inclining to sicknesse, cast them away, least they infect the rest; and sort such as are not sicke, the greatest and strongest by themselves, for so the lesser will prosper the better.

When and how to make fit Roomes for the Wormes to worke their Bottomes of Silke in: and in what Sort the said Bottomes are to be used.

AS soone as, by the cleare amber-coloured bodies of your wormes, you shall perceive them ready to give their silk, you must (with heath made very cleane, or with the branches of rosemarie, the stalkes of lavender, or such like) make arches betweene the foresaid shelves: upon the branches and sprigs whereof, the wormes will fasten themselves, and make their bottomes; which, in foureteene daies after the worme beginneth to worke them, you may take away; and those, which you are minded to use for the best silke, you must either presently winde, or kill the wormes which are within them, by laying the said bottomes two or three dayes in the sunne, or in some oven after the bread baked therein is taken out, and the fiercenesse of the heat is alaide. The other bottomes, which you intend to keep for seede, you must lay in some convenient warme place, untill the wormes come forth*; which is commonly some sixteene or twenty daies, from the beginning of their worke: and, as they doe come forth, you must put them together upon some peece of old sey, grogeran, the backside of old velvet, or the like, made fast against some wall or hangings in your house.

There they will ingender; and the male, having spent himselfe, falleth downe, and in short time after dieth, as also doth the female, when she hath laide her egges; which egges, when you perceive them upon the sey, or grogeran, &c. to be of a graish colour, you may take them off gently, with a knife, and having put them in a peece of sey, or such-like, keepe them in a covered box amongst your woollen cloathes, or the like, till the yeare following: but not in any moist roome, for it is hurtfull for them; neither where there is too much heate, least the wormes should be hatched before you can have any foode for them.

* [It is now found that the silk may be wound off the bottom, and the worm still preserved in its chrysalis state.]

Examples for Kings; or, Rules for Princes to govern by. Wherein is contained these ensuing Particulars: 1. A Discourse touching Regal and Politic Government. 2. A Prince must be just in his Sentence. 3. What Man is fit to be a Governor, and to bear Rule. 4. That a Prince ought to be true to his Word. 5. That a Prince ought to be religious. 6. That a Prince ought not to shed innocent Blood. 7. That a Prince ought to be circumspect in giving Credit to evil Reports. 8. That a Prince ought to beware of Parasites. 9. What Kind of Men ought to be of the King's Council. 10. That it is dangerous for a Prince to take Aid of a Stranger. 11. How a Prince may get and keep the Love of his Subjects. 12. That a Prince ought to be well advised how he begin a War.---London, printed for Henry Hutton, 1642.

[Quarto, containing One Sheet.]

AS in natural things, the head being cut off, the rest cannot be called a body; no more can in politic things a multitude, or commonalty, without a head, be incorporate. Therefore, a people desiring to live in society, and willing to erect either a politic body or a kingdom, must, of necessity, choose one to govern that body, who, in a kingdom, of *regendo,* is called *Rex;* and so by the people is established a kingdom; which government is absolutely the best. And as the head of the physical body cannot change the reins and sinews thereof, nor deny the members their proper strength and necessary nutriture; no more can a king, who is the head of the politic body, alter or change the laws of that body, or take from the people their goods or substance against their wills: for a king is chosen (and bound) to maintain the laws of his subjects, and to defend their bodies and goods. So Brute[1], arriving in this island with his Trojans, erected here a regal and politic government, which hath for the most part continued ever since. For, though we have had many changes; as first the Romans, then the Saxons, then the Danes, and lastly the Normans; yet, in the time of all these nations, and during their reigns, the kingdom was for the most part governed in the same manner as it is now. Plutarch saith, that all at first that governed were called tyrants, but afterwards the good governors were called kings. For, though a man by force do subdue cities and countries, yet he ought to rule according to reason, and, if he knew God, according to the law of God: but when he is admitted king by the people, and hath his power from them, he may not subject the people to any other power; yet he hath a great and large prerogative, which he may use at his pleasure: And here I think it not amiss to set down some few laws and customs of other commonwealths, whereby their good government may appear, they not being Christians.

Ptolemæus, King of Egypt, feasted one day seven ambassadors, which, at his request, shewed unto him three of their principal laws and customs. And first the ambassador of

[1] [This fabulous hero of British history, introduced by a writer of the twelfth century, was espoused by a pamphleteer of the sixteenth, in a tract intitled "Philadelphus, or a Defence of Brutes and the Brutans history," 1593. Its author was Richard, the brother of Gabriel Harvey.]

Rome said, 'We have the temples in great reverence, we are very obedient to our governors, and we do punish wicked men severely.' The Carthaginian ambassador said, 'Our noblemen never left fighting, the artificers never left labouring, nor the philosophers never left teaching. The Sicilian said, 'In our common-wealth justice is exactly kept, merchandise is exercised with truth, and all men account themselves equal.' The Rhodians said,' That, at Rhodes, old men are honest, young men shamefaced, and women use very few words.' The Athenians said, 'In our common-wealth rich men are not suffered to be divided into factions, nor poor men to be idle, nor the govenors to be ignorant.' The Lacedemonians said, 'In Sparta envy reigneth not, for all men are equal; nor covetousness, for all goods are common; nor sloth, for all men labour.' 'In our common-wealth, (said the ambassador of the Sicyonians,) voyages are not permitted, because they should not bring home new factions; physicians are not suffered, lest they should kill the sound; nor lawyers to take upon them the defence of causes and suits.' And to these may be added Anacharsis's Letter to the Athenians, wherein he counselleth them to choose a king that is just in his sentence, true to his word, constant in his act, secret and liberal; for these be the principal moral virtues most necessary in a prince.

A prince ought to be just in his sentence, according to the words of Solomon, *Wisd.* i. saying, 'Love justice, you that judge the earth;' for a just king doth advance his country; and the king, that judgeth the poor rightly, his throne shall be established for ever.

Now, to shew what manner of man is fittest to govern, I read in Livy, 'that men born in arms, great in deeds, and rude in eloquence, ought to be chosen counsellors; and that men of quick spirits, sharp wits, and learned in the law, and eloquence, should be for the city; for the prince ought to be a martial man, stout and courageous, to defend his subjects, and offend his enemies; not to be curious to speak eloquently, but to deliver his mind plainly and wisely, it being more necessary for a prince to do well, than speak well.' Paucinus saith, 'those are to be hated, who in their acts are fools, and in their words philosophers; for wise words are not commendable, if the deeds be not answerable.' 'They therefore,(saith Plato,) that will have glory in this life, and attain to glory after death,and be beloved of many, and feared of all; let them be virtuous in good works, and deceive no man with vain words.' All good and worthy princes have laboured to attain to this wisdom, and to exact justice most exactly, insomuch that some have not spared their own children; so sacred a thing they ever held justice to be: As for example, Brutus, understanding that his two sons were of the conspiracy for Tarquinius Superbus. Alexander Magnus was so far from being transported from justice, as, when any man made complaint to him of another, he stopped always one ear, saying, 'he must keep that for the party accused.' King Edgar of England had likewise that care to do justice, as in winter time he would ride up and down the country, and make enquiry of the misdemeanours of his officers and governors; and punished them severely that offended the law. And as the followers of justice shall not only be glorious on earth, but live in eternal glory; so the princes that minister injustice, and do not judge rightly, shall reap infamy on earth, and undergo the high displeasure of God; for the royal prophet saith, that 'God is terrible to the kings of the earth;' *Psal.* lxxv. which doth very well appear, by the strange punishments which he oftentimes inflicts upon them, as upon Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, Uzziah, Joram, Antiochus, Herod; Memprisius, King of Britain, who was devoured by wolves; Seldred, a Saxon, King of England, who was killed by the Devil, as he was banquetting with his nobility. And many more for their injustice have been very strangely punished, and oftentimes lost their kingdoms, as appeareth from *Eccl'us*, chap. xi. being transferred from nation to nation for injustice and injuries: therefore it behoveth a prince to take special care hereunto.

Next, it is requisite that a prince be true to his word, both towards God and man; for Solomon saith, that 'a lying lip doth not become a prince;' *Prov.* xvii. Many examples might be given touching several princes, who have been severely punished for breach of faith: As, for example, Charles the seventieth King of France, when he was dauphin, made John Duke of Burgundy believe that he would make peace with him, whereupon

they met at a place appointed, where Charles caused the Duke to be presently killed; but Charles after this was forced to ask Philip forgiveness openly by his ambassadors. Charles, the last Duke of Burgundy, having given safe conduct to the Earl of St. Paul, constable of France, took him prisoner, and delivered him to the French king, who put him to death for his treachery, and set the said earl free. Thus you may see how honourable it is to keep their word, and what they deserve that falsify their faith: for, a faithless prince is beloved of none, but hated of all; suspected of his friends, not trusted of his enemies, and forsaken of all men in his greatest necessity.

Also a prince ought to be religious; for Solomon saith, 'God preserveth the state of the 'righteous, and is a father to them that walk uprightly;' *Prov.* chap. ii.: and in *Deut.* xvii. a king is commanded, after he be placed in his kingdom, to read the Book of Deuteronomy, that he may learn to fear God, and keep his words, for so doing a prince shall prosper.

It is also expedient that a prince have special care that he put not his hand in innocent blood; neither by tyranny, malice, ambition, policy, or false reports or informations; for to be a tyrant is odious to God and man, and to bring himself to an evil end. As for example, King John of England murdered his nephew, and in the end was murdered himself: Richard Duke of Gloucester murdered his two nephews, sons to Edward the Fourth, to make himself king, and after was slain in Bosworth by Henry the Seventh; for 'Blood requires blood,' and let a bloody prince never look for a better end.

But many princes have been mightily abused by false reports, and wrong informations: David therefore prayed God to deliver him 'from wicked lips, and a lying tongue,' *Psal.* cxix.; and in *Eccl'us* vi. it is said, 'Separate thyself from thy enemies, and beware even of thy friends;' for where a man doth trust the most, there a man may be soonest deceived; as was Francis Duke of Britain, who put his brother Giles to death upon the false report of those who went messengers between them, and after put them to death also: therefore a prince should duly examine every report whether it be true, or not, before he give credit thereunto, and especially if it concern life, for innocent blood doth cry to God for revenge, as appeareth in the *Apoc.* vi. saying, 'How long, Lord, holy and just, judgest thou not; 'and revengest not our blood upon them that dwell upon the earth?'

I have read that Apelles drew the picture of a king (which he sent to Ptolemæus) set in a chair of state, with great hands, great ears, and besides him ignorance, suspicion, a tale-teller, and flattery: these will labour to be about a prince, therefore a prince must labour to avoid them. It is therefore a happy thing for princes to have those about them that will not flatter, but tell the truth. Therefore the Emperor Gordian said, 'that prince was very unfortunate, who hath not about him those that may plainly tell him the truth; for a king knoweth not what passeth, but by relation of those who converse with him.' Theopompus being asked, 'How a prince might preserve his kingdom?' said, 'By giving his friends liberty to speak the truth, and keeping his subjects from oppression.'

A prince should be very careful in making choice of his counsellors; for Plato saith, 'that many princes are undone, for want of faithful friends and servants to counsel them:' therefore Alfred, King of England, sought out the wisest and most learned men to be of his council. The Emperor Constantius, to make proof of his friends, made show to abandon Christian Religion, and to turn to idolatry; he was instantly applauded by a great number (whom presently he banished the countrv), for a prince shall never want followers: I wish that our gracious sovereign would make this his precedent. But, to my former discourse. 'Counsellors (saith Julius Cæsar, in one of his orations to the senate,) should not be led by malice, friendship, anger, nor mercy; and, if they concur in one lawful opinion, though the prince be opposite, yet it is fitting he should yield to them, for so did the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, saying: It must be as you will, for it is greater reason that I, being one, should follow your opinion, than you, being many, wise, and learned, should yield to mine.'

If a prince take aid of a stranger stronger than himself, he may thereby endanger his state; as, for example, the Heruls, Goths, and Lombards, who came into Italy for suc

cour, became lords thereof; so did they of Franconia, with their King Pl. by Pharamond; the Galls, now France, and the Saxons did the like to England.

How to get and keep the Love of his Subjects.

A PRINCE, to the end he may be strong at home, and need no foreign forces, should always respect his own subjects, (especially men of worth and service) as well in peace as war, that he may win the love and hearts of his subjects, the meanest whereof may do him service, in some kind, at one time or other: for Seneca saith, 'The only inexpugnable force of a prince is the love of his subjects.' Antoninus Pius would say, 'that he had rather preserve one of his subjects, than kill a thousand of his enemies.' And Pythagoras affirmeth, 'that subjects are to the prince, as the wind to the fire; for the stronger the wind, the greater the fire; so the richer the subjects be, the stronger the prince:' but, where Machiavel's principles take effect, there the subjects must be made poor, by continual subsidies, exactions, and impositions, that the people may always be kept under as slaves, and fear their prince; which course extinguisheth the love of the people towards the prince, and engendereth hatred, (the actions of the clergy, evil counsellors of the state, monopolies, and other Machiavelian practices of some great ones in authority, have almost procured the same effect in England.) Philip Commines greatly blameth such princes, as seek not to compound and end discords and quarrels amongst their greatest subjects, but rather nourish the one part; wherein they do but set their own house on fire, as did the wife of Henry the Sixth, taking part with the Duke of Somerset, against the Earl of Warwick, which caused the war between York and Lancaster.

Augustus the Emperor made a law concerning exactions, which he called *Augusta*, that no payment should be exacted of the people, but for the profit of the common-wealth. And, when Marcus Antoninus laid a double tax upon the people, they answered, 'That, if he would have two taxes in one year, he must give them two summers, two harvests, and two vintages;' for the people cannot endure to be overcharged: if they be, great inconveniency may grow thereby, (our later times give apparent testimonies of the truth of this particular.) A Prince therefore should love and cherish his subjects, but not oppress them; for Tiberius Nero, when some persuaded him to take great tributes of the provinces, said, 'That a good shepherd should shear his sheep, but not devour them;' and 'That state (saith Thales) is best ordered, which hath in it neither too wealthy, nor too poor citizens.'

It is not for a prince to make war upon every small occasion; but to be sure the cause be good and just; which then will bring honour to his person, safety to his soul, and encouragement to all his soldiers. Yet, according to the saying of Octavius Cæsar, 'neither battle, nor war, is to be undertaken, unless there be evidently seen more hope of gain, than fear of damage;' but, above all, a religious peace is to be embraced by a prince, and so to be offered to his enemy; for 'blessed is the peace-maker, for he shall inherit the 'kingdom of God.' Which that we may all do, let us endeavour to purchase a peace by our timely repentance, and hearty prayers. When the Israelites had sinned, and God had resolved to destroy them, Moses rose up, and by his prayers became a mediator betwixt God and them, so that God's justice was converted to mercy. Is there not in all this spacious kingdom one religious Moses to stand betwixt God's justice and our sins, by his prayers to purchase a pardon, and remove this threatening mischief which hangs over our heads? O that God would put it into the hearts both of prince and people, to join with one heart and one voice, and cry unto the Lord! for who knows what an effect such an union may produce? Who knows whether the Lord will repent him of his wrath, and turn this destruction from us?

The true and genuine Explanation of one K. James's Declaration.

Printed in the Year 1693.

[Quarto, containing Four Pages.]

J. R.

WHEREAS by misrepresentation
(Of which ourself was the occasion)
We lost our royal reputation;
And much against our expectation,
Laid the most tragical foundation
Of vacant throne and abdication.
After mature deliberation,
We now resolve to sham the nation
Into another restoration:
Promising in our wonted fashion,
Without the least equivocation,
To make an ample reparation.
And, for our re-inauguration,
We chuse to owe the obligation
To our kind subjects' inclination,
For whom we always shew'd a passion.
And when again they take occasion
To want a king of our persuasion,
We'll soon appear to take our station
With the ensuing declaration.

ALL shall be safe from rope and fire,
Or never more believe in J. R.

J. R.

WHEN we reflect what desolation
Our absence causes to the nation,
We could not hold ourself exempted
From any thing to be attempted;
Whereby our subjects, well beguil'd,
May to our yoke be reconcil'd.
Be all assur'd, both Whig and Tory,
If for past faults you can be sorry,
You ne'er shall know what we'll do for you.
For 'tis our noble resolution
To do more for your constitution,
Than e'er we'll put in execution.
Though some before us made a pother,
England had never such another,
No, not our own renown'd dear brother.
We have it set before our eyes,
That our main interest wholly lies
In managing with such disguise,
As leaves no room for jealousies.
And, to encourage foes and friends,
With hearts and hands, to serve our ends,
We hereby publish and declare,
(And this we do, because we dare)
That, to evince we are not sullen,
We'll bury all past faults in woollen:
By which you may perceive we draw
Our wise resolves from statute-law.
And therefore by this declaration
We promise pardon to the nation,
Excepting only whom we may please,
Whether they be on land or seas.
And further bloodshed to prevent,
We here declare our self content
To heap as large reward on all,
That help to bring us to Whitehall,
As ever did our brother dear,
At his return, on Cavalier;
Or we, to our immortal glory,
Conferr'd on non-resisting Tory.
Then be assured, the first fair weather,
We'll call a parliament together,
(Chuse right or wrong, no matter whether)
Where with united inclination
We'll bring the interest of the nation
Under our own adjudication:
With whose concurrence, we'll redress
What we ourself think grievances.
All shall be firm as words can make it:
And, if we promise, What can shake it?
As for your church, we'll still defend it;
Or, if you please, the Pope shall mend it.
Your chapels, colleges, and schools,
Shall be supply'd with your own tools:
But, if we live another summer,
We'll then relieve 'em from St. Omer.
Next for a liberty of conscience,
With which we bit the nation long since;
We'll settle it as firm and steady,
As that perhaps you have already.

We'll never violate the Test,
'Till 'tis our royal interest;
Or till we think it so at least,
But there we must consult the priest.
And as for the dispensing power,
(Of Princes' Crowns, the sweetest flower)
That parliament shall so explain it,
As we in peace may still maintain it.
If other acts shall be presented,
We'll pass them all and be contented:
Whatever laws receiv'd their fashion
Under the present usurpation,
Shall have our gracious confirmation,
Provided still we see occasion.
Our Brother's Irish Settling-act
(Which we, 'tis true, repeal'd in fact)
We'll be contented to restore,
If you'll provide for Teague before:
For you yourselves shall have the glory
To re-establish wand'ring Tory.
But now you have so fair a bidder,
'Tis more than time you should consider
What funds are proper to supply us
For that, and what your hearths save by us.
Therefore consult your Polyhymne,
To find another rhyme to chimney;
Or, if I bleed, the Devil's in me.
And, lest a project, in its prime,
Should be destroy'd for want of time,
We'll soon refer the whole amount
To your commissioners of account.
Thus having tortur'd our invention,
To frame a draught of our intention,
By the advice of Hun——ton,
Wise Ely, F——ck, and Tom D——e
And of all ranks some fifty-one:
Who have adjusted for our coming,
All gimcracks fit for such a mumming:
And 'tis their business to persuade you,
We come to succour, not invade you.
But after this we think it nonsense;
Besides it is against our conscience,
To trouble you with a relation
Of tyranny and violation,
Or burdens that oppress the nation.
Since you can make the best construction,
Of what may turn to your destruction.
But since our enemies wou'd fright you,
Telling our debt to France is mighty;
As positively we assure you,
As if we swore before a jury;
That he expects no compensation,
But what he gains in reputation
For helping in our restoration.
And all must own, that knows his story,
How far his interest stoops to glory:
Whose generosity is such,
We doubt not he'll out-do the Dutch.
We only add, that we are come
By trumpet's sound, and beat of drum,
For our just title's vindication,
And liberty's corroboration.
So may we ever find success,
As we design you nothing less,
Than what you owe to old Queen Bess.

The Geography and History of Tournay: First written in French, for the Service of Prince Eugene of Savoy, and sent inclosed in a Letter to him, when he marched to besiege Tournay. Now done a Second Time in English, for the Satisfaction of our British Gentlemen and Officers. By John Mack Gregory, LL.L. Professor of Geography and History. To which is prefixed, as an Epistle Dedicatory, the Author's Letter to Prince Eugene

Printed at Edinburgh, 1709.

[Quarto, containing Forty-four Pages.]

To his Highness Prince Francis Eugene of Savoy, in the Army about Tournay.

SIR, Edinburgh, the Ninth of July 1709.

THIS is only to accompany the inclosed, and it is the fourth I have writ to your Highness, since I had the honour of one from you.

The first was from London, January 1704, concerning my own private affairs. The second was from Edinburgh, August 1708, after a long silence; having inclosed an account of the situation and fortification of Lisle. The third was likewise from Edinburgh, December the same year, concerning my own private affairs

This present has inclosed an account of the situation and fortification of Tournay. I should be glad to know, that your Highness is pleased to take all my little services in good part. I am,

SIR,

Your Highness's most humble, most obliged, and most devoted servant,

MACK GREGORY.

TOURNAY is a great town, the second city of Walloon Flanders, and the principal place of residence of the parliament of that part of these countries, which, because it was some time ago conquered by the French, and is still in their possesison, is still commonly called, 'The Conquered Countries.'

It is situate on the banks of the river Scheld, upon the skirts of a large champaign, that reigns about it, for several leagues on the one side towards Lisle; on the other side, towards Oudenard; there are a great many little hills, that interrupt the continuance of the plain, though none so nigh as to command it: and, just where the town stands, it is an eminence: the bank of the river, on the one side, being a rising ground or hill; that on the other side a level or plain. There have likewise been some heights hard by, especially on the hill-side the river, that were indeed very hurtful to the town, in the case of a siege, by commanding and weakening its defence. But since the French came last there, and have fortified it, all these heights, and the other eminences, that did any way prejudice its strength, are either inclosed, and taken in with the outworks, or levelled; so that now the town is free, and its fortifications command all around.

The Scheld is one of the greatest rivers in the Low-Countries, It takes its rise near Chastelet in Picardy, and makes a great many turnings and windings, as it goes through Cambresis, Hainault, and Flanders; but the main of its course is from south to north, especially it is so at Tournay: at length it falls into the German Sea, over against the islands of Zealand.

Upon both the sides of this river, at a place where it runs from south to north, or rather from south-south-east, to north-north-west, stands Tournay, seated upon the two banks; the bank on the west-side being a hill, that on the east-side a plain; and the river, running though the town, divides it into two unequal parts, the greater being on the west-side upon the hill, the lesser on the east-side, in the plain; just fifteen leagues below where it rises near Chastelet, and about twenty above where it falls into the sea over-against Zealand. But Tournay is not so far distant from the sea in direct way, there being no more than fifteen or sixteen leagues from it to Newport, or to Ostend.

Besides this great river, there is a small brook or rivulet, which takes its rise near a little village, about a league and a half from the town on the east-side, and comes turning and winding thorough the country, till at length it falls into that part of the ditch, which is about the town on the same side.

This town is one of the most ancient in Europe, so that it is very hard to trace out its origin. However, we find that it was at first founded by the Nervii, otherwise Minervii, so called from the goddess Minerva, whom they worshipped, the original inhabitants of that country; who, in the year of the world 3360, six-hundred years before the birth of our Saviour, built a tower there, in a small island of the river Scheld, in the place within Tournay, at the lower end of the town, where now there is a bridge over the river, called the Iron Bridge; which tower served them as an observatory, or watching-place, from whence they could discover and view the country all about. They likewise built a castle there, in the year of the world 3396, on the east bank of the river, upon the water-side, just opposite to the tower, which they joined to it with a bridge of timber over the part of the river that run between, and surrounded it with a moat, or wet ditch, on the land-side; which was so much the more practicable there at that time because the ground then on that side the river was a marsh, whereas now it is good ground: and this castle served them as a fortress or place of security, where they lodged their wives and children, and laid up what else was dear unto them, during the troublesome time of war.

About five-hundred paces from that tower and castle, up towards the south, the banks of the river, on both sides, were in those days covered with woods of thorn-trees, and thickets of briar-bushes; among which the same Nervii, the ancient people of the country, in the year of the world 3430, began first to build huts and houses, under the shadow of the trees and bushes, and in the neighbourhood of their tower and castle; and those huts and houses, by degrees, and through time, grew out into a considerable village on both sides the river. Then, to secure themselves farther from the attempts and assaults of their enemies, they cut and plied and joined, and interlaced the thorns and briars with the supple branches of other young trees, so as to make a hedge about their village, so strong, and to such a thickness, that not only their enemies could not pass it, but what was more, they could not so much as see thorough it. This was done in the year of the world 3482, and it is the first inclosure of Tournay, which from a village made it become a town. They likewise, about the same time, built a bridge of timber over the river, to join the two parts of the town together; as before they had built one below, over a part of the river, to join the tower and castle together; which tower and castle were, by that hedge-inclosure, shut out with the town, at the distance of five-hundred paces, down towards the north. And they called the name of the town Doornwick or Doornick, signifying in Teutonick, or old High Dutch, (the ancient language of that country,) as much as to say, 'Thorntown, or Town of Thorns,' it having been built in a wood of thorns, and inclosed with a hedge of the same: which name it retains to this day. Accordingly, the Latin name of it is *Dornacum*, or *Tornacum*, and the French call it Tornay, or Tournay.

What sort of town this ancient town of the Nervii has been, we cannot well tell; for now there are no vestiges of it to be seen, no more than of their castle and tower. But I have seen a plan of them in miniature, in an old Teutonick manuscript, preserved by the monks of St. Martin's at Tournay, and to be seen in their library by any one that calls for it; by which it appears, that the town has been of an oblong figure, lying cross the river, on both sides, and stretching itself out from east to west, the river running from south to north: the castle has been a square, upon the water-side, on the east-side of the river, below the town; and the tower has been round in a little island in the middle of the river, just opposite to the castle.

This was the condition of Tournay, as the Nervii, the original inhabitants of the country, built it. It continued much in the same state, without any farther alteration, either for its increase, or for its better defence, till the days of Julius Cæsar, the first Emperor of the Romans; who, in the year of the world 3950, came into that country, besieged the town of Tournay, found it an easy matter to break through its hedges, and subdued it to the Roman Empire.

It continued in the power of the Romans, till the year of our Lord 445, when Clodion, surnamed the Hairy, King of France, son to Pharamond the Great, the first king thereof, having conquered as far as the rivers Rhine and Maese, came at last unto the Scheld, drove the Romans out of the country, and took both Tournay and Cambray. But the same King Clodion, in the year following, being obliged to return home, because of an irruption which the Goths and Vandals, at the instigation of the Romans, had then made into France; he was content to abandon his foreign conquests, to save his own kingdom; so the country of the Nervii and the town of Tournay returned to the Roman Empire.

It continued again in the possession of the Romans, till the days of Clovis the First, surnamed the Great, King of France, who in the year of our Lord 479, having overcome the Roman Governor at Soissons, came conquering into the country of the Nervii, and subdued to himself all that the Romans held there; by which means Tournay returned to the dominion of the French, who kept it unmolested for a long time after.

It is remarkable, that, notwithstanding all these changes and revolutions, which happened about Tournay; and though the Romans, as well as the French, where there for some hundreds of years; yet it never was any thing considerable, and never came to have any better inclosure than hedges, till the time of Chilperick the First, King of France, who alone did more for it than all those who were before him, and made it indeed look like a town. For, first, he went thither in person, and dwelt at it; he added a great many houses to it; he built some palaces in it, particularly Our Lady's church, the cathedral; and adorned it with an infinity of other public buildings. Then, what was most of all, in the year of our Lord 580, he was the first who began to inclose it with a wall and a ditch, and took care to have it perfected in his own life-time; so as to take in with it the old town of the Nervii, on both sides the river, but still to leave out their castle and tower, at the distance of five-hundred paces, down towards the north. He also built bridges over the river, to join the two parts of the town together; the part on the west-side, upon the hill, being always the greater, that on the east-side in the plain, the lesser. In fine, it was in this prince's time, that the town of Tournay arrived at a pitch of splendour and magnificence, beyond what it had ever been at before: an account of all which may be seen upon record, in a rich Latin manuscript, preserved by the canons of Our Lady's, to be seen in their treasury.

This second inclosure of Tournay of King Chilperick's is still on foot, and entire, though now shut up very far within the body of the town, by the last inclosure, which has been since made; and so much engaged and confounded with other edifices adjoining to it, on all sides, that it is not every where to be seen. However, in some places, going thorough the town, we see a part both of the wall and ditch of it; and, by sight of a part, we may guess at the whole, It is not a rampart, but a wall, built in the Roman fashion; but after the manner of the Goths, which began early to prevail over that of the ancients in architecture, especially in these western countries. It has thirteen gates in it; eight in that part of it which surrounds the greater part of the town, on the west-side the river, commonly

called 'The High Town,' standing on a hill; four in that part, which surrounds the lesser part of the town, on the east-side the river, named 'The Low Town,' lying in a plain; and one upon the river, at the upper end of the town, towards the south, at a place where the channel of it is so narrow, as to admit of a gate over it, thorough which the river runs. So that this gate is not only a gate upon the river, but it may likewise be said to be a kind of bridge of one arch over it, joining the wall on the one side and that on the other side together, at the one end of the town; as in effect we see at this day, it does actually serve as a bridge: and, corresponding to it, there is another bridge of five arches over the river, at the lower end of the town, towards the north, at a place where the channel of it is so wide, as not to admit of a gate, or bridge of one arch upon it; which bridge joins the wall on the one side and that on the other side together, at the other end of the town, and so completes the inclosure. There is also a third bridge of three arches over the river, in the heart of the town in the middle of the distance between the other two. It joins the body of the town on the one side, and that on the other side together, and is also a work of King Chilperick's.

The gates on the west-side, in the wall about the High Town, beginning at the river, at the upper end towards the south, from thence going westwards, and so round, are reckoned in this order, and thus named, St. Mark's Gate, St. Catharine's Gate, St. Piat's Gate, St. Martin's Gate, St. Quintin's Gate, the Magdalen Gate, Our Lady's Gate, and the Tower Gate. Those on the east-side in the wall about the Low Town, beginning at the river, at the lower end towards the north, from thence going eastwards round, are reckoned and named so: The Castle Gate, St. Brice's Gate, the Hospital Gate, and St. John's Gate: and that upon the river, at the upper end of the town, towards the south, is named the Water Gate, as being a gate, but as a bridge it is called 'The Bridge of one Arch;' whereas the bridge, corresponding to it, at the lower end of the town, towards the north, is named 'The Turned Bridge;' and the third bridge, in the middle of the town, is called 'The Bridge to Bridge.'

This wall is fortified all about with round towers, at the distance of fifty paces one from another; and every one of these gates is so placed between two towers, one on each side of it, and so nigh to one another, that the gate stands equally defended and hid between them. The wall is built entirely of hewn stone, to the thickness of five feet, and to the height of twenty; but the gates and towers are of earth revested with stone, likewise hewn; these to the solidity of ten feet, and to the height of thirty; those to the thickness of ten feet, and to the same height with the wall: so that the towers are in solidity twice the thickness of the wall, and in height a third part higher, after the manner practised in the towers of the Aurelian wall about Rome; but the gates, though twice as thick as the wall, yet are no higher, according to the common practice. The wall is terminated with a corridor or gallery, running along the top of it; the gates and towers with platforms, or terrasses, some of which are covered, and some discovered; and both platforms and corridor are guarded on the out-side, with a battlement or breast-work, likewise of hewn stone, two feet thick and five feet high, that reigns along the one, and around the other all about the town.

The bridges over the river are also built of hewn stone: the one, at the lower end of the town, towards the north, making a part of the inclosure, to the breadth of fifteen feet, and to the length of a hundred and fifty, the channel of the river being so wide at that place; the other, in the middle of the town, to the breadth of twenty feet, and to the length of a hundred, the channel there being so wide; whereas the third, being the Water-gate, at the upper end of the town, towards the south, is but ten feet broad, and fifty feet long, the channel there being no wider. They are terminated in the top with a causey or street, guarded on both sides with a balustrade, or rail; the whole of hewn stone.

Without the wall is the ditch, fifty feet broad, and ten feet deep, having its scarp and counter-scarp incrusted with stone, likewise hewn. It is a moat or a wet ditch, on the one side the river, towards the east, where the ground is a level or plain, and is supplied with water from the river, as also from the little brook, which falls into it, on the same

side; on the other side, towards the west, where the ground is a rising ground or hill, it is dry. Over it, on both sides, before the gates are bridges, giving passage into and out from the town; they were anciently draw-bridges of timber, but now they are fixed ones of stone: and, at the outer ends of them, there are principal streets, that anciently were so many high-ways, running out from the gates into the adjacent country, having each of them the same name with the gate it runs out from.

The channel of the river within the town is so unequal in its dimensions, that I can say nothing about it; for it is differently wide and deep in different places. At the upper end of the town, towards the south, it is fifty feet wide, and a hundred feet deep; in the middle of the town, a hundred feet wide, and fifty feet deep; and the lower end towards the north, it is a hundred and fifty feet wide, and five and twenty feet deep. It is bordered all along with a large quay, or landing-place, revested with hewn stone, its channel being incrusted with the same; for the merchants of the town and their conveniency in embarking and dis-embarking their goods; the river being navigable for barks and boats, all the way from the sea, not only up to Tournay, but as far as Conde and Valenciennes, which is seven leagues higher. The bridges over it within the town, giving passage from the one part of it to the other, are already described; having at both ends of them some principal streets, that from thence run out thorough the town.

It is observable concerning this inclosure of King Chilperick's, that, whereas anciently it was every where to be seen, being free of other edifices, now it is so far shut up in the heart of the town, and so mixed with other buildings adjoining to it on every side, that one sees but parts of it here and there. The bridge over the river, at the upper end of the town, towards the south, called 'The Bridge of one Arch,' is a part of it, being the ancient Water-gate; and a very remarkable part, being one of the hardiest pieces of Gothick architecture in the world. It is ten feet broad, and fifty feet long, the channel of the river being so wide there, all one arch; for which reason, it is called the Bridge of one Arch, all the other bridges upon the river being of several arches. Anciently it served only as a gate, but now it is commonly used as a bridge; and is terminated in the top with a causey, guarded on the one side with the old battlement, and on the other, with a new balustrade; the whole of hewn stone. From this bridge, going westward, round, at the distance of about three-hundred paces, there is another part of the inclosure to be seen, being the ancient St. Catharine's Gate. And in several places, going thorough the town, there are parts of it here and there to be found; and, by a sight of a part, one may guess at the whole. And this is what they call Old Tournay; as it was founded, enlarged, inclosed, and fortified, first by the Nervii, the ancient inhabitants of the country, and then, by Chilperick the First, King of France.

It is a town of an oblong round, or parabolic figure, lying cross the river on both sides, and stretching itself out from east to west, the river running from south to north. It has in length, taking it from St. Brice's Gate on the east-side, to St. Quintin's Gate on the west, cross the river, just a thousand common paces, that is, five hundred geometrical paces, or a third part of a British mile; in breadth, reckoning from the Water-gate, or the Bridge of one Arch, at the upper end of the town, towards the south, to the Turned Bridge, at the lower end towards the north, along the river-side, it is five-hundred common paces, or two-hundred and fifty geometrical paces, or a sixth part of a British mile; and in circumference, going round within, on the inside the wall, as near as one can go for the other buildings adjoining to it, there are about three-thousand common paces, that is, fifteen-hundred geometrical paces, or a British mile; but measuring it without, on the outside the ditch, as nigh to it as we could go, we found it to be as good as four-thousand and five-hundred common paces, or two-thousand two-hundred and fifty geometrical paces, or a British mile and a half.

This was the condition of Tournay, as King Chilperick the First of France left it, in the year of our Lord 587, the last year of his life, when having completed its inclosure, as the last token of his good will to it, he declared it a noble town, and gave it all the privileges of a city, with this coat of arms, *Azure*, a castle triple-towered *Argent*.

It continued so, in the same state, and in the power of the princes of the same nation, without any further addition or change befalling it, either in its building or government, till the days of Charles the Second, surnamed The Bald, King of France, and Emperor of Germany; who having sharp war, in his time, with the Danes and Normans, that were then come from the north, in the design to make an irruption into France, in the year of our Lord 880; they besieged and took Tournay in their way, and destroyed it with fire and sword. It lay in ruins for thirty years, that is, till the year 910, when, in the days of Charles the Fourth, surnamed The Simple, King of France, it was begun to be rebuilt; and, in the space of a few years, it came to be in as good condition as formerly.

It continued so, in this rebuilt state, and again in the dominion of the French, who kept it unmolested for above three-hundred years, that is, till the year of our Lord 1214, in the days of Philip the Second, surnamed Augustus, King of France; who having violent war, in his time, with Don Fernardo, surnamed of Portugal, Earl of Flanders, whom he looked upon as his vassal, and a rebel; because he had entered into an alliance with Otho the Fifth, Emperor of Germany, and John King of England, against him. Don Fernardo besieged the town of Tournay, and took it. But it was immediately retaken, the same year, by King Philip; who, besides, gave the princes in alliance against him an entire defeat, at the memorable battle of Bovines, within two leagues of Tournay, took Don Fernardo prisoner, and carried him to the Louvre at Paris, where he kept him twelve years: by which means, Tournay returned into the power of the French, who again held it in peaceable possession, for a long time after.

Charles the Sixth, surnamed The Well-beloved, King of France, in the year of our Lord 1384, having occasion to be at Tournay, as a mark of his good will to the town, confirmed to it all the privileges that his predecessor, King Chilperick the First, had given it, and made this addition to its coat of arms, a chief *Argent*, three flower-de-luces *Gules;* which was a considerable piece of honour done to it, the flower-de-luces being the ensigns armorial of the kings of France their own coat: so that the arms of Tournay, as they now stand, are, *Azure*, a castle triple-towered *Argent*, on a chief *Argent*, three flower-de-luces *Gules*. And Lewis the Eleventh, King of France, having likewise occasion to be there, in the year 1467, confirmed again to it all the privileges and honours, that his predecessors, King Chilperick the First and King Charles the Sixth, had bestowed upon it: and the burghers of Tournay, at that time, were so sensible of the good will and kindness of the kings of France towards them, upon so many occasions, and were frenchified to such a pitch; that, when King Lewis departed from the town, in order to return home, the magistrates presented him with a flower-de-luce of gold; and, to make it appear to him, how much he might reckon upon their gratitude and fidelity towards him, they affirmed ' that every burgher of Tournay bore the figure of a flower-de-luce imprinted upon his heart.'

In this manner, it continued in the same state, and in the hands of the French, who had kept it unmolested for such a long time, till the year of our Lord 1479, in the days of the same King Lewis the Eleventh of France; who, having sharp war, at that time, against Maximilian, Arch-duke of Austria and Earl of Flanders, and the Arch-duke having gained a memorable victory over the French, at the battle of Esguingate near Terouane, marched thereupon straight to Tournay, besieged it, and took it upon terms. But, four years after, that is, in the year 1483, a peace being concluded at Arras betwixt these two princes, and confirmed by a marriage agreed on between Charles Dauphin of France, King Lewis's son, and the Lady Margaret of Austria, the Arch-duke's daughter, by an article of that treaty, it was restored to the French, who again held it peaceably for some time.

Lewis the Twelfth, King of France, having very violent war in his time with Henry the Eighth, King of England, especially towards the end of his reign, in the year of our Lord 1513, King Henry came over with an army of fifty thousand men into France against him. He first landed at Calais, and ravaged Picardy; then he went into Artois and Flanders, and took both Terouane and Tournay: and although, the year following, peace was concluded between these two kings, and confirmed by a marriage, betwixt the same King Lewis of France and the Lady Mary of England, King Henry's sister; yet the town of

Tournay, by that treaty, was not restored to the French, but it remained in the possession of the English, who kept it five years.

It is to be observed, that, notwithstanding all the war that had chanced to be in the country of Flanders, and all the changes and revolutions that had befallen the town of Tournay, yet its inhabitants, by this time, were come to increase so much in number, (by reason of a great concourse of people that had come thronging thither, at different times, on several occasions, and from a great many foreign countries, especially from France and Burgundy,) that there was not room enough for them to lodge in, within the old town; and, no empty space being left to build any more in within King Chilperick's wall, they were obliged to build without the ditch: which buildings, by degrees, grew out into suburbs, having each of them the same name with the gate they stood nearest to; those suburbs, through time, became considerable, because they were so very large; and this gave beginning to, what was afterwards, when it came to be inclosed, called, 'The New Town.'

In this condition it was when the English came from England before it, in the days of King Henry the Eighth; who, after he had subdued it, did not lodge within the town, there being no convenient lodgings for him there, but took up his quarters in the old castle of the Nervii, on the east-side the river, five-hundred paces from the town, down towards the north; which, together with their tower in an island of the river, continued on foot at that time. But because he found, that that old castle was both too little for him, and become ruinous; he ordered the tower and it together to be thrown down, and a new castle of his own to be built, in the same place, and on the same ground, but a great deal larger and more capacious; so as that it might be sufficient to hold, not only himself, and his ordinary attendants, but likewise a good number of troops in garrison; and to the end it might serve, both as a castle or palace, where himself or his lieutenants might lodge, and as a citadel or fortress, from whence his troops might command the town, in the case of an insurrection among the inhabitants; which was accordingly done: and it was inclosed with a wall and a ditch, adjoining to the river, on the east-side, and at the distance of five-hundred paces from the town-wall and ditch, towards the north. And then the other English, who had occasion to come thither at that time, and either would not, or could not be allowed, to lodge within the castle, built houses for themselves hard by, in the neighbourhood, and under the shadow of it, in the interspaces that reigned from the castle, on both sides the river, towards the town.

This castle of King Henry's is still on foot, though not entire, and now shut up within the town, by the last inclosure of Tournay, which was afterwards made; and although it be somewhat engaged, and confounded with other new edifices adjoining to it, both without and within; and the French, since they came last there, have industriously made it their business, by throwing down some parts of it, to disfigure an edifice, which served as a lasting monument of the English conquest and power over them: yet it is still very manifestly to be seen, by those who will be at pains to look out for it, on the east-side the river, down towards the north, where it makes the north-east corner of the town; for that was the quarter of Tournay where the English dwelt, during the space of five years that they staid there, and where all the old buildings, both within and without the castle, on both sides the river, as well as the castle itself, have been built by the same nation.

The inclosure of it is not a rampart, but a wall; built in the Roman fashion, but after the Gothic manner; according to the knowledge that the English had of military architecture in those days. There are two gates in it: the one towards the river, called 'The River-gate;' the other towards the country, named 'The Country-Gate.' Each of these gates is defended by two round towers, one on each side of it, and nigh to one another; and the rest of the wall is fortified all about with round bulwarks, at the distance of two-hundred paces one from another.

The wall is built entirely of hewn stone, to the thickness of six feet, and to the height of four and twenty; but the gates, the towers, and the bulwarks are of earth, revested with stone, likewise hewn; the first and the second to the thickness of twelve feet, the last

to the solidity of eighteen, and all to the same height with the wall: being terminated in the top with platforms or terrasses, as the wall is with a corridor or gallery, that runs along the top of it from one platform to another; and both platforms and corridor are guarded on the outside with a battlement or breast-work, likewise of hewn stone, that reigns along the one, and around the others, all about the castle.

Without the wall on the one side is the river, a hundred and fifty feet broad and five and twenty feet deep, bordered all along, on both sides, with a large quay or landing-place, revested with hewn stone, the channel of the river being incrusted with the same; on all the other sides there is the ditch, being a moat or wet ditch, sixty feet broad, and twelve feet deep, having its scarp and counterscarp incrusted with stone, likewise hewn, and being supplied with water from the river. Over the river on the one side, and over the ditch on the other, before the two gates, are as many bridges, giving passage into, and out from the castle, and having at the outer ends of them streets, that run from thence thorough the town. They were anciently draw-bridges of timber, but now they are fixed ones of stone. The one over the river is the most remarkable, consisting of five arches, fifteen feet broad, and a hundred and fifty feet long, the channel there being so wide; being terminated in the top with a causey or street, guarded on both sides with a balustrade or rail: the whole of hewn stone. It was anciently called 'The Castle-Bridge;' but now it is named 'The Iron-Bridge.' It is just five-hundred paces distant from the Turned Bridge, which makes a part of King Chilperick's inclosure of the town, down towards the north; and exactly in the place where the island was, in which stood the ancient tower of the Nervii; their castle having been built on the river-side, upon the ground where the bridge ends, towards the east, which is now occupied with a corner of King Henry's castle, for of the ancient tower and castle of the Nervii, there is not now the least vestige to be seen.

And this is that castle of Tournay, which was built by the order of King Henry the Eighth of England, during the time that the English staid there. It is of an oblong square or parallelogrammatic figure, lying along the river-side on the east, five-hundred paces from the town, down towards the north, and stretching itself out from south to north, the river running the same way. Its length, taking it from the south-side to the other side parallel, is just five-hundred common paces, that is, two-hundred and fifty geometrical paces, or the sixth part of a British mile; its breadth, reckoning from the river-side to the other parallel, three-hundred common paces, or the tenth part of a British mile; and its circumference within, on the inside the wall, is about fifteen-hundred common paces, that is, seven hundred and fifty geometrical paces, or half a British mile; but without, on the outside of the ditch, it will be as good as two-thousand common paces, or a thousand geometrical paces, or two-thirds of a British mile.

This is the condition that Tournay was in, in the time that the English were there: It consisted of the old town, inclosed by King Chilperick the First of France; of several suburbs all around, occasioned by a throng of people from a great many foreign countries, especially from France and Burgundy; and of the new castle, or citadel, built by King Henry the Eighth of England, without the town, upon the east-side the river, down towards the north.

The English kept it five years, that is, from the year of our Lord 1513 to 1518, in the days of Francis the First, King of France; who having made his peace with King Henry, and giving him a sum of money, to reimburse him of the charges he had been at in building a citadel at Tournay, and King Henry not caring to retain a place so remote from his other territories, the English were content to evacuate it; and it returned again to the dominion of the French, who lost it in a short time to the Spaniards. For the same king Francis the First of France, having very violent war then with Charles the Fifth, King of Spain, Emperor of Germany, and Earl of Flanders, in the year 1521; the Emperor Charles sent thither an army, which immediately sat down before Tournay, and took it in a few days.

The Emperor Charles the Fifth having got it into his hands, and considering that it was a member of the earldom of Flanders, and an advantageous post upon the river Scheld, he resolved well to keep it, if he could; and to prevent the French from coming there

again. So, to the end he might be able to do that effectually, he resolved to have it fortified at a better rate than ever it had been before; and considering that then, after the invention of powder and guns, neither the wall about King Chilperick the First's town, nor that of King Henry the Eighth's castle, was sufficiently strong to hold out against an enemy, he thereupon was the first who conceived the design of having it fortified with a rampart; and because the town, by reason of its excrescence into suburbs, which by that time were likewise grown considerable, required a new inclosure; he designed further, that that rampart should inclose and go clear round it, by the far ends of all the suburbs, so as to take in King Chilperick's town, King Henry's castle, the suburbs, and all that was on it: which design he immediately took care to have put in execution, beginning the very year following, being 1522, to cut out the ditch, and throw up the rampart; making both go quite round the town, by the outer ends of the suburbs and castle, so as to surround and shut up all. And this is the third and last inclosure of Tournay, which gave birth to what they call the New Town, that is, that part of it which is included between the two last inclosures.

This last inclosure of the Emperor Charles's is still on foot, and entire; and, though it be now very near two-hundred years old, yet it is all that Tournay has about it.

It is not a simple wall of stone, as King Chilperick's inclosure is, but a rampart of earth thrown up, built in the ancient fashion, not after the modern; every way irregular, not according to art; and fortified with bulwarks, not bastions: being a gross piece of Gothic architecture, that discovers, by its face, both the age it was done in, and the hands who did it; for one sees in it a mixture of an ancient and modern work together, that points out a turning or changing from the one to the other, the whole accompanied with a Spanish air: and though the French, at that time, began to understand a little the modern way of building and fortifying, yet the knowledge of it did not so soon come the length of being comprehended by the Spaniards. It is hard to tell its dimensions, because of its irregularity; for we could not take them otherwise, than measuring them by common paces, which we did, walking it on foot all the way, both within and without the town. So, according to what we found, I shall give a description of it, as full and exact as is possible; and to begin with its plan.

It is built in form of a parabola, or figure oblong and round, of an oval kind; consisting of two parts upon the two sides of the river, and having seven gates in it, two sluices, and about eighty bulwarks, on both sides the town.

The great semidiameter of the interior parabola is just a thousand common paces, that is, five-hundred geometrical paces, or a third part of a British mile; which, doubled, makes the length of the ground, within this parabola, two-thousand common paces, or a thousand geometrical paces, or two third parts of a British mile. The great semidiameter of the exterior parabola is a thousand and forty-two common paces, that is, five hundred and twenty-one geometrical paces, or somewhat more than a third of a British mile; which, doubled, makes the length of the ground within this parabola, or the greatest length of the place, take it which way you will, two-thousand and eighty-four common paces, or a thousand and forty-two geometrical paces, or somewhat more than two thirds of a British mile. The little semidiameter of the interior parabola is just seven-hundred and fifty common paces, that is, three-hundred and seventy-five geometrical paces, or a quarter of a British mile; which, doubled, makes the breadth of the ground, within this parabola, fifteen-hundred common paces, or seven-hundred and fifty geometrical paces, or half a British mile. The little semidiameter of the exterior parabola is seven-hundred and ninety-two common paces, that is, three-hundred and ninety-six geometrical paces, or somewhat more than a quarter of a British mile; which, doubled, makes the breadth of the ground within this parabola, or the greatest breadth of the place, take it which way you will, fifteen-hundred and eighty-four common paces, or seven-hundred and ninety-two geometrical paces, or somewhat more than half a British mile. The circumference of the interior parabola is just six-thousand common paces, that is, three-thousand geometrical paces, or two British miles; and the circumference of the exterior parabola, six-thousand two-hundred and fifty-two common paces,

or three thousand a hundred and twenty-six geometrical paces, or somewhat more than two British miles. But the circumference, measuring it upon the top of the rampart, going along the corridor or terra-plain, and around the platforms or terrasses, by the foot of the battlement or parapet, and reckoning all the sides and turnings of the ramparts and bulwarks, or the greatest circumference of the place, take it which way you will, is eight-thousand two-hundred and forty common paces, that is, four-thousand a hundred and twenty geometrical paces, or two British miles, and somewhat more than two thirds of a mile.

There are seven gates in it: four in that part of it, which surrounds the greater part of the town, on the west-side the river, commonly called the High Town, standing on a hill; and three in that part, which surrounds the lesser part of the town, on the east-side the river, named the Low Town, lying in a plain. These seven gates in this rampart are built answerable to as many of those that are in King Chilperick's Wall; but most of them with different names. The gates on the west-side, in the rampart about the High Town, beginning at the river, at the upper end towards the south, from thence going westwards, and so round, are reckoned in this order, and thus named: The Valenciennes-Gate, that answers to S. Catharine's-Gate, in King Chilperick's Wall; S. Martin's-Gate, that answers to the gate of the same name; the Lisle-Gate, answering to S. Quintin's-Gate; and the Seven Fountains-Gate, to Our Lady's-Gate. Those on the east-side, in the rampart about the Low Town, beginning at the river, at the lower end towards the north, from thence going eastwards, round, are reckoned and named so: the Brail-Gate, that answers to the Country-Gate in King Henry's Castle-wall; the Mortal-Gate, answering S. Brice's-Gate; and the Sorrowful's-Gate, to the Hospital-Gate.

Upon the river, at each end of the town, there was a pannel or piece of wall, having three gates in it for the water to pass thorough, built by the Spaniards, to join the rampart on the one side, and that on the other side together, and so to complete the inclosure. But since the French came last there, they have destroyed those pannels of wall, and put sluices in their room, which serves the turn of joining the two ramparts, and completing the inclosure to better purpose; because, besides the joining of the ramparts by these sluices, they have the command of the river-water, so as to be able to let it out, or keep it in, or make of it what they please; whereas by those pannels of wall they could do nothing with it.

It is fortified all about with round bulwarks, at the distance of a hundred pacesone from another; and every one of those gates and sluices is so planted in the middle, between two bulwarks, one on each side of it, and so nigh one another, that it is equally defended and hid between them. They are all placed at the outer ends, as the others are at the inner ends, of as many of the suburbs; which, because they lie between the two, are indifferently called by both their names.

As for its profile, the rampart; the gates, the bulwarks, and all that is on it, built wholly of earth thrown up, revested on the outside with one facade of hewn stone, and on the inside incrusted with another of the same: the rampart and gates being to the thickness of seventy feet, that is, reckoning the mass of earth, with the revesture and incrusture of stone, and to the height of eight and twenty; the bulwarks to the solidity of five and thirty feet, and to the same height with the rampart, according to the common practice, except those defending the gates and sluices; which, though they be to the same solidity with the others, yet are in height a third part higher; that is, two and forty feet high, after the manner practised in the towers of the Aurelian wall about Rome. The rampart and gates are terminated in the top with a grand corridor or gallery, being a kind of terra-plain, running round the bulwarks with grand platforms or terrasses; and both platforms and terra-plain are guarded on the outside with a grand battlement or breast-work, being a kind of parapet, likewise of earth cast up, revested and incrusted with hewn stone, to the thickness of one and twenty feet, and to the height of seven, founded upon the top of the rampart and bulwarks, and reigning along the terra-plain, and around the platforms all about the town. By which means, though the rampart be seventy feet thick, yet the terra-plain in the top of it comes to be

only forty-nine feet broad, by reason that one and twenty feet, the thickness of the parapet, is taken from it; and the parapet going round the bulwarks, as well as along the rampart, the breadth of their platforms comes also to be diminished in proportion.

Without the rampart is the ditch, a hundred and five feet broad, and fourteen feet deep; being cut out of the earth, and having its scarp and counter-scarp incrusted with hewn stone. It is a moat or wet ditch, on the one side the river, towards the east, where the ground is a level or plain, and is supplied with water from the river, as also from the little brook, which falls into it on the same side; on the other side, towards the west, where the ground is a rising ground or hill, it is dry. Over it, on both sides, before the gates in the rampart, are seven draw-bridges, that is, one before each gate, giving passage into and out from the town, and having at the outer ends of them as many highways, that from thence run out into the neighbouring country, and have each the same name with the gate it runs out from.

That was the condition of Tournay in the Emperor Charles the Fifth's time, and this is all the length the new inclosure and fortifications of the town came in his reign; for, according to the knowledge that the Spaniards had of the art of military architecture in those days, after it was surrounded with a rampart and a ditch, they reckoned it completely fortified.

It continued so, in the same state, without any further addition to its strength, and in the power of the princes of the same nation, (as being reckoned a member of the Earldom of Flanders,) till the year of our Lord 1579, in the days of Philip the Second, King of Spain, the Emperor Charles's only son, and his successor in the earldom of Flanders. This prince, in his time, had little war with the French, who had been long his father's enemies; but had a very religious war with the States-General of the United Provinces, who were naturally his subjects, and had made a general defection from him, because of his cruelty and oppression towards them, upon the account of the difference of religion between him and them, (they being protestants, and he a papist,) and had established a common-wealth of their own. The people of Tournay had begun early to join with the States-General; for, in the year 1576, they assisted with them at the pacification of Ghent: and, in this year 1579, the States being united into a common-wealth by the union of Utrecht, those of Tournay entered into an alliance with them, against King Philip the Second; from which time they were an independent state, and governed themselves after their own mind, as allies of the States-General.

In this condition it continued till the year of our Lord 1581, in the days of the same King Philip the Second of Spain; who having sent Prince Alexander of Parma into the Low-Countries, in quality of governor; and having given him a commission, to use all means to reduce his discontented subjects to their allegiance, and the Prince of Parma being in Flanders, and considering of what importance Tournay would be to him, (for the securing of several other places, in the midst of which it stands,) he catched hold of an occasion, when Prince Peter of Espinoy, governor of it, marched out to go towards Ghent, and carried along with him the best part of the garrison, to join and to head the army of the States-General there; and first making shew, as if he would have followed the Prince of Espinoy, and continuing to do so till he was out of sight of Tournay, he then suddenly turned about towards the town, besieged it, and took it in six weeks.

It is recorded in the annals of Tournay, that though the town at that time wanted both governor and garrison, and there was nobody in the castle but the Princess of Espinoy, the governor's lady, with two or three companies of foot, her guards; though it was besieged with a great army, and battered with a great number of cannon; yet the people from within made the most obstinate defence that ever was heard of. For not only men, but women, not only burghers and boys, but wives and maids, appeared upon the rampart, to resist the enemies' assaults, and behaved themselves very bravely. The Princess of Espinoy, at the head of her ladies, during the time of an assault, was shot through the arm, at one occasion: at another occasion, the besiegers having sprung a mine, and blown up a part of the rampart, several gentlewomen, who had been on the terra-plain upon duty at the time, got both death and burial at once in the ruins; and, the Spaniards en-

tering the breach, they found some of the women still alive, being buried in the ruins only up to the shoulders; and, the Marquis of Renty, who commanded the assault, seeing them in that pickle, he admired their bravery, pitied their condition, ordered them to be taken out, and allowed them to go back to the town. It is likewise recorded, that, during the continuance of this siege of Tournay, one Colonel Prestoun (a Scotch officer in the service of the States-General) being sent off by the Prince of Espinoy, commander in chief of their army, with a party of three-hundred horse in the design to throw them into the town, for its relief; he attacked the Spanish camp before Tournay at the German quarter, where the Prince of Chimay, general of the artillery, commanded; and having beat the Spanish foot, and broke thorough the German horse, he not only forced his own way into the town, with all his own troops, but, besides, he carried thirty of the Prince of Chimay's artillery-men along with him. However, all this did not save the place; for it was surrendered, the thirtieth of November 1581, after a siege of two and forty days: and so Tournay returned into the dominion of King Philip the Second of Spain.

King Philip having recovered it into his hands, and the religious war betwixt him and the States-General, becoming more violent, (the States being powerfully assisted by their protectrix, Elizabeth Queen of England,) and he passionately desirous to reduce them to his obedience; considering the weakness of the defence of what towns he held in Flanders, especially of Lisle and Tournay, and the Spaniards being come a greater length in the knowledge and skill of military architecture than formerly, he resolved to provide for the further security of these towns by the addition of outworks to the fortification. So accordingly, in the year of our Lord 1596, for the better defence of the town of Tournay, to supply the defect of its rampart, he ordered the ditch to be enlarged at twelve different places, to make way for as many outworks he designed to plan in it, and afterwards raised them, being a kind of ravelin, or half-moon, one before each of the seven gates, on both sides the town, and five more at other convenient places, three on the west-side, and two on the east.

What kind of works these outworks of King Philip's were then, we cannot precisely tell; for now they are either taken in, or embodied with the French new works, or levelled. However, I have seen a draught of them in the Parliament-hall at Tournay; by which it appears, that they have been large voluminous works built of earth, revested and incrusted with stone, to a solidity double of the thickness of the rampart, and to a height equal to the depth of the ditch, where they were planted; terminated in the top with platforms, guarded on the one side with battlements, suitable to the rest of the fortification; planted in the ditch surrounding them; and joined to the scarp on the inside, and to the counterscarp on the outside, with draw-bridges.

By this means, Tournay was then become indeed pretty strong, according to the rate of reckoning the strength of towns in those days; being inclosed with the Emperor Charles the Fifth's Rampart, fortified with good bulwarks, for its defence, with the additional defence of King Philip the Second's outworks: all which, at that time, did indeed render it strong; but now it would signify nothing.

However, it continued so, in the same state, and in the power of the princes of the same nation, without any change or revolution befalling it, either in its edifices or government, till the days of Charles the Second, late King of Spain; who having sharp war, in his time, with Lewis the Fourteenth, the present King of France, in the year of our Lord 1667, King Lewis marched an army into Flanders, came before Tournay, besieged it, and took it in a very short time: so once more it returned into the power of the French. He also took Lisle and Douay, and several other towns, the same year, and put King Charles so hardly to it, that, the next year, 1668, a peace being concluded at Aix la Chapelle between these two princes, by an article of that treaty, King Charles was obliged to resign to King Lewis the town of Tournay, and some others, for ever.

King Lewis the Fourteenth, having got Tournay into his hands, and knowing the importance of the place; considering how weakly it was fortified, and the French then being come a length in the knowledge of military architecture before other nations; and

though he but lately concluded a peace with Spain, yet having a mind to observe it no longer than it should serve his turn, and in the case of war, foreseeing how useful and advantageous a post Tournay would be to him, for preserving the country he had already conquered, and for pushing on his conquests further, he thereupon resolved well with himself to keep it, as long as he could; and, to that end, immediately began to take care to have it completely fortified, with all the art and skill imaginable, and gave the direction of the work to the famous Monsieur De Vauban, his chief engineer, who has indeed acquitted himself very handsomely in it.

Monsieur De Vauban, having got such a commission, proceeded in this manner in the execution of it: First, he considered, that, as for the Emperor Charles the Fifth's Rampart, there was nothing to be done with it, because of the facades of hewn stone, with which it was revested and incrusted, without throwing it all down, and rebuilding a new one, which would have run out to a prodigious charge; and for that he thought there was not so great need there, as elsewhere: besides, he reckoned, that, whatever weakness there was in or about the rampart, it might best be corrected by a suitable contrivance in the design and execution of the outworks: as for King Philip the Second's outworks, he resolved either to take in and embody them in those that he himself designed, or to level them.

So, without insisting upon the defects of the rampart, he immediately proceeded to the construction of the outworks; and, having cleaned the ditch, and enlarged it in such and such places, so as that it might be capable of the works he designed in it, he planted it abundantly with ravelins, half-moons, horn-works, and all the other kinds that he thought proper for the ground, and for correcting the faults he observed in the situation and fortification of the town; especially he built four great horn-works, three on the one side of the town, towards the west, where the ground is a rising ground, or hill, and one on the other side, towards the east, where it is a level, or plain: all large voluminous works running out from the rampart into the neighbouring country, so as to inclose and take in all the heights, and other eminences, that did any way prejudice, or weaken its defence. Then, to secure all, he raised a noble citadel, immediately without the town, at the upper end of it, towards the south, and on the west-side the river, being the hill-side; in a place, where the ground is higher than any where else near the town; in the building of which he employed all the art and skill, he was master of, in military architecture, both as to design and execution, so as to render it a fortress of great beauty, as well as of great strength. And, as it is commonly said to be one of De Vauban's master-pieces, so it is certainly one of the most regular, as well as it has been one of the most chargeable pieces of fortification in the world; though I will not say it is one of the strongest, because of its being situate on a height, upon a ground that is very capable of being mined, and where mines may have dreadful effects. The horn-works on the same side of the town are liable to the same inconveniency, being situate the same way; against which inconveniency, the architect has provided all the remedy that can be, that is, countermines; for both citadel and horn-works, and all the other outworks, on that hill-side the town, are entirely countermined before-hand; on the other side, being a plain, the works are not liable to such an inconveniency, and, consequently, there is no need of such a remedy. So that if ever an enemy comes about Tournay, and attacks it on the high side of the town, where the citadel and three of the horn-works are, they dare do it only by mining; and the ground there being before-hand countermined, if they be not both very wary and very lucky, they may meet with dreadful rencounters. And, whereas, on that high side, they have fire to deal withal, on the other side, being low, there is water; for though the ground there be somewhat drained, yet it is still a little marshy; and, in the case of a siege, the besieged can, by shutting the sluices upon the river, overflow the whole country on that side with water.

By this means, Tournay, by nature and art together, is a town completely fortified, and abundantly strong. For if, on the one side, it be naturally weak, because of its dry situation upon a hill, art has provided there abundance of outworks, and these outworks coun-

termined, to remedy that defect. If, on the other side, it be artificially weak, by reason of fewer outworks there, and these outworks not countermined, nature has provided a wet situation in a plain, to counterbalance that want. So that nature and art have conspired together, to render it a place of strength. However, there is nothing, that art has fortified, but art can take it; nor any thing, that nature has made strong, but what wit may overcome: and the surest and safest, as well as the most effectual and successful way, to besiege Tournay, would, in my humble opinion, be in this manner: To make feint attacks on the high side the town, where there are countermines, and to make real attacks on the low side, where there are none; and, because of the inconveniency of water on that side, to begin early to batter the sluices, that keep it up; which being destroyed, the water will run clear away along the channel of the river, and the ground on that side become good ground, and the besiegers' attacks may go on apace, with a great deal of safety, and with all the success imaginable; whereas, if the real attacks be on the high side, where the ground is naturally good, but countermined, by beginning early to discover the countermines, the attacks may indeed be carried on, but slowly, with a great deal of danger, and with a success that will always be doubtful.

But, because there is such variety in the French fortifications about Tournay, such excellency appears in Monsieur De Vauban's works, where-ever they are, and such regularity is to be seen, in all that he has done there, both as to design and execution, both in plan and profile, I shall therefore be at pains to give a complete description of these outworks, and an exact account of their dimensions, for the satisfaction of the curious: and, to do it in order, I shall begin with the citadel, on the south-side of the town, upon the west-side the river; from thence go northwards, and so round.

And, first, as to its plan: it is built in form of a pentagon, or figure having five equal sides; having just so many courtines, as many bastions, and two gates, all royal work; that is, regular, and according to art; so that we found it an easy matter to take its dimensions both in whole and in part, and to do it both exactly and completely.

The semidiameter of the interior polygon is just seven-hundred and five feet; which, doubled, makes the length or breadth (they being equal) of the ground within this polygon a thousand four-hundred and ten feet, that is, two-hundred and eighty-two geometrical paces, or near the fifth part of a British mile. The semidiameter of the exterior polygon is nine-hundred and three feet; which, doubled, makes the length or breadth of the ground within this polygon, or the greatest length or breadth of the fortress, take it which way you will, a thousand eight-hundred and six feet, that is, three-hundred and sixty-one geometrical paces and a foot, or near a quarter of a British mile. Each side of the interior polygon is just eight-hundred and nine feet; which, multiplied by five (there being so many sides in it) makes the circumference of this polygon four-thousand and forty-five feet, that is, eight-hundred and nine geometrical paces, or somewhat more than half a British mile. Each side of the exterior polygon is a thousand and forty-two feet; which, multiplied by five (there being so many sides in it) makes the circumference of this polygon five-thousand two-hundred and ten feet, that is, a thousand and forty-two geometrical paces, or somewhat more than two third parts of a British mile. But the circumference, measuring it on the outside, going round by the foot of the rampart, along the way that is called 'The Round Way,' and reckoning all the sides and angles, or turnings in and out, of the courtines and bastions, or the greatest circumference of the fortress, is a great deal more, in this manner: The length of each courtine is four-hundred and eighty feet, and the circumference of each bastion eight-hundred and ninety, in this manner; each demigorge a hundred and fifteen feet, each flank ninety, and each face two-hundred and forty; which, doubled (there being two of each) and added together, make the circumference so much, as I have said: and the length of the courtines, multiplied by five (there being so many of them) with the circumference of the bastions (substracting the demigorges) likewise multiplied by five (there being so many of them) and added together, (that is, the length of all the courtines, flanks, and faces in the rampart, added together,) makes the circumference on the outside, or the greatest circumfe-

rence of the fortress, take it which way you will, exactly five-thousand and seven-hundred feet, or a thousand a hundred and forty geometrical paces, or somewhat more than three quarters of a British mile.

As to the profile of it, it is a rampart of earth cast up, revested on the outside, and incrusted on the inside, with a facade of hewn stone.

Its breadth at the bottom is sixty-six feet, that is, reckoning the mass of earth, with the revesture and incrusture of stone; its inward talud, or sloping, fifteen feet; and outward talud seven and a half: its height fifteen feet, and its breadth at the top forty-three and a half. The bastions are terminated in the top with platforms, or terrasses, as the courtines are with a terra-plain or corridor or gallery, that runs along the top of the rampart from one platform to another; and both these platforms, and that terra-plain, are guarded on the outside with a parapet or battlement or breast-work, and a banquet or footstep, that reign along the one and around the others, all about the fortress: the one being three feet broad, and a foot and a half high; the other, fifteen feet broad at the bottom, a foot of inward talud, two feet of outward, six feet high on the inside, four feet on the outside, and twelve feet broad at the top. Both parapet and banquet are built of earth thrown up, revested and incrusted with hewn stone, founded upon the top of the rampart, but with this difference: the one is terminated in a level, proper for men to step or stand on, on the inside towards the town, and continued all about; the other terminates in a slope, on the outside towards the country, proper for bullets to slip or slide on, and is all about discontinued with embrasures or port-holes, and merlons or solid spaces between the port-holes. By this means, though the rampart at the top be forty-three feet and a half broad, yet the terra-plain above the courtines comes to be only twenty-five feet and a half; by reason that fifteen feet, the breadth of the parapet, and three feet, that of the banquet, are taken from it: and, the parapet and banquet going around the bastions, as well as along the courtines, their platforms come also to be diminished in proportion.

There are but two gates in this rampart: the one towards the town, called 'The royal Gate;' the other towards the country, named 'The Dauphin-gate.' They are each of them struck out in the middle of a courtine, where they stand defended by the two neighbouring bastions. Without the rampart, there is, first, the Round Way or the Way of the Rounds, being a corridor or gallery, fifteen feet broad, guarded on the outside with its parapet and banquet, otherwise called 'The False Bray,' which is every way of the same kind, and has the same dimensions with the Royal Parapet; that is, the parapet of the rampart, which we have already described. Both these works are built of earth cast up, revested and incrusted with hewn stone; and reign, as the rampart does, all about the fortress. Without the False Bray is the berm or fore-land, being a kind of bank, six feet broad, on the inside of the ditch. It is of earth revested with stone. Then there is the ditch, being a dry ditch, ninety-six feet broad at the top; its scarp, or inward talud or sloping, ten feet; and counterscarp or outward talud, the same; its depth ten feet, and its breadth at the bottom seventy-six. It is cut out of the earth, has its scarp and counterscarp incrusted with hewn stone, accompanies the rampart all around, and is always dry, being upon the top of a rising ground or hill, where no water comes.

This ditch is abundantly planted with outworks, in this manner: First, the courtine towards the town, that has the Royal Gate in it, is defended with a fortification of three forts, or outworks: the one in the middle, just opposite to the gate, being a large ravelin; the other two are small quarter-moons, one before each face of the ravelin, near the angle of the shoulder. Beginning there at that first courtine, where the Royal Gate is, towards the town, from thence going southwards, round; the next thing, we found in our way, was 'the King's Bastion,' one of the bastions of rampart, which, for order's sake, we shall likewise call, the first bastion. Then there is the second courtine, also towards the town, before which is repeated a fortification of a large ravelin, and two small quarter-moons, as before. Next is the second bastion, called 'The Queen's Bastion.' After that, comes the third courtine, towards the country, defended with a fortification of

five forts or outworks: the first, in the middle, just opposite to the courtine, being a large ravelin, as before; the other four are two cut-works, and two small quarter-moons, covering the faces of the ravelin; a cut-work and a quarter-moon being before each face, the one towards the angle of the shoulder, as before, the other towards the saillant angle. Next is the third bastion, named 'The Dauphin's Bastion.' Then there is the fourth courtine, also, towards the country, having the Dauphin-Gate in the middle of it, and before it a fortification of five outworks; a ravelin, two cut-works, and two quarter-moons, repeated and disposed in the same order as before. After which, is the fourth bastion, called 'The Bastion of Anjou.' Then there is the fifth and last courtine, also towards the country, defended with a fortification of four outworks: the first, in the middle, a ravelin, as before; the other three are a cut-work, and two quarter-moons, covering the faces of the ravelin, the cut-work and a quarter-moon being before the left face, the one towards the angle of the shoulder, the other towards the saillant angle, as before; the other quarter-moon, alone, before the right face, near the angle of the shoulder. Last of all, is the fifth bastion, named 'The Bastion of Orleans:' after which we found the courtine, towards the town, having the Royal Gate in it, from whence we began our course around the fortress.

All these outworks are built of earth thrown up, revested and incrusted with hewn stone, and having their design and execution, their plan and profile, their terra-plains, parapets, banquets, and the rest, suitable, and in proportion to the other parts of the fortification; being founded in the ditch, which has been before-hand enlarged in such and such places, so as to be capable of them; and, detached from the scarp on the inside, and from the counterscarp on the outside, as well as from one another, at reasonable distances; but joined both to scarp and counterscarp, as well as to one another, with draw-bridges.

Immediately, without the ditch, there is the covered-way, or the way that is covered, being a corridor or gallery, fifteen feet broad, guarded on the outside with its parapet and banquet, otherwise named the Glacis: the one being three feet broad, and a foot and a half high, as the other banquets are; the other sixty-nine feet broad at the bottom: a foot of inward talud, six feet high on the inside, and, on the outside, it is all a continued talud or slope, beginning at the top of the height, and ending insensibly at the bottom; the whole tenailled all around. Both these works are of earth revested and incrusted with stone; and reign, as the rampart does, all about the fortress. Without the glacis, last of all, is the explanade, being a grand corridor discovered, or a part of the neighbouring country levelled, to the breadth of a hundred and five feet, and accompanying the glacis all around.

This citadel is built without the town, on the south-side, and on the west-side the river, where the bank is a rising ground, or hill, upon the very highest spot of ground about Tournay, in the design to command the town on the one hand, and the country on the other; but especially to command the town and the river, they both lying low under it towards the north and east, and it approaching with its outworks to the one, within the distance of four-hundred paces, and to the other adjoining so near, that the outworks of the one incroach and presume upon the fortifications of the other, which are there levelled, to make way for them; so that they not only take up all the ground between the rampart of the citadel and that of the town, but also enter a pretty way within the town, there being a grand overture made in the Emperor Charles the Fifth's Rampart, to let them in. The two extremities of this rampart of the town are made to end sloping, in a right line upon the glacis of the citadel: and, in the space, within the town, between this glacis of the citadel, and King Chilperick the First's Wall, the buildings are, for the most part, thrown down; and the ground where they stood is converted into a grand explanade, having in length a thousand paces, and in breadth two-hundred; and serving as a grand court before the citadel gate, where twenty-thousand men may be drawn up in order of battle. By this means the town and its rampart being in this manner levelled, as well as the country and its hedges discovered, and the heights and other eminences inclosed, the

citadel seated upon the very highest spot of ground thereabouts commands entirely all around.

As to the French fortifications about the town, they are disposed in this order: First, that part of the Emperor Charles the Fifth's Rampart, that adjoins to the outworks of the citadel, on the east-side towards the river, running from the sluice, that is there upon the one, up the face of the hill, to the glacis of the other; the distance between these two, being four-hundred paces, has been lately thrown down, and is rebuilt in a new way, so as to make a saillant angle, in the middle of the distance from the glacis of the citadel, to the sluice upon the river, to defend the same. The one side of this angle, towards the river, lies low, in a little plain that reigns immediately along the water-side, to the breadth of two-hundred paces, towards the west, at the upper end of the town towards the south; and the ditch without it is a moat or wet ditch, supplied with water from the river, and continuing to be so, as far as the plain continues, that is, to the very angular point: the other side, towards the citadel, stands high, upon the accent of the hill; that from the angular point begins to run up pretty steep, and the ditch without it is dry. The Gate of Valenciennes is in the side towards the river, where there is nothing to defend, neither it nor the sluice, but the saillant angle; but the sluice, the gate, the river, the rampart, all lies low, under the cannon of the citadel, which stands, and looks, and defends and commands, high, over all. That part of the Emperor Charles's Rampart, that adjoins to the outworks of the citadel, on the west-side, is denuded of its bulwarks, that have been levelled, to the length of two-hundred paces, and the rampart itself is made to continue sloping in a right line, till at last it ends, as I have said, upon the glacis of the fortress.

Four-hundred paces from the citadel, going northwards, round the town, is the Gate of St. Martin's; which, for order's sake, we shall call the Second Gate; reckoning the Valenciennes Gate the first, between the river and the citadel, which is between these two gates. This gate is defended with a great fortification of three forts; or outworks before it; the first, a half-moon, just opposite to the gate; the second, a horn-work, covering the faces of the half-moon; and, the third, a ravelin, before the courtine of the horn-work: being all large voluminous works, especially the horn-work, planted in the ditch, where they take up a great deal of ground, one without another, directly before the gate, and running out a great way from the town into the adjacent country, which they entirely command, as far as their cannon can go.

Immediately after this fortification, in the middle of the distance, between this gate and the next, there is one half-moon alone, by itself, defending the rampart: and, before the next gate, (being the Lisle Gate, and the third in our way, round,) there is another half-moon, likewise alone, by itself, opposite to the gate, defending it. After which, we found another great fortification of three forts or outworks, and a ravelin, as before: all large voluminous works, especially the horn-work, and running out a great way into the country.

Immediately after this, there is again a half-moon alone, by itself, defending the rampart; which, though it be only a half-moon, yet, among officers and soldiers, it is commonly called, 'The Bastion of Blandinois:' and the ground there falling low, and changing from a rising ground into a level, from a hill into a plain, the ditch is no longer a dry ditch, but begins to be a moat or wet one; being supplied with water from the river, which is at the distance of six-hundred paces, the plain that reigns there along the river-side towards the west, at that lower end of the town, towards the north, being so broad. Then we found the Gate of 'the Seven Fountains,' being the fourth in our way, round; and defended with another great fortification of three outworks, a half-moon, a horn-work, and a ravelin, as before. After which, the rampart, on that side, ends upon the river, where it is defended with an irregular fort, or outwork, commonly called 'The Platform,' adjoining to it. It is one of King Philip the Second's old outworks, (as I suppose,) left so in its old form, adjoining to the river, as well as to the rampart, defending both, but especially defending the sluice there.

The rampart on the other side the river makes a turn as it goes about King Henry the

Eighth's Castle, and is extraordinarily defended with a very complex piece of fortification, consisting of six outworks, disposed in this manner: First, the turn of the rampart, towards the north-east, is defended with a half-moon before; after that, 'the Brail Gate,' towards the east, being the fifth in our way, is defended with a small ravelin, covered with a counter-guard before it: then there is a guard double tenaille, which beginning upon the river on the north-side, from thence runs east, turns south, and goes as far as beyond the Brail Gate, where it ends upon the ditch; so as to cover and defend the half-moon, the ravelin, and the counter-guard, already named; as well as all that part of the rampart, that, from the river on the north, runs east and south, as far as beyond the Brail-Gate, being in length eight-hundred paces. Without this tenaille, on the north-side near the river, there is a half-moon defending it on that side; at the east-end of which is a canal, with a sluice upon it, conveying the waters of the ditch away into the lower Scheld; the river running on the west-end of it, so that it stands between the two: and, without the tenaille, on the east-side, there is another half-moon, defending it on that side; which makes out the number of six outworks, that compose this complex piece of fortification.

After this, we found a half-moon all alone, by itself, in the middle of the distance, between the Brail Gate and the next, defending the rampart. Then there is 'the Mortal Gate,' being the sixth in our way, and defended with another great fortification of three outworks; a half-moon, a horn-work, and a ravelin, as before. After which, is another half-moon alone, by itself, in the middle of the distance, between the Mortal Gate, and the next, defending the rampart. Then there is 'the Gate of the Sorrowful,' the seventh in our way, defended with a large ravelin; over against the point of which, the small brook, that runs towards the town on that side, falls into the ditch. After that, is another half-moon alone, by itself, defending the rampart, in the middle of the distance, between the Sorrowful's Gate and the river. And, last of all, the rampart on that side ends upon the river, where it is defended with a large outwork, being a kind of bastion detached, and commonly called 'The Bastion of Camus.' It adjoins to the river, which it defends, as well as the rampart; but, especially, it defends the sluice that is there; being likewise defended on the other side, with the saillant angle of the rampart, between the river and the citadel, from whence we began our course round the place.

All these outworks are built of earth thrown up, revested and incrusted with hewn stone, and have their design and execution, their plan and profile, their terra-plains, parapets, banquets, and the rest; suitable and in proportion to the other parts of the fortification, especially to the defects and irregularities that are in and about the Emperor Charles the Fifth's Rampart. They are founded in the ditch, which was beforehand enlarged in such and such places, so as to be capable of them; and, on the one side, where it is a moat, they are abundantly surrounded with water, it being always full from the river; on the other side, where a moat is not practicable, they are dry. They are detached from the scarp on the inside, and from the counterscarp on the outside, as well as from one another, at reasonable distances; but joined both to scarp and counterscarp, as well as to one another, with draw-bridges.

Without the ditch, there is the covered-way, seventeen feet and a half broad, guarded on the outside with its parapet and banquet, or the glacis: the one, the same with the other banquets; the other, seventy feet broad at the bottom, a foot of inward talud, six feet high on the inside; and, on the outside, it is a continued talud or slope, from the top to the bottom: the whole tenailled all around the place, as the glacis about the citadel is. And, without all, is the explanade, a hundred and five feet broad. These works are likewise of earth, revested and incrusted with stone, and reign, along with the ditch, as the rampart does, all about the town.

Lastly, without the explanade, in the country, two-hundred paces from the glacis of the town, on the high side towards the west, in the middle of the distance, between the glacis of the citadel, and that of the first horn-work, there is a ravelin, with a dry ditch about it, placed all alone, by itself, by way of a redoubt, to defend the avenue to the town there. Between the first horn-work, and the second, there is a half moon placed in the same

manner, at the same distances, and to the same purpose. Between the second horn-work and the third, there is another half-moon, the same way. And, on the low side, towards the east, at the lower end of the town, towards the north, at the same distance from the glacis of the town, there is a bridge of timber over the river, with a square fort, or redoubt, on the east-side, defending it, and defending the avenue to the town there. The other avenues to Tournay are sufficiently well defended with the numerous outworks about the town and citadel.

These are the French fortifications about Tournay, and this is the length they came, under the care and direction of Monsieur De Vauban; who, when he had brought them thus far, reckoned it a town completely fortified, and as strong as the situation of the place would allow; and, certainly, it is so. As for beauty and regularity, it is without dispute, that there is a variety of forts, or outworks, an excellency of design and execution, and an exactness in plan and profile, so great about Tournay, that the like is not to be seen about any other town in Europe, except it be at Bergen-op-Zoom, fortified by Coehorn; but, as to this matter, one may say, that though Monsieur De Coehorn has a great many very pretty inventions, that are all his own, and a great deal of very pretty reasoning, upon these inventions of his own; yet, after all, if his works were tried as much as we see Vauban's are daily, it is a question how they would prove.

And this is what they call 'New Tournay;' that is, that part of the town which is included between King Chilperick the First of France's Wall, and the Emperor Charles the Fifth of Germany's Rampart, as it was began by the French and Burgundians, and other foreigners; continued by King Henry the Eighth of England, and the English; inclosed by the Emperor Charles the Fifth; first fortified by King Philip the Second of Spain; and completely fortified by King Lewis the Fourteenth of France.

The new town is of the same figure with the old one, that is, an oblong round or parabolick, but stretched the contrary way; for whereas the old town lies cross the river on both sides, and stretches itself out, from east to west, the river running from south to north; the new one lies along the river, on both sides, and stretches itself out, from south to north, the river running the same way. It has in length, taking it from the one sluice upon the river, at the upper end of the town towards the south, to the other sluice at the lower end towards the north, along the river, just two-thousand common paces, that is, a thousand geometrical paces, or two third parts of a British mile; in breadth, reckoning from St. Martin's Gate, on the west-side, to the Mortal Gate, on the east, cross the river, it is fifteen-hundred common paces, or seven-hundred and fifty geometrical paces, or half a British mile; and in circumference, going round within, on the inside the rampart, there are exactly six-thousand common paces, that is, three-thousand geometrical paces, or two British miles; but measuring it without, on the outside the ditch, we found it to be as good as twelve-thousand common paces, or six-thousand geometrical paces, or four British miles.

The citadel is a pentagon, or figure having five sides, adjoining to the town, on the south side, and approaching to the river, on the west, within the distance of four-hundred paces. Its length, take it which way you will, is just five-hundred and sixty-four common paces; that is, two-hundred and eighty-two geometrical paces, or near a fifth part of a British mile; its breadth, being equal to its length, the same; and its circumference within, on the inside the rampart, is exactly a thousand six-hundred and eighteen common paces, that is, eight-hundred and nine geometrical paces, or some more than half a British mile; but without, on the outside the ditch, it will be as good as three-thousand seven-hundred and fifty common paces, or a thousand eight-hundred and seventy-five geometrical paces, or a British mile and a quarter.

In fine, it has continued in the same state and in the same hands, without any further alteration or change, from the year of our Lord 1667, when the French took it last, till this present year 1709, when they are like to lose it again: for the present King Lewis the Fourteenth of France, having sharp and violent war just now on foot, with Charles the Third, the present King of Spain, upon the account of the succession to the Spanish

monarchy; and King Charles being powerfully assisted by the other princes in confederacy with him, the ambition of King Lewis and the power of France seem to be reduced to a very low ebb. The last year they took Lisle from him; and now they are before Tournay: and the confederate generals having catched an occasion to besiege it, when the French had drawn out a part of the garrison, to reinforce their grand army, the garrison being weak within, it is like to fall into their hands.

A brefe Chronycle concerning the Examinacion and Death of the .blessed Martir of Christ, Sir Johan Oldcastell the Lord Cobham; collected together by Johan Bale[1].

'In the latter time shall many be chosen, proved and puryfyed by Fyre, yet 'shall the Ungodly lyve wickedly styll, and have no understanding.'—Daniel xii. 10.

Imprinted at London, by Anthony Scoloker, and Wyllyam Seres, dwelling wythout Aldersgate.

Cum gratia et privilegio ad imprimendum solum.

This is printed from the first edition in octavo, containing seven sheets, in a black Old-English letter[2]. In the title-page is a curious frontispiece cut in wood, representing Sir John Oldcastle in a warlike posture with his armour, helmet, and shield in his left hand, on which is engraven a crucifix, with a Virgin Mary on one side, and Sir John on the other; and with a drawn sword flamed at the point in his right hand; the whole being circumscribed with this inscription:

☞Sir. Iohan. Oldcastle. the. worthy. ✠
Lord. Cobham. and. mooste. valyaunt.
Warryoure. of. IESU. Chryste. ✠
Suffred. Death. at. London. Anno. 1418.

If we would trace the grounds of this persecution and process against Sir John Oldcastle, and other holy Martyrs hereafter mentioned, it will be necessary to look back to the reign of Edward the Third; when, a great contest happening at Oxford between the monks and seculars, Dr. John Wickliffe attacked the exorbitant jurisdiction of the Pope and Bishops, and was supported by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and Henry Lord Percy. This, of consequence, drew upon him the invectives of the clergy; but, though he was summoned and appeared to the Archbishop of Canterbury's citation before a council held on purpose at London, he so defended himself, and was so well protected by the Duke of Lancaster, then in the chief management of the government, that he was acquitted: yet the Pope, being informed of what had past, demands satisfaction

[1] See Vol. I. p. 101.

[2] [It was republished in 1729, by an editor who justly remarks, that this narrative is written with all the warmth of one who had escaped the flames: and Mr. Granger has too truly added, that the intemperate zeal of 'foul-mouthed Bale,' as he was termed by Anthony Wood, often carries him beyond the bounds of decency and candour, in all his accounts of the Papists.]

of him. But all that followed upon this occasion, was his second citation before a council at Lambeth, where he was prohibited to preach against the church of Rome, which he no ways regarded: for Edward being dead, and the realm much troubled, during the minority of Richard the Second, Wickliffe spread his opinions openly, and gained many disciples. So that he was again summoned to appear before William Courtnay, Archbishop of Canterbury, eight other bishops, and several doctors at London, in May 1382; *where they laid many heretical and erroneous doctrines to his charge, condemned them, and obtained a power from King Richard, to seize upon and imprison such as taught or wrote the said doctrines with most warmth. I do not believe that Wickliffe was so overawed with this acquisition of the ecclesiastics, as to recant his just opposition of the abominations of the church of Rome, as the popish writers pretend: but this I am certain of, that he died soon after, upon his living at Lutterworth, on the thirty-first of December,* 1384, *leaving many writings in defence of his doctrines, and many disciples to teach and defend them, even with their blood.*

Wickliffe's death at first gave the ecclesiastics some hopes of suppressing his heresy, as they called it. But when Thomas Arundel succeeded Courtnay in the see of Canterbury, he found his works so much admired and defended, that, in a council held at London in 1396, *he condemned eighteen more propositions collected from the said works, and became the greatest persecutor of all those that maintained his doctrines; amongst whom was this noble champion in Christ, Sir John Oldcastle.*

This archbishop being extremely incensed against the Lollards, which was now become a general name for the followers of Wickliffe, or any others that opposed the exorbitancies of the Pope and prelates, priests or monks, had obtained of the late king an order to send commissioners to Oxford, to take informations concerning the doctrine of the Wickliffites; thereby to discover the chief abettors of that heresy, and by what means it was spread so generally over the kingdom; and especially in the dioceses of London, Hereford, and Rochester. These commissioners returned while the convocation sat, during the time of parliament, and the archbishop laid their informations before it; where, after several debates, it was resolved necessary to inflict exemplary punishment on the principal favourers of the Lollard heresy, before it could be rooted out. Then it was concluded that Sir John Oldcastle, Baron of Cobham, was their chief favourer and protector; and therefore he ought and should be first attacked, and a process formed against him for heresy, as here you will find, in terror to the whole sect.

THE PREFACE.

In the prophane histories[3] of old oratours and poetes, both Grekes and Latines, are they moch commended and thought worthy of æternall memory, whyche have eyther dyed for theyr naturall countrey, or daungered theyr lives for a commenwelthe: as we reade of Codrus, that was King of Athens, of Quintus Curcius the Romane, of Ancurus the Phrigiane, Ulysses, Hermas, Theseus, Menesius, Scipio Aphricanus, Mucius Scevola, Valerius Cocles, the two bretheren of Carcago, which were both called Philenus, and the thre noble Decianes, with other diverse. In the sacred Scryptures[4] of the Byble, hath Moyses, Josue, Gedeon, Jepthe, Debora, Judith, David, Helias, Josias, Zorobabel, Mathathias, Eleasarus, and the Machabees, theyr just prayses for theyr mighty zele and manyfold enterpryses concerning the childeren of Israell. Among the Papistes[5] also, (which are a moost prodigious kinde of men) are they moost hyghly avaunced by lyeng signes, false miracles, erroniouse writtinges, shrines, relykes, lyghtes, tabernacles, aulters, sensinges[6], songes and holydays, which have been slayne, for the lyberties,

[3] Plutarch, Propert. Cicero. Catullus, Horatius, Lucanus.
[4] Exod. xiv. Eccles. iv. 5. Judicum xi. Reg. xvij. 2 Mach. vi. [5] Sigebertus Bemblacensis.
[6] The offering of incense to the host and reliques, and images, &c. as it is used in the Church of Rome.

privileges, aucthoritee, honour, ryches, and proude maintenance of theyr[7] holy whorysh church[8].

[7] As were Antidius, Bonifacius, Benno, Thomas Becket, Johan the Cardinall, Petrus de Castronovo, Peter of Millaine, Paganus, Stanislaus of Cracovia, Steven Colyer of Tholose, Bonaventure of Padua, Julianus the Cardinall of S. Angell: and in our tyme, Johan Fysher, Thomas More, Fryre Forest, Reynoldus, and the Charter-house monkes, whiche suffred here in Ingland, with an infinite nombre more. What is than to be thought of those[9] godly and valyaunt warryours, which have not spared to bestow their moost dear lives for the veritee of Jesu Christ, against the malygnaunt mustre of that execrable Antichryst of Rome, the Devel's[10] own vicar? Of whose gratyous nombre, a very speciall membre and vessel of God's election, was that vertuous knight Sir Johan Oldcastell, the good Lord Cobham; as wil plentuously appeare in this processe following.

He that hath judgement in the spyrite, shall easely perceyve by this Treatise, what beastly blockheades these blody bellygods were in theyr unsavery interrogations; and again, what influence of grace this man of God had from above concerning his answeres, specyally in that moost blind and ignoraunt tyme, wherein all was but darkenesse, the sonne appearing sacke-clothe, as St. John[11] hath in the Apocalyps: most surely fulfilled Christ's promes in him, which he maid to his apostles, 'Cast not in your minde 'aforehande (saith he[12]) what answere ye shall make, whan these spiritual tyraunts 'shall examine you in theyr sinagoges, and so deliver you up unto kinges and debitees. 'For I will geve you such utteraunce and wisdom in that houre, as all your enemies 'shall never be able to resist.' This onely sentence of Christ is ynough to prove him[13] his true disciple; and them, in their folyshe questions, the manifest members of Sathan. I remembre that xiiij. yeares ago, the tru servaunt of God, Wyllyam Tindale, put into the prent a certein brefe examination of the sayd Lord Cobham: the which examinacion was written in the tyme of the said Lordes trouble, by a certein frinde of his, and so reserved in copyes unto this our age. But sens that tyme I have found it in theyr owne writtings (which were than his uttre ennemyes) in a moche more ample fourme than there: speciallye in the great processe, which Thomas Arundell, the Archbisshop of Caunterbury, made than against him, written by his owne notaryes and clerkes, tokened also with his own signe and seale, and so directed unto Rychard Clyfford, than Bisshop of London, with a generall commaundement to have it then publisshed by him, and by the other bisshops, the whole realme over.

Furthermore, I have seane it in a copye of the writting, [14] whiche the said Rychard Clyfforde sent unto Robert Mascall, a Carmelyte fryer, and Bisshop of Herforde, under his signe and seale; and in a copye of his, also directed to the Archdeacons of Herforde and Shrewesbury. The yere, moneth, and daye of theyr date, with the beginninges of theyr writtinges, shall hereafter follow in the boke, as occasion shall require it. Besides all this, Thomas Walden, being in those daies the kinges confessour, and present at his examinacion, condemnacion, and excreacion[15], registered it amonge other processes more in his boke, called *Fasciculus Zizaniorum Wiclevii*. He maketh mention of it also in his first epistle to Pope Martyne the Fifth, and in his solempne sermon *de Funere Regis*. Onely such reasons have I added thereunto, as the afore named Thomas Walden[16] proponed to him in the tyme of the examinacion, as he mentioneth in his first and second bokes *adversùs Wiclevistas*, with the maner of his godly departing out of his frayle lyfe, which I found in other writtinges and chronycles. His youth was full of wanton wyldenes, before he knewe the Scryptures, as he reporteth in his answere, and for the more part unknowen unto me; therefore I writ it not here. His father,

[7] Wiclevius, Vincentius, Leander, Voleteranus Æneas. Joan. E. c. [8] Petrus Equilinus.
[9] Heb. xi. Act. v. Apoc. [10] Johan. viii. [11] Johan. iii. Apoc. vi.
[12] Luke xxi. Math. x. Mark xiii. Luke xii. [13] Sir John Oldcastle.
[14] Thomas Walden, in *Fasciculo Zizaniorum Wiclevii*. [15] *al.* execracyon.
[16] Walden. cont. Wiclevistas, *in Prologo doct.* vii. Lib. ii. cap. lxvi.

the Lord Regnold of Cobham, Joseph Frosyart nombereth alwaies amongest the moost worthy warriours of Ingland.

In all adventerous actes of worldely manhode was he ever bold, strong, fortunate, doughty, noble, and valeaunt: but never so worthy a conquerour as in this his present conflyct with the cruell and furyous frantick kingdome of Antichryst. Farre is this Christen knight more prayse-worthy, for that he had so noble a stomake in defence of Chrystes veritee agaynst those Romish supersticions, than for any temporall nobilities, eyther of bloode, byrth, landes, or of marciall feates. For many thousandes hath had in that great corrage, which in the other have bene most faynt-harted cowards, and very desperate dastards; whereas he persevered most faithfully constaunt to the ende. Many Popish parasites, and men-pleasing flatterers, have written large commendacions and encomies of those; but, of such noblemen as this was, very few, or in a maner none at all. Whan I somtime rede the workes of som men lerned, I mervayle not a lytle to see them so aboundaunt in vayne flatteryng prayses for matters of no value; yea, for thinges to be dispraysed rather than praysed, of menne that were godly wyse.

Polydorus Virgilius [17], a collectour somtyme in Ingland of the Pope's Peter-pens, and afterwarde Archdeacon of Welles, hath in this point deformed his writtinges greatly, pointinge out Inglysh chronycles moost shamefully with his Romish lyes, and other Italysh beggery. Battels hath he described there at large wyth no small discommendings of some princes, whiche were godlye; but the privie packing of prelates, and craftie conscience [18] of the spiritualtee, hath he in every place almoost full properly passed over. He was to familyar with the bisshops and toke to moch of their counsell, whan he compiled the xxvi. bokes of his Inglysh hystory: and not greatly is the land beholden unto him in that worke, for any large prayse of erudicyon that he hath geven it there [19]. A singular beautee is it to the Chrysten relygion, whan theyr auncient monumentes are garnished among others with men of freshe lyterature, which therin hath small remembraunce or none. Unlesse it be Gildas, Bedas, Alcuinus, Joannes Scotus, Aldelmus, Neuburgus, and one or two more, none are in that whole worke mencioned concerning that, as though Ingland had alwaies bene most barren of men lerned. This do I not wryte in disprayse of his lerning (which I know to be very excellent) but for the abuse therof, being a most syngular gyft of God.

I wold wyshe som learned Inglysh man (as there are now most excellent fresh wyttes) to set forth the Inglysh chronycles in their right shape, as certein other landes hath done afore them, al affections set a-part. I can not think a more necessarye thing to be laboured to the honour of God, bewty of the realme, erudicion of the people, and commoditie of other landes, next the sacred scryptures of the Byble, than that worke wold be. For, trulye, in those they have there yet, is vyce more avaunsed than virtu; and Romish blasphemy, than godlynes: as it may full well appeare unto eyes of ryght judgement, in the lamentable history here following, and such other, which hath bene long hyd in the darke. Marke diligently the sentence of the said Polidorus, concerning this good Lord Cobham, and therupon consider his good workemanship in other maters. 'In the counsell of Constance (saith he [20]) was the heresye of Johan 'Wicleve condempned, and two at the same tyme burned in that cyte, which were the 'chefe heades of that secte.' All this is true, though the feate handeling thereof be altogether Italysh.

But wheras he saith after, that 'whan this was ones knowen to their companyons in Ing-'land, they conspired in their madnesse against the whole clergye, and finally against 'the kinge also, for that he was then a fautor of Chrysten relygion, having to their 'great captaynes Sir Johan Oldcastell and Sir Roger Acton;' he maketh a most shamfull lye. For how coulde Sir Roger, with his companye, conspire upon that occasyon, being dead more [21] than iiij yeres afore? and Sir Johan Oldcastell remaining all that sea-

[17] Polidorus *Anglicè* Historye, lib. iv. [18] *al.* conveyaunce.
[19] No men are lerned with him, but Italyanes. [20] Polidorus *Anglicè* Historie, lib. xxii.
[21] More than *two* years before the death of John Huss and Jerome of Prague. I apprehend the *iiij* has been a fault of the press; because the exact time is described, a few lines below.

son in Wales? Johan Hus suffered death[22], at Constaunce, the year of our Lord, a. M. cccc. xv. in July; Hierom of Prage, in the yere of our Lord, a. M. cccc. & xvj. in May; whiche were the two heades he speketh of. Sir Roger Acton was brent with his companye, in the yere of our Lord, a. M. cccc. xiij. in January; as witnesseth Walden, Fabian, and Johan Major, in their chronycles and writtinges. Nowe reken these nombers and yeres, and marke the proper conveyance of this Romish gentelman[23], the Pope's collectour, to clought up that crooked kingdom of theyrs. He can, by such legerdemaine, both please his frindes in Ingland, and also at Rome.

After that he followeth with lye upon lye; as, 'that they came than to London, to destroy 'the king; that he in his own person met wyth them there in armes; that they cowardly 'fledde; that som were taken there, and brent out of hand; and that the Lord Cob-'ham and Sir Roger Acton were cast into the Tower of London upon that occasyon.' Semeth it not a mater somwhat lyke to the purpose, (thinke ye,) that men should be there burned for making such an insurrection or tumult? I trowe he hath cobled here somwhat workemanly. And whereas he saith in the end, that 'the king therupon 'made an acte, that they from thensforth shuld be taken as traitours against his owne 'persone, whiche were proved to follow that secte;' he maketh an abominable ly[24]. For that acte was made only at the bisshops complainte and false sute in the fyrst yere of his reigne, and by force of that acte those innocent men than suffred. More than iiij. hundreth of such manifest lyes coude I gather out of his chronycles, moch more than might more eyes and judgements do.

Now lett us expend what the true cause shuld be of this godly mannes condemnacion and death; all dreames of Papistes set a-part. The truth of it is, that, after he had ones throughlye tasted the Chrysten doctrine of Johan Wicleve and of his disciples, and perceived their livinges agreeable to the same, he abhorred all the supersticious sorceries (ceremonies I shuld say) of the proud Romish church. From thensforth he brought all thinges to the touchestone of God's word. He tryed all maters by the Scryptures, and so 'proved their spyrites, whether they were of God or nay[25].' He mainteined such preachers in the dioceses of Caunterbury, London, Rochester, and Herforde, as the bisshoppes were sore offended with. He exhorted theyr pryestes to a better waye by the Gospell; and, whan that wolde not helpe, he gave them sharpe rebukes. He admonished[26] the kinges, as Richard the Second, Henry the Fourth, and Henry the Fifth, of the clergyes manifolde abuses, and put into the Parlamenthouse certein bokes, concerning their just reformation, both in the yere of our Lord, a. M. ccc. xcv. and in the yere a. M. cccc. x. Of the first boke, this is the beginning[27]: *Prima conclusio. Quando Ecclesia Angliæ*, &c. which I have here left oute, least thys treatyse shuld be to great. The other boke was made by one Johan Purveye, a master of art of Oxforde. Beside the xviij. conclusions that Master Johan Wicleve had put in long afore that.

In the yere of our Lord a. M. ccc. xci. this noble Lord Cobham[28] with certein other more, mocioned the king at Westminster, at the time of his parlament, that it were very commodious to Ingland, if the Romish bisshoppes auctoritee extended no further than the Oceane Sea, or the Haven of Calys, consydering the charges and unquietnes of sutes there, and that mens causes coulde not be throughlye knowen so farre of. Whereupon, the king made this acte by consent of his lordes, that 'no man from thensforth 'should sue to the Pope in any mater, nor publysh any excommunication of his, un-'der payne of losing their goodes, with perpetuall imprisonnement[29].' Thys and the aforenamed boke had cost him, with Sir John Cheny and other more, his lyfe, in the sixt yere after, at the crafty accusement of certein prelates (though it hath in the chronycles[30] an other colour) had not God than moost graciously preserved him. An other cause of his death, yet, besides all that hath been sayd afore, was this: He

[22] *Acta Concilii Constantiensis.* [23] Polidore Virgil. [24] Waldenus *in Sermone de Funere Regis.*
[25] Johan. iii. 1 Thess. v. Math. vii. 1 Johan iv. [26] Walden. *in Fasciculo Zizaniorum Wiclevii.*
[27] Fabianus. [28] Walden. Polidorus *in Histor. Anglorum*, lib. xx.
[29] Trevisa *in Addicionibus Cestrensis*, Polidorus. [30] Fabianus, Polidorus.

caused[31] all the workes of Johan Wicleve to be written at the instaunce of Johan Huss, and so to be sent into Boheme, Fraunce, Spayne, Portingale, and other landes: whereof Subinco Lepus, the Archbishop of Prage, caused[32] more than two hundreth volumes fayre written openly to be brent afterwarde, as witnesseth Æneas Silvius, *de Origine Bohemorum.*

These causes knowen, with other more that I coulde reherse, consider whether the world, that is alwaies so wicked, was worthye to[33] holde soche a noble Chyrsten warryour as this was, or naye? Consyder also the just punyshment of the Lorde for wycked lawes that were than made, with the exceding mischeves, that the spiritualte[34] than used: and way[35] the miserable estate that the realme was in sone after, for contempt of his eternall word: and therupon lawd his rightuousnes, and beware of lyke contempt and plage in these dayes. In the year of our Lord a. M. cccc. xxii, departed King Henry the Fyft in his most florishyng tyme, even in the beginnyng of the xxxvii. yere of his age[36]; which was about foure yeres after the death of thys Lord Cobham. His sonne Henry the Sixt successed in hys rome, and had the governaunce of this whole realme, being but a babe of eight moneth[37] old, and odde dayes. What a dolour was this unto men of rype discretyon, naturally loving their countrey, and regarding the common-welth therof? Yea what a plage of God was it, after the Scryptures[38], to have 'a yong child to their king?' And that it shuld the more manifestly appeare to com that waye, or of the stroke of God; he was a childysshe thing all the dayes of his lyfe.

'I shall geve you (sayth the Lorde in his hyghe dyspleasure) chylderen to be your prin-
'ces, and yonge infauntes without wisdome shal have the gouvernaunce of you[39].'
What wretched calamities the realme suffred afterward for the space of more than fourscore yeres and thre, tyl the dayes of King Henry the Seventh, it is unspeakable. Sens the preaching of Johan Wicleve, hath the Lorde suffred the pompouse Popysh prelates to shew themselves forth in theyr owne ryghte coulours, that they myght now in the lyght of hys Gospel appeare, as they are in dede; even spightful murtherers, ydolaters, and sodomites. Afore hys tyme, they lurked under the glyttering shyne of hypocresye, and coulde not be seane in their mastryes. The fryers with their charminge sophistrye threwe such a darke myst over the universall worlde, that supersticyon coulde not be knowen for supersticyon, nor ydolatrye for ydolatrye.

Unspeakable fylthynes of all fleshly occupieng was than called pryestes chastitee, as it is yet, and will be tyl it come to the hyghest; that God may take ful vengeaunce. Then was whoordom[40] worshiped in prelates of the churche, and sacred wedlocke rekened such a detestable vyce as was worthy in a pryest[41] moost cruell death: as was seane, for example, in Sir Wyllyam Wyghts, whiche was brent[42] for the same at Norwych, in the yeare of our Lorde 1428.

Thus was *Whight* judged *blacke*, and lyght darknesse; so yll was mens syghte in those dayes. By soch meanes (sayth the prophet[43]) 'they drewe wickednes unto them, as it were with a corde, and all kindes of synne, as yt were with a cart-rope.' If Englond, at that tyme, had not bene unthankfull for the syngular benefyght that God than sent them by those good menne, the dayes of Antichryst and his beastly brood had bene shortened there longe agoo, as it is even now, and here after lyke to be more largely. A moost orient[44] freshe myrrour of Chrysten manhode appeareth thys worthye Lord Cobham in our age, the veritee now open, which was, in her absens, a lampe of contempt before worldlye wyse men. In him, maye noble men beholde here plainlye a moost noble stomake and pretiouse faith, in the middes of great Antichrystes morde mustre: his corrage was of suche value that it gave hym the victory over them by the clere judgement of the

[31] Walden. *cont. Wiclev.* lib. ii. cap. 70. [32] *Acta Concilii Constanciencis Hermannus*, Shedel.
[33] Hebr. xi. Esay. x. Nahum iii. [34] *Viz.* the clergy. [35] [*al.* weigh.]
[36] Waldenus *in Sermone de Funere Regis.* [37] *al.* monethes. [38] Esay. iii. [39] Id. ib. [40] Apoc. xviii.
[41] The church of Rome forbids its priests to marry. [42] Walden *in utroque Opere.* [43] Esay.
[44] Rising *or* early.

Scryptures[45], what though the worldes judgement be farre otherwise: and as for the cruel death, which he most contumeliously suffred, it is now unto him a most plentuouse winning[46], for in the just quarell was it of his Lord Jesus Christ.

Myght those bloudy blusterers have had their full swaye now of late, they wolde have made more Oldcastells, Actons, Brownes, and Beverlays; yea, they wolde have made there a greater havocke upon Christes congregation, than ever did Paul in his raging furie[47]. They ment more than they uttered, whan they approched so nigh (as did cruell Haman) to the presence of noble Assuerus[48]. But, blessed be the eternall Father, whiche hath geven suche godlye wysdome unto our moost worthy Kyng, that he, perceyving their sleyghtes, so abated their tyrannouse fercenes. Praye noble men, pray; yea, with the true clergye and comunes, that lyke as he hath now with Duke Josue the overhande of wycked Hierico[49], by his onely gift, and is through that becomen an whole perfyght kyng[50] within his own realme farre above all his predecessours, so that he may in conclusion overthrow her clerely. For as yet the dredefull damsell[51] (Tirannye) that was Cayphas dorekeper, dwelleth in the houses[52] of bisshoppes, and dayly compelleth poore Petre to deny his master. As many eyes, as ever had vygylaunt Argus, had he nede to have, that is compassed with soch a sort, as are the broode of the wilye serpent. Consyder what heavenly things ye have receyved of the Scryptures undre hys permissyon, and yet pray ones again for his gratiouse continuance to the more increace of knowledge. Amen.

O Babylon, thy marchauntes were princes of the earth: and with thyne inchauntementes were all nations deceyved. Apocal. xviii.

The great Processe of Thomas Arundell, the Archbisshop of Caunterbury, and of the Papisticall Clergye with him; agaynst the most noble Knight, Sir Johan Oldcastell, the Lord Cobham; in the Yere of our Lord, a. M. cccc. and xiii. wherin is conteyned hys Examinacion, Imprisonnement, and Excommunication.

The Processe before his Examinacion.

AFTER that the true servaunt of Jesus Chryst, Johan Wicleve[53], (a man of very excellent lyfe and learning,) had for the space of more than xxvi. yeares, moost valeauntly battelled with the great Antichryst of Europa, or Pope of Rome, and his dyversly disgysed[54] host of anointed hypocrites, to restore the church again to the pure estate that Chryst left her in at hys ascensyon, he departed hens most Christenly into the handes of God, the yere of our Lord 1387, and was buried in his own parish-church of Lutterworth, in Lincolnshere[55]. No small nombre of godly disciples left that good man behynd hym, to defende the lowlynesse of the Gospell agaynst the exceading pryde, ambition, symony, avarice, ipocrysye, whoredom, sacrylege, tyrannye, ydolatrouse worshipinges, and other fylthy frutes of those stifnecked Pharysees. Agaynst whome Thomas Arundell, than Archbisshop of Caunterbury, so ferce as ever was Pharao, Antiochus, Herodes, or Cayphas, collected, in Paul's church at London, an universall sinode[56] of all the Papisticall clergye of England, in the yere of our Lord a. M. cccc. & xiii. as he had done diverse other afore, to withstand their moost godly enterpryse. And thys was the fyrst yere of King Henry the Fifth, whome they had than made fit for theyr hande.

[45] 1 Johan v. 1 Cor. xv. [46] Phil. i. Apol. 1. [47] Act. viii. [48] Hester v. [49] Josue vi.

[50] Having thrown off the supremacy and impositions of the Pope and See of Rome, and declared himself supreme head over all persons as well ecclesiastical as civil, in his dominions.

[51] Matth. xxvi. John xvii. [52] Walden, *in Sermone.* [53] *Ex Operibus et Scriptis Thomæ Waldeni.*

[54] Priests and friars, who dressed themselves in various sorts of habits. [55] It should be *Leicestershire.*

[56] Thomas Arundell, *in magno processu.*

As these hygh prelates, with theyr Pharysees and Scribes, were thus gathered in thys pestilent counsell against the Lord[57], and his worde; fyrst there resorted unto them the xii. inquisitours of heresyes, (whome they had apointed at Oxford the yere afore, to serche out heretikes, with all Wickcleves bokes,) and they brought two hundreth and lxvi faithfull conclusyons, whome they had collected as heresyes of the seyd bokes. The names of the seyd inquisitours were these[58]: Johan Witnam, a master in the New College, Johan Langedon, monke of Chry-Church in Caunterbury, William Ufforde, regent of the Carmelytes, Thomas Plaxton, regent of the Dominikes, Robert Gylbert, Rycharde Earthysdale, Johan Lucke, Rycharde Snedisham, Richarde Flemming, Thomas Rottborne, Robert Rondbery, and Rycharde Grafdale. In the meane season caused they theyr hyred servauntes to blowe it forth abroade throughout all the whole realme, that they were there congregated for an wholesome unitee and reformacion of the churche of Ingland, to stoppe so the mouthes of the comen people. Such is always the comen practise of these subtile sorcerers, whyls they are in doing mischief; to blere the eyes of the unlerned multytude, with one false craft or other.

After a certein communication, they concluded among themselves, that it was not possible for them to make whole Chrystes cote without seme, (meaning thereby their patched Popysh synagoge,) onlesse certeyn great men were brought out of the way, which semed to be the chefe mainteiners of the seyd dysciples of Wicleve. Among whome the most noble Knight Sir Johan Oldcastell, the Lord Cobham, was complained of by the generall proctours, yea rather betrayers, of Chryst in his faithfull membres, to be the chefe principall. Him they accused first, for a mighty maintener of suspected preachers in the dioceses of London, Rochester, and Herforde, contrary to the mindes of their ordynaries. Not only they affirmed him to have sent thyther the seid preachers, but also to have assisted them there, by force of armes: notwithstanding their sinodall constitution made afore to the contrarye. Last of all, they accused him, that he was farre otherwise in beleve of the sacrament of the altre, of penaunce, of pilgrymage, of ymage worshipping, and of the ecclesiastycall power, than the holy churche of Rome had taught many yeres afore. In the ende, it was concluded amonge them, that wythoute anye farther delaye, processe shulde oute agaynst hym, as agaynst a moost pernycyous heretike.

Som of that felloushyp, whyche were of more craftye experyence than the other, wold in no case have that mater so rashlye handeled, but thought thys way moche better: Consydering the seid Lord Cobham was a man of great byrthe, and in faver at that tyme with the kyng; theyr counsell was to know first the kynges mynde, to save all thynges right up. This counsell was well accepted: and therupon the Archbisshop, Thomas Arundell, wyth his other bisshoppes, and a great part of the clergye, went strayght wayes unto the kyng, as than remayninge at Kenyngton, and there layed forth moost grevous complayntes against the seid Lord Cobham, to his great infamy and blemysh, beinge a man moost godly.

The kyng gentilly harde those bloud-thursty ravenours, and, farre otherwise than became[59] his princelye dignitie, he instantly desyred them, that, 'in respect of his noble stock and knighthoode, they shuld yet favourably deal with him; and that they wold, if it were possible, without all rigour, or extreme handeling, reduce him againe to the churches unitee.' He promised them also, that in case they were not contented to take some delyberacion, his selfe wold seryously common the mater with him.

Anon after the kyng sent for the seyd Lord Cobham; and, as he was come, he called him secretly, admonishing him, betwixt him and him, to submit himselfe to hys mother the holy church, and, as an obedient child, to acknowledge himselfe culpable. Unto whome the Christen knight made this answere: 'You moost worthy prince, (saith he,) am I always prompt and wylling to obey; for so moche as I knowe you a Christen kyng, and the appointed minister of God[60], bearing the sworde to the punishement of all yll doers, and for

[57] Johan. iii. Psalm i. Psalm ii. [58] Walden, *in Fasciculo Zizaniorum Wiclevii.*

[59] Because he should not have stooped so low, as to yield to their arbitrary proceedings, but (by his supreme power) secured his good servant from their tyrannical usurpations. [60] Rom. xiii. 1 Pet. ii.

the savegarde of them that be vertuous: unto you, next my æternal God, owe I my whole obedience, and submit me thereunto, as I have done ever, all that I have eyther of fortune or nature; redy at all times to fulfill whatsoever ye shall in that[61] lorde commaund me. But as touching the Pope and hys spiritualty, truly I owe them neither sute nor service; for so moch as I knowe him by the Scriptures[62], to be the great Antichryste, the sonne of perdicyon, the open adversary of God, and the abhominacyon standing in the holy place." Whan the kyng had hearde this, with sochelyke sentences more; he wolde talke no longer with him, but lefte hym so utterly.

And, as the archbisshop resorted again unto him for an answere, he gave him his full auctoritee[63] to cyte him, examine him, and punysshe him, according to the develish decrees, whiche they call the lawes of holye church. Than the seyd archbisshop, by the counsell of hys other bisshoppes and clergye, appointed to call before him Sir Johan Oldcastell, the Lord Cobham, and to cause him personally to appeare to answere to suche suspect articles, as they shuld lay against him. So sent he forth his chefe sommener, with a very sharp citacion unto the Castell of Cowling[64], where as he at that tyme dwelt for his solace: and as the seyd sommener was thether comen, he durste in no case entre the gates of so noble a man, without his lycens; and therfore he returned home agayne, hys message not done. Than called the archbysshop one Johan Butler unto him, which was then the dorekeeper of the kynges prive chamber, and with him he covenaunted (through promises and rewards) to have this mater craftely brought to passe under the kynges name. Whereupon the seyd Johan Butler toke the archbysshops sommener with hym, and went unto the sayd Lord Cobham, shewing him, that it was the kynges pleasure that he shuld obeye that citacyon, and so cyted him fraudulently. Than said he unto them in fewe wordes, "That in no case wold he consent to those most develysh practises of the pryestes." As they had informed the archbisshop of that answere, and that it was mete for no man privately to cyte him after that, without parell of lyfe: he decreed, by-and-by, to have him cyted by publike processe, or open commaundment. And in all the hast possible, upon the Wednysday before the nativite of oure Ladye, in September, he commaunded letters citatory to be set upon the great gates of the cathedral church of Rochester (which was but iii. English myles from thens), charging him to appeare personally before him at Ledys in the xi. daye of the same moneth and yere, all excuses to the contrary set apart. Those letters were taken downe anon after, by such as bare faver unto the Lord Cobham, and so conveyed asyde. After that, caused the archbisshoppe newe letters to be set up on the nativitee daye of our Ladye, whiche also were rent downe, and utterly consumed.

Than for so moche as he did not appeare at the daye appoynted at Ledys (where as he sate in consistory, as cruell as ever was Cayphas, with his court of hipocrites about him) he judged him, denounced him, and condemned him of most depe contumacy. After that, whan he had bene falsely infourmed by his hired spyes, and other glosing glaverers[65], that the sayd Lord Cobham had lawghed him to scorne, disdayned all his doings, mainteined his old opinions, contemned the churches power, the dignite of a bisshop, and the ordre of the pryesthode, (for all these was he than accused,) in hys mody madnes without just profe, dyd he openly excomunicate him. Yet was he not with all this ferce tiranny qualifyed, but commaunded him to be cited afresh, to appeare afore him the Saturday before[66] the feast of St. Matthew the Apostle, with these cruell threatninges added thereunto: 'that, if he did not obeye at the daye, he wold more extremely handle him.' And, to make himselfe more strong towardes the performaunce thereof, he compelled the lay-power by most terrible menacinges of curses and interdictions, to assyst him against that sedicious apostate, schismatike, that heretike, that troubler of the publycke peace, that enemye of the realme, and great adversarye of all holy church; for all these hateful names dyd he give him.

[61] *Viz.* life and fortune. [62] 2 Thess. ii. Mat. xxiiii. [63] *Ex vetusto Exemplari Londinensium.*
[64] *al.* Towlynge. [65] Tale-bearers.
[66] After the feast of St. Matthew, it being the 23d, whereas St. Matthew falls on the 21st.

This most constaunt servaunt of the Lord, and worthy knight, Sir Johan Oldcastell, the Lord Cobham, beholding the unplacable fury of Antichryst, thus kindled against him; perceiving himself also compased on every side with deadly daungers; he toke paper and penne in hand, and so wrote a Christen confession or rekening of his faith, (whiche followeth hereafter,) and both signed and sealed it with his owne hande: wherin he also answereth to the iiii. chefest articles that the archbisshop layed against him. That doone; he tooke the copye with him, and went therewith to the kyng, trustinge to fynd mercy and faver at his hande. None other was that confession of his, than the common beleve, or somme of the churches faith, called the Apostles Crede, of all Christen men than used. As thus:

The Christen Beleve of Lord Cobham.

'I BELEVE in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth: and in Jesu Chryst his only Sonne our Lorde, whiche was conceyved by the Holy Gost, borne of the Virgyn Mary, suffred under Ponce Pilate, crucified, dead and buried; went doun to helle, the third daye rose againe from death, ascended up to heaven, sitteth on the right hande of God the Father Almightye, and from thens shall come agayne to judge the quicke and the dead. I beleve in the Holy Gost, the universall Holy Churche, the communion of sainctes, the forgevenes of sinnes, the uprising of the flesh, and everlasting life. Amen.

'And for a more large declaration (saith he) of this my faith in the Catholik church, I stedfastly beleve, that there is but one God Almighty, in and of whose godhead are these iij. parsonnes, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Gost; and that those iij. parsonnes are the same selfe GOD Almightye[67]. I beleve also that the seconde parsonne of this most blessed Trinite[68] (in most convenient tyme appointed thereunto afore) toke flesh and bloud of the most blessed Virgyn Mary, for the savegard and redempcion of the universall kynd of man, which was afore lost in Adam's offence. Moreover I beleve that the same Jesus Chryst our Lord, thus being both God and man, is the onely head of the whole Christen churche; and that all those that hath bene or shal be saved, be membres of this most holy churche. And this holy church I think to be divided in to iij. sortes or companyes.

'Whereof the first sort be now in heaven; and they are the sainctes from hens departed. These, as they were here conversaunt, confyrmed[69] alwayes their lyves to the most holye lawes and pure examples of Chryste, renouncyng Sathan, the worlde, and the flesh, wyth all their concupicences and evels. The second sort are in purgatory (if any such be[70] by the Scryptures) abydyng the mercy of GOD and a full delyveraunce of payne. The thyrde sorte are here upon the earth, and be called 'The Churche Mylytaunt'; for daye and nyght they contend agaynst the crafty assaultes of the devel, the flattering prosperities of thys worlde, and the rebellyouse fylthines of the fleshe.

'Thys latter congregation, by the juste ordinaunce of God, is also severed into iij. diverse estates; that is to say, into pryesthode, knighthode, and the comens[71]. Amonge whome the wyll of God is, that the one should ayde the other, but not destroye the other. The pryestes, fyrst of all, secluded from all worldlynesse, shuld conforme theyr lyves utterly to the examples of Chryst and his apostles. Evermore shulde they be occupied in preaching and teaching the Scryptures purely, and in geving wholsom counsels of good living to the other two degrees of men: more modest also, more loving, gentyll, and lowlye in spirite, shuld they be, than any other sortes of people.

'In knighthode are all they whyche beare sworde by lawe of office. These shuld defende God's lawes, and see that the Gospell were purely taught; conforming their lyves to the same, and secludynge all false preachers. Yea, these ought rather to hasard their lyves than to suffer such wycked decrees as eyther blemisheth the eternal Testament of God, or yet letteth the fre passage therof, wherby heresies and scismes might spring in the church.

[67] 1 Johan v. [68] Gal. iv. Johan i. Luc. ii. [69] *al.* conformed.
[70] Contrary wrote he, *ad Parliamentum. Ex Waldeno.* [71] *al.* commons.

For of none other aryse they, as I suppose, than of erronyous constitutions; craftely fyrst creping in under ypocrites lyes for avauntage. They ought also to preserve God's people from oppressors, tirauntes, and theves; and to see the clergie supported so long as they teache purely, pray rightly, and minister the sacramentes frely. And, if they see them do otherwise, they are bound by lawe of office, to compell them to chaunge theyr doinges, and to see all thinges performed according to God's prescript ordinaunce.

'The latter fellouship of this church are the common people, whose dewtye is to beare their good mindes and true obedience to the aforeseid ministers of God, theyr kinges, cyvile governours, and pryestes. The right office of these is, justly to occupy every man in his facultee, be it marchaundise, handycraft, or the tilthe of the grounde: and so one of them to be as an helper to another, followynge all wayes in theyr sortes the just commaundementes of theyr Lord God.

'Over and besydes all thys, I moost faythfully beleve that the sacramentes of Chrystes church are necessary to all Chrysten believers; thys alwayes sene to, that they be truly ministred according to Chrystes fyrst institucion and ordinaunce. And for so moch as I am malyciously and moost falsely accused of a misbeleve in the sacrament of the aulter, to the hurtful slaundre of many: I signifye here unto al men, that thys is my fayth concerning that. I beleve in that sacrament to be contayned very Christes body and bloude under the similytudes of breade and wyne; yea, the same body that was conceyved of the Holy Gost, borne of Mary the Virgyn, done on the cross, dyed, that was buried, arose the thyrde day from the death, and is now gloryfied in heaven. I also beleve the universall lawe of God to be moost true and perfight, and they which do not followe it in theyr fayth and workes, at one tyme or other, can never be saved: whereas he that seeketh it in faith, accepteth it, lerneth it, delighted therein, and perfourmeth it in love, shall tast for it the felicitee of everlasting innocencye.

'Finally, this is my faith also, that God wyll axe[72] no more of a Christen belever in this lyfe, but only to obey the preceptes of that moost blessed lawe. If any prelates of the churche require more, or els any other kynd of obedience, than thys to be used; he contemneth Chryst, exalting himselfe above God, and so becometh an open Antichryst. Al these premisses I beleve particularlye, and generally all that God hath left in his holy Scryptures, that I shuld beleve. Instauntly desiring you, me[73] lyege lord and moost worthy kyng, that thys confession of mine may be justly examined by the most godly, wise, and lerned men of your realme. And, if it be found in all points agreeyng to the veritee[74], than let it be so allowed; and I therupon holden for none other than a true Christiane. If it be proved otherwise, than let it be utterly condemned: provided alwaies, that I be taught a better beleve by the word of God; and I shall most reverently, at all tymes, obey therunto.'

Thys brefe confessyon of hys fayth the Lord Cobham wrote (as is mencyoned afore) and so took it with him to the courte, offerynge yt wyth all mekenesse unto the kyng to rede it over. The kyng wold in no case receive it, but commaunded yt to be delyvered unto them that should be his judges. Than desyred he, in the kynges presens, that an hondred knights and esquiers might be suffered to come in upon hys purgacyon; whiche, he knewe, wold clere him of all heresyes. Morover, he offred hymselfe after the lawe of armes, to fyght for lyfe or death with any man lyving, Christen or Heythen, in the quarel of his faith; the king and the lordes of his councell expected. Finally, with all gentilnesse he protested before all that were present, that he wold refuse no manner of correction that shuld after the lawes of God be ministred unto him, but that he wold at all tymes with all mekenes obey it. Notwithstandyng all thys; the kyng suffered him to be summoned personally in his own prevy chambre. Than sayed the Lord Cobham to the kyng, that "he had appealed from the Archbisshop to the Pope of Rome, and therfore he ought, he sayd, in no case to be his judge." And, having hys appeale there at hande redye written, he shewed yt wyth all reverence to the kyng. Wherwith the king was then moche more displeased than afore, and said angerly unto him, that "he shuld not pursue his appeale;

[72] Exact or require. [73] *al.* my. [74] Of Christ's words.

but rather he shuld tarry in hold, tyll such tyme as it were of the Pope allowed: and than (wold he or nyld he) the archbisshop shuld be his judge." Thus was there nothing allowed, that the good Lord Cobham had lawfully afore required. But for so moch as he wold not be sworn in all things to submit himselfe to the church, and so to take what penaunce the archbisshoppe wold enjoyne him; he was arested againe at the kinges commaundement, and so led forth to the Towre of Lonnon, to kepe his daye (so was it than spoken) that the archbisshop had appoynted hym afore in the kynges chambre.

Then caused he the aforsayd confessyon of his faith to be copyed agayne, and the answere also (whiche he had made to the iiij. articles proponed agaynst hym) to be wrytten in maner of an indenture, in two shetes of paper; that, whan he should come to his answere, he might give the one copye unto the archbisshop, and reserve the other to himselfe. As the daye of examinacion was comen, whiche was the xxiij. day of Septembre, the Saturday before the feast of St. Mathewe, Thomas Arundell, the Archbisshop, (sytting in Cayphas roume) in the Chapterhouse of Paules; wyth Rychard Clyfforde, Bisshop of London; and Henry Bolinbroke, Bisshop of Winchester; Sir Robert Morley, Knight, and Lefetenaunt of the Tower; brought personally before hym the seyd Lord Cobham, and there left hym for the time, unto whom the archbisshop said these wordes:

The first Examinacion of the Lord Cobham.

"SIR JOHAN, in the last general convocation of the clergye of thys our provynce, ye were detected of certein heresyes, and by sufficient witnesses founde culpable. Wherupon, ye were by forme of spirituall lawe cyted, and wolde in no case appeare. In conclusion; upon your rebellyous contumacie, ye were both privatelye and openlye excommunicated. Notwythstanding, we never yet shewed ourselfe unreadye to have geven you youre absolucion (nor yet do not to thys houre) wolde ye have mekelye axed it."

Unto this the Lord Cobham shewed as though he had geven none eare, having his mynde otherwise occupied, and so desyred none absolucion. But he sayd, "he wolde gladly before him and his brethern make rehersall of that fayth, which he helde and entended always to stande to, yf it wolde please them to lycens him thereunto." And than he toke out of hys bosome a certein writting endented, concerning the articles wherof he was accused, and so openly redde it before them, geving it unto the archbisshop, as he had made therof an ende.

Whereof this is the Copye:

[75] 'I JOHAN OLDCASTELL, Knight, and Lord Cobham, wyll all Chrysten men to understand, that Thomas Arundell, Archbisshop of Caunterbury, hath not onely laid it to my charge malytiously, but also very untruly by hys lettre and seale, written against me in most slaunderouse wyse that I should otherwyse fele[76] and teach of the sacramentes of the church (assigning specyally the sacrament of the aulter, the sacrament of penaunce, the worshipping of ymages, and the going of pilgrymage unto them) far otherwise than either beleveth or teacheth the universall holye churche. I take Almyghtye God unto wytnesse, that it hath bene and nowe is, and evermore wyth the helpe of God, yt shall be my full intent and wyll, to beleve faythfully and wholy all the sacramentes that ever God ordeined to be mynystred in the holy Church. And, morover, for to declare me in these iiij poynts, afore rehersed:

'I beleve that, in the most worshipful sacrament of the aulter, is Christ's very bodie in forme of bread, the same body that was borne of the blessed Virgin Mary, done on the crosse, dead, and buried, and that the thyrd day arose from death to lyfe, the whiche body is nowe glorified wyth the Father in Heaven. And as for the sacrament of penaunce, I beleve that it is nedefull to all them that shall be saved, to forsake theyr sinne

[75] *Ex utroque Exemplari.* [76] Think or understand.

and to do penaunce for it, wyth true contricion to God, confessyon of theyr fautes, and dewe satisfactyon in Chryste, like as God's lawes limiteth and teacheth; els can they have no salvation. This penaunce I desyre all men to do. And as for ymages, I understand that they perteyn nothing to our Chrysten beleve, but were permitted, long sins the faith was geven us of Christ, by sufferance of the church, for to be as kalenders unto layemen to represent or bring to mind the passion of our Lorde Jesus Chryst, with the martirdom and good living of the sainctes.

'I think also that whatsoever he whiche doth that worship to dead ymages, that is duely belonginge unto God; or that putteth his faith, hope, or confidence in the helpe of them, as he shuld do only in his eternall lyving God; or that hath affection in one more than in another; he perpetrateth, in so doing, the abhominable sin of idolatry. Moreover, in this am I fully perswaded, that every man dwellynge on thys ærth is a pilgrym, eyther towardes blesse, or els towardes payne[77].

'And that he which knoweth not, nor wyll not know, nor kepe the holy commaundementes of God in hys lyving here (all be it that he goeth on pylgrymage into all quarters of the worlde) yf he departeth so; he shall surely be dampned. Agayne, he that knoweth the holy commaundementes of God, and so perfourmeth them to the ende of his lyfe to his power; shal without fayle be saved in Chryst[78], thoughe he never in his lyfe go on pylgrimage, as men use now-a-daies to Caunterbury, Walsingham, Compostell, and Rome, or to anye other places.'

This answere to his artycles, thus ended and redde; he delyvered yt to the bisshops as is sayde afore. Than counseled the archbisshop wyth the other two bisshoppes, and with dyverse of the doctours, what was to be done in thys matter; commaunding him for the tyme to stand aside. In conclusion, by theyr assent and informacion, he sayd thus unto him:

'Come hider, Sir Johan: in thys your writtinge are many good thinges conteyned, and ryght catholyck also, we deny yt not: but ye must consyder, that thys daye was appoynted you to answere to other poynts concerning those articles, whereof as yet no mencion is made in thys your byll; and therefore ye must yet declare us your minde more plainly. As thus, Whether that ye holde, affirme, and beleve, that in the sacrament of the aulter, after the consecracion rightly done by a pryest, remaineth materyall bread or not? Moreover, Whether ye do hold, affirme, and beleve, that as concerning the sacrament of penaunce (wheras a competent nombre of pryests are) every Chrysten manne is necessarely bound to be confessed of hys synnes to a pryest ordayned by the churche or not?'

After certein other communication, thys was the answere of the good Lord Cobham: 'That none otherwise would he declare his minde, nor yet answere unto hys artycles, than was expresselye in his writtinge there conteyned.'

Than sayd the archbishop againe unto him: 'Sir Johan, beware what ye do; for, if ye answere not clerely to those thinges that are here objected against you, specially at the tyme appointed you only for that purpose, the lawe of holy church is, that compelled ones by a judge, we may openly proclayme ye an heretike.'

Unto whome he gave this answere: 'Do as ye shall thinke it best, for I am at a poynt.'

Whatsoever he or the other bisshoppes did axe him after that, 'he bad them resort to his byll, for therby wold he stande to the verye death.' Other answere wolde he not geve that day; wherewith the bisshoppes and prelates were in a maner amased and wonderfullye desquyeted. At the last, the archbisshop counseled again with his other bisshoppes and doctours. And in the end therof declared unto him, what the holy church of Rome, following the sayinges of St. Austyn, St. Hierom, St. Ambrose, and of other holy doctours, had determined in the sayd matter; (no maner of mencion ones made of

[77] Genes. xxiii. Ps. ii. [78] Note, here is no mention of purgatory; we are saved in CHRIST, without purgatory.

Chryst;) ' which determinacion (sayth he) ought all Chrysten menne both to beleve and to followe.'

Than said the Lord Cobham unto him, that ' he wolde gladly bothe beleve and observe what soever the holy church of Christes institucion had determined, or yet what soever God had willed him eyther to beleve, or to do. But that the Pope of Rome, with his cardinalls, archbysshoppes, bysshoppes, and other prelates of that church, had laufull power to determyne suche matters as stode not wyth his worde throughly, that wolde he not (he sayd) at that tyme affyrme.' Wyth thys, the archbysshoppe bad hym to take good advysement tyll the Mondaye nexte followinge (whiche was the xxv. daye of Septembre) and than justly to answere, speciallye unto thys poynte, ' Whether there remayned materyall breade in the sacrament of the aulter, after the wordes of consecracion, or not?' He promysed hym also to sende unto him, in wryttinge, those maters clerely determined, that he myght than be the more perfyghte in hys answere-making. And all this was not els but to blynde the multitude with somwhat. The nexte day following, (according to hys promes,) the archbisshoppe sent unto hym, into the Towre, thys folysh and blasphemouse writting, made by hym and by hys unlerned clergye.

The Determinacion[79] of the Archbysshoppe and Clergye.

' THE faith and determinacion of the holy church, touching the blesfull sacrament of the aulter, is this: That, after the sacramentall wordes be ones spoken by a pryest, in his masse, the materyall bread, that was before bread, is turned into Chrystes very body; and the materyall wyne, that was before wyne, is turned into Chrystes very bloud: and so there remayneth in the sacrament of the aulter, from thens forth, no materyall breade, nor materyall wyne, whiche were there, before the sacramentall wordes were spoken. How beleve ye this artycle?

' Holy churche hath determined, that every Chrysten man, lyving here bodyly upon earth, ought to be shriven[80] to a pryest, ordeyned by the church, if he may come to him. How fele ye thys artycle?

' Christ ordeyned Sainct Peter the Apostle to be his Vicar here in earth, whose see is the holy Church of Rome; and he graunted, that the same power, which he gave unto Peter, shulde succede to al Peter's successours, whiche we call now Popes of Rome. By whose speciall power, in churches particular, be ordeyned prelates, as archbisshops, bishops, parsons, curates, and other degrees more; unto whome Christen menne ought to obeye, after the lawes of the church of Rome. Thys is the determinacion of holy church. How fele ye this artycle?

' Holy church hath determined, that it is meritoryous to a Christen man to go on pilgrymage to holy places, and there specially to worship holy relyques, and ymages of sainctes, apostles, martirs, confessours, and all other saintes besydes, approved by the church of Rome. Howe fele ye thys artycle?'

And, as the good Lord Cobham had red over thys moost wretched writtynge, he marveled greatly of their madde ignoraunce. But that he consydered agayne, that God had geven them over, for theyr unbeleves sake, into moost depe errours, and blindnesse of soule. Agayne, he perseyved herby, that theyr uttermoost malyce was purposed against him, how soever he shulde answere; and therfore he put his lyfe into the handes of God, desyring his onely Spirit to assist him in his next answere. Whan the sayd xxv. daye of Septembre was come (which was also the Monday afore Myghelmasse) in the sayd yere of our Lord M. cccc. and xiij. Thomas Arundell, the Archbisshop of Caunterbury, commaunded his judicyall seate to be removed[81] from that Chapterhouse of Pauls to the Dominike Fryers, wythin Ludgate, at London. And, as he was there set with Rychard, the Bisshop of London; Henry, the Bisshop of Winchester; and Benet, the Bisshop of Ban-

[79] *Ex magno processu Thomæ Arundeli.* [80] Confessed. [81] *Ex utroque Exemplari.*

gor; he called in unto him his counsell and his officers, with diverse other doctours and fryers; of whom these are the names here followynge:

Master Henry Ware, the Officyall of Caunterbury.

Philip Morgan, Doctour of both Lawes; Howell Kiffin, Doctour of the Canon Lawe; Johan Kempe, Doctour of the Canon Lawe; Willyam Carleton, Doctour of the Canon Lawe; Johan Witnam, of the New College, in Oxford; Johan Whighthead, a Doctour, of Oxforde: also Robert Wonbewell, Vicar of Saint Laurence in the Jewry[82]; Thomas Palmer, the Warden of the Mynors; Robert Chamberlayne, Prior of the Dominickes; Rychard Dodington, Prior of the Augustines; Thomas Walden, Prior of the Carmelites; all Doctours of Divinitie: Johan Stevens also, and James Cole, both notaries, appointed there purposly to write all that shuld be eyther sayd or done. All these, with a great sort more of pryestes, monks, chanons, fryers, parish-clarks, belringers, and pardoners, disdained him with innumerable mockes and scornes, rekening him to be an horrible heretik, and a man accursed afore God.

Anon, the archbysshoppe called for a masse-boke, and caused all those prelates and doctoures to sweare there upon, that everye man shulde faythfullye doo hys offyce and dewtye that daye; and that, neyther for faver nor feare, love nor hate, of the one partye nor the other, any thinge shuld ther be witnessed, spoken, or done, but according to the trueth, as they wold answere before God, and all the world, at the daye of dome. Than were the two forseyd notaries sworne also to wryte and to witnes the wordes and processe, that there shuld be uttered on both partyes, and to saye their minds (if they otherwise knewe it) before they shuld regester it. And all thys dissimulacion was but to colour their mischeves before the ignoraunte multytude.

Consydre herin (gentyll Reader) what this wicked generacion is, and how farre wyde from the just feare of God; for, as they were than, so are they yet to this daye.

After that, came forth before them Sir Robert Morley, Knight, and Lefetenaunt of the Towre, and he brought with him the good Lord Cobham, there leaving him among them, as a lambe among wolves, to his examinacion and answere.

The latter Examinacion[83] of the Lord Cobham.

THAN sayd the archbysshoppe unto hym: 'Lord Cobham, ye be advesed (I am sure) of the wordes and processe which we had unto you, upon Saturday last past, in the Chapterhouse of Paules; which proces were now to long to be rehersed agayne. I sayd unto you than, that ye were accursed[84] for your contumacy and disobedience to holy church, thinking that ye shulde, with mekenes, have desired your absolucion.'

Than spake the Lord Cobham, with a moost cherefull contenaunce, and sayd: 'God sayth, by his holy prophet[85], *Maledicam benedictionibus vestris*, which is as moch to say, as, 'I shall curse, wheras you blesse.'

The archbisshop made than, as though he had continued forthe hys tale, and not heard hym, saying: 'Sir, at that tyme I gentilly proferd to have assoyled[86] you, if ye wold have asked it; and yet I do the same, if ye wyll humbly desyre it in due forme and maner, as holy church hath ordeined.'

Than sayd the Lord Cobham: "Naye, forsoth, wyll I not; for I never yet trespased against you, and therfore I wyll not do it." And, with that, he kneeled down on the pavement, holding up hys handes towardes heaven, and sayd: "I shryve me here unto the, my eternall, lyvynge God, that, in my frayle youth, I offended the (Lord) most grevously in pryde, wrath, and glottony, in covetousnes, and lechery. Many men have I hurt in mine angre, and done manye other horryble synnes: good Lord, I aske the mercy." And therwith, wepingly, he stode up againe, and sayd, with a mighty voyce: "Lo, good people, lo; for the breaking of God's lawe, and his great commaundementes, they[87]

[82] London. [83] *Ex vetusto Exemplari Londinensium.* [84] Excommunicated. [85] Malac. ii.
[86] Pardoned, *or* absolved. [87] The popish ecclesiasticks.

never yet cursed me; but, for theyr owne lawes and tradicions, most cruelly do they handle both me, and other men; and therfore both they and theyr lawes, by the promes of God[88], shall utterly be destroied."

At this, the archbisshop and hys companye were not a lytle blemyshed. Notwithstanding, he toke stomake unto hym agayn, after certein wordes had in excuse of theyr tyrannye, and examined the Lord Cobham of his Christen beleve.

Wherunto the Lord Cobham made thys godly answere: "I beleve (sayth he) fullye and faythfullye the unyversall lawes of God. I beleve, that all is true, which is conteyned in the holy sacred scryptures of the Byble. Finally, I beleve all, that my Lord God wolde I shulde beleve."

Than demaunded the archbisshop an answer of the byll, which he and the clergy had sent him into the Tower the daye afore, in maner of a determinacyon of the church concerning the iiij. articles wherof he was accused, specially for the sacrament of the aulter, how he beleved therin?

Whereunto the Lord Cobham sayd, "that with that byll he had nothing to do. But this was his beleve (he sayd) concerning the sacrament: that his Lord and Saver Jesus Chryst, sitting at his last supper, with his moost dere disciples, the night before he shuld suffer, toke bread in his hand. And, geving thankes to his Eternall Father, blessed it, brake it, and so gave it unto them, saying: 'Take it unto ye, and eate thereof all; this is 'my body which shall be betraied for you; do this hereafter in my remembraúnce.' This do I thoroughly beleve (saith he), for this faith am I taught of the Gospell in Mathew, in Marke, and in Luke, and also in the first epistle of St. Paull to the Corinthianes[89]."

Than asked the archbisshoppe, "If he beleved that it were bread *after* the consecracion or sacramental words spoken over it?"

The Lord Cobham sayd: "I beleve that in the sacrament of the aulter is Chrystes very body, in fourme of breade, the same that was born of the Virgyn Mary, done on the crosse, dead and buried, and that the thyrd day arose from death to lyfe, whych nowe is glorified in Heaven."

Than sayd one of the doctors of the lawe, "After the sacramental words be uttered, there remaineth no breade, but the onely body of Chryst."

The Lord Cobham sayd than to one master Johan Whighthead, "You sayd ones unto me in the Castell of Coulynge[90], that the sacred host was not Chrystes body; but I held than against you, and proved that therin was his body, though the seculars[91] and fryers[92] could not therin agree, but helde yche one against other in that opinyon. These were my wordes than, yf ye remembre it."

Than shouted a sort of them together, and cryed with a great noyse: "We say all it is God's body."

And dyverse of them asked hym in great angre, "Whether it were materiall bread after the consecracion, or not?"

Than loked the Lord Cobham ærnestly upon the archbisshop, and sayde: "I beleve surely that it is Chrystes body in fourme of breade. Sir, beleve not you thus?"

And the archbisshoppe sayd: "Yes, mary do I."

Than asked him the doctours: "Whether it were onely Chrystes body *after* the consecracion of a pryest, and no bread, or not?"

And he sayd unto them: "It is both Chrystes body and bread. I shall prove it as thus; for lyke as Chryst, dwelling here upon the earth, had in him both Godhead and Manhead; and had the invisible Godhead covered under that Manhead, which was only visible and seane in him: so, in the sacrament of the aulter, is Christes very body and very bread also, as I beleve the breade is the thyng, that we see with our eyes; the body of Christ (which is his flesh and his bloud) is there under hydde and not seane but *in faith*."

[88] Hiere. li. Apoc. xviii. [89] Math. xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii. 1 Cor. xi. [90] *al.* Towlynge.
[91] Secular, or the parish priests.
[92] Regulars, or priests that live in monasteries, following the orders or rules of Dominick, Benedict, &c.

Than smyled they yche one upon other, that the people shulde judge hym taken in a greate heresye: and wyth a great bragge, diverse of them sayde: "It is a foule heresy."

Than asked the archbisshop, "What breade it was?" and the doctours also inquired of him, "Whether it were materiall or not?"

The Lord Cobham sayd unto them: "The Scryptures maketh no mencion of this worde *materiall*, and therefore my fayth hath nothing to do therwith; but thys I say and beleve it, that it is Chrystes bodye and bread; for Chryst sayde in the syxt of Johans Gospell: *Ego sum panis vivus, qui de celo descendi*, i. e. 'I whiche came down from Heaven, am the living and not the dead bread.' Therfore, I say now agayn, like as I said afore, As our Lord Jesus Chryst is very God and very Man, so, in the most blessed sacrament of the aulter, is Chrystes very body and breade."

Than seyd they all with one voyce: "It is an heresye."

One of the bisshoppes stode up by-and-by, and sayd: "What, it is an heresye manyfest, to say that it is breade after the sacramentall worde be ones spoken, but Chrystes body onely."

The Lord Cobham sayd: "St. Paule, the Apostle, was (I am sure) as wyse as you be nowe, and more godlye lerned; and he called yt breade, wrytting[93] to the Corinthianes: 'The breade that we breake, (sayth he,) is it not the partaking of the body of Chryst?' Lo, he calleth it breade and not Chrystes body, but a meane whereby we receyve Chrystes body."

Than sayd they agayne: "Paule must be otherwise understanded; for it is surely an heresye to saye that it is breade after the consecracion, but onely Chrystes body."

The Lord Cobham asked, "Howe they coulde make good that sentence of theyrs?"

They answered him thus: "For it is against the determinacion of the holy church."

Than sayde the archbisshop unto hym: "Sir Johan, we sent you a wrytting concerning the faith of thys blessed sacrament clerely determined by the church of Rome, our mother, and by the holy doctours."

Than sayd he again unto him: "I knowe none holyer than is Chryst and hys Apostles; and as for that determinacion, I wote, it is none of theyrs, for it standeth not with the Scryptures, but manifestly against them. If it be the churches, as ye say it is, it hath bene hers onely sins she received the greate poyson of worldly possessions, and not afore."

Than asked they hym, to stoppe his mouth therwith, "If he beleved not in the determinacion of the church?"

And he said unto them: "No, forsooth, for it is no God. In all our crede is IN but thryse mencioned, concerning beleve; IN God the Father, IN God the Sonne, IN God the Holy Gost. The byrthe, the death, the buriall, the resurrection, and ascensyon of Chryst hath none IN for beleve, but IN hym. Neyther yet hath the church, the sacramentes, the forgevenes of synne, the latter resurrection, nor yet the life everlasting any other IN, than IN the Holy Gost."

Than sayd one of the lawiers: "Tush, that was but a worde of office. But what is your beleve concerning holy church?"

The Lord Cobham answered: "My beleve is (as I sayde afore) that all the scryptures of the sacred Byble are true. All that is grounded upon them I beleve throughly; for, I know, it is God's pleasure that I shuld so do. But in youre lordly lawes and ydell determinacions have I no beleve; for ye be no part of Chrystes holy churche, as your open dedes doth shew. But ye are very Antichrystes, obstinately set agaynst his holy lawe and wyll. The lawes, that ye have made, are nothing to his glorye, but onely for your vayne glory and abhominable covetousnes."

This, they said, was an exceading heresy (and that in a great fume) not to beleve the determinacion of holy church.

Than the archbisshop asked him: "What he thought holy church?"

He sayd unto hym: "My beleve is, that holy church is the nombre of them, whiche

[93] 2 Cor. x.

shall be saved, of whom Chryst is the head. Of this church one part is in Heaven with Chryst, another in purgatory (you say), and the third is here in ærth. This latter part standeth in thre degrees, in knighthode, pryesthode, and the comunaltee, as I sayde afore plainly, in the confessyon of my beleve."

Than saide the archbisshop unto him: "Can ye tell me, who is of this church?"

The Lord Cobham answered: "Yea, truly can I."

Than said[94] Doctor Walden, the pryor of the Carmelytes: "It is a doubte unto you who is therof; for Christ sayth in Math. *Nolite judicare*, i. e. 'Presume to judge no man.' If ye here be forbidden the judgment of your neighbour or brother, moche more the judgment of your superiour."

The Lord Cobham made him thys answere, "Chryst sayth also in the selfe same chapter of[95] Math. that, 'lyke as the yll tree is knowen by hys yll frute, so is a false prophet, by his workes, appeare they never so gloryous;' but that ye left behind ye. And in Johan[96] he hath this text: *Operibus credite?* i. e. 'Beleve you the outward doings?' And in another place of Johan: *Justum judicium judicate*, i. e. 'Whan we knowe the thing to be true, we may so judge it, and not offende;' for David[97] sayth also: *Recte judicate, filii hominum*, i. e. 'Judge rightly alwayes, ye children of men.' And as for your superioritee, were ye of Chryst, ye shuld be meke ministers, and no proude superiours."

Than sayd Doctour Walden unto hym: "Ye make here no difference of judgments; ye put no diversitee between the yll judgements, which Chryst hath forbidden, and the good judgementes, which he hath commaunded us to have; rash judgement and right judgement, all is one with you; so is judgement presumed and judgement of office, so swift judges alwayes are the lerned scolers of Wiclive."

Unto whome the Lord Cobham thus answered: "It is wel sophistried of you, forsooth; preposterouse are your judgements ever more; for as the prophet Esay sayth[98], 'Ye judge yll good, and good yll;' and therefore the same prophet[99] concludeth, that 'your wayes are noe God's wayes, nor God's ways your wayes.' And as for that vertuouse man Wicleve, whose judgements ye so hyghelye disdayne; I shall saye here for my part both before God and man, That, before I knewe that dispised doctrine of his, I never absteyned from synne[100]. But, syns I lerned therin to fear my Lorde God, it hath otherwise, I trust, bene with me; so moch grace would I never finde in all your gloriouse instructions."

Than sayde Doctor Walden agayn yet unto hym: "It were not well wyth me, so many vertuous men lyving and so many lerned men teaching the Scryptures, being also so open, and the examples of fathers so plentuouse, if I than had no grace to amende my lyfe till I hearde the devell preache. St. Hierom saith, that he, whyche seketh suche suspected masters, shall not fynde the mydday lyght, but the mydday devell[101]."

The Lord Cobham said: "Your fathers, the olde Pharisees, ascribed[102] Chrystes miracles to Belzebub, and his doctrine to the devell; and you, as their naturall children, have still the selfe same judgement, concernyng his faithfull followers. They, that rebuke your vicious lyvinge, must needs be heretykes; and that must your doctours prove, whan ye have no Scryptures to do it."

Than said he to them all: "To judge you as ye be, we nede no further go, than your own propre actes. Where do ye find in all God's lawes, that ye shuld thus syt in judgement of any Christen men, or yet sentens anye other man unto death, as ye do here dayly? No ground have ye in all the Scryptures so lordely to take it upon ye, but in Annas and in Cayphas, which sate thus upon Chryst; and upon his Apostles after his ascensyon. Of them onely have ye taken it to judge Chrystes members, as ye do, and neyther of Peter nor Johan."

Than sayde some of the lawyers: "Yes, forsoth, sir, for Chryst judged Judas."

The Lord Cobham sayd: "No, Chryst judged him not, but he judged himselfe, and

[94] Walden. *contr. Wiclivistas*, lib. iii. cap. 67. [95] Math. vii. [96] Johan v. ib. vii. Deut. i.
[97] Psalm. lvi. [98] Esay v. [99] Esay lv. [100] Walden. *in Prefacione Doctrina* 7.
[101] *Hieron. in Breviari in Minori.* [102] Luke xi. Johan x.

therupon went forth, and so did hang himselfe. But, indede, Chryst sayd, 'Wo unto him,' for that covetous act of his, as he doth yet styll unto many of you; for, sens the venime was shed into the church, ye never followed Chryst; neither yet have ye stand in the perfection of God's lawe[103]."

Than asked him the archbisshoppe, "What he ment by that venime?"

The Lord Cobham sayd: "Your possessyons and lordshippes. For than cryed an aungell in the ayre (as your owne Chronycles mencioneth[104]), 'Wo, wo, wo, this day is venime shedde into the church of God.' Before that tyme all the bisshops of Rome were martirs in a maner; and sens that time we rede of very few. But, indede, sens that same time, one[105] hath put down another, one hath poysoned another, one hath cursed another, and one hath slayne another, and done much more mischiefe besides, as all the chronycles telleth. And let all men consydre well thys, that Christ was meke and mercifull; the Pope is proud and a tiraunt. Christ was pore and forgave; the Pope is riche and a most cruell manslayer, as his dayly actes doth prove him. Rome is the very nest of Antichryst; and out of that nest cometh all his disciples: of whom prelates, priestes, and monkes are the body, and these pylde [106] fryers are the tayle, whyche couvereth his moost fylthy part."

Then sayd the pryor of the Fryre Augustines, "Alac, sir, why do ye say so? That is uncharitably spoken."

And the Lord Cobham said: "Not onely is it my saying, but also the prophet Esayes, longe afore my tyme. 'The prophet, sayth he[107], which preacheth lyes, is the tayle behinde.' As you fryers and monks be lyke the Pharisees, divided in your outward apparell and usages, so make ye divisyon among the people; and thus you, with such other, are the very naturall membres of Antichryst."

Than sayd he unto them all: "Chryst sayth in his Gospell[108]: 'Wo to you Scribes and Pharisees, ypocrites; for ye close up the kingdom of Heaven, before men; neither entre ye in yourselves, nor yet suffre any other that would entre into it.' But ye stop up the wayes thereunto with your owne tradicions, and therfore are ye the houshold of Antichryst; will not permit God's verytee to have passage, nor yet to be taught of his true ministers, fearinge to have your wickednes reproved? But, by such vayne flatterers as upholde you in your mischeves, ye suffre the common people moost miserably to be seduced."

Than sayd the archbisshop: "By oure Lady, sir, there shall no suche preach within my diocese, (and God wyll) not yet in my jurisdiction, (yf I may knowe yt) as either maketh division or yet dissension amonge the poore commons."

The Lord Cobham sayd; "Both Chryst and his Apostles were accused[109] of sedicion making, yet were they most peceable men. Both Daniell[110] and Chryst prophecyed, that such a[111] troublous tyme shulde come, as hath not bene yet sens the worldes beginning: and this prophecye is partly fulfylled in your daies and doinges. For many have ye slaine alredy, and more wyll ye sle here after, if God fulfil not his promes. Chryst saith also, 'If those dayes of yours were not shortened, scarsly shuld any flesh be saved.' Therfore loke for it justly, for God wyll shorten your dayes. Moreover, though pryestes and deacons, for preaching of God's word, and for ministring the sacramentes, with provision for the pore, be grounded in God's lawe; yet have these other sectes no maner of ground therof, so farre as I have red."

Than a doctour of lawe, called master Johan Kempe, plucked out of his bosome a copye of that byll, whiche they had afore sent him into the Tower, by the archbisshops councell, thinking therby to make shorter worke with him. For they were so amased with his answeres (not al unlike to them which dysputed wyth Steven[112]) that they knewe not well howe to occupye the tyme, there wyttes and sophistry (as God wolde) so fayled them, that daye.

[103] *Geraldus Cambrensis*, dist. i. cap. 17. [104] *Ranulphus Cestrensis in Polychro.* lib. iv. cap. 26.
[105] Pope. [106] Shaven. [107] Esay ix. [108] Math. xxiii. [109] Luke xxiii. Joan. xvi.
[110] Daniell xii. [111] Math. xxiv. [112] Acts vi.

"My Lord Cobham (sayth this doctour), we must brefely know your mynde concerning these four poyntes here following. The fyrst of them is thys." And than he redde upon the byll. "The fayth and the determinacion of holy church, touching the blessed sacrament of the aulter, is this: that, after the sacramentall wordes be ones spoken by a pryest in hys masse, the materiall breade, that was before breade, is turned into Chrystes very bodye; and the materiall wyne, that was before wyne, is turned into Chrytes very bloude. And so there remaineth in the sacrament of the aulter from thens forth no materiall bread, nor materiall wyne, which were there before the sacramentall wordes were spoken: Sir, beleve ye not this?"

The Lord Cobham sayd: "This is not my beleve. But my fayth is (as I sayd to you afore) that, in the worshypfull sacrament of the aulter, is very Chrystes body, in fourme of breade."

Than said the archbisshop, "Sir Johan, ye must say otherwise."

The Lord Cobham sayd: "Naye, that I shall not, if God be upon my syde (as I trust he is), but that there is Chrystes body in fourme of breade, as that comen[113] beleve is."

Than redde the doctor agayne.

The second poynt is this: "Holy church hath determined that every Chrysten man, lyving here bodely upon earth, ought to be shryven to a pryest ordeined by the church, if he may come to him: Sir, what say ye to this?"

The Lord Cobham answered and sayd: "A diseased or sore wounded man had nede to have a sure wyse chyrurgion and a true, knowing both the ground and the daunger of the same. Moost necessary were it, therfore, to be fyrst shriven unto God, whiche only knoweth our diseases and can helpe us. I deny not[114] in this the going to a pryest, if he be a man of good lyfe and lerninge; for the lawes of God are to be required of the pryest, which is godly lerned; but, if he be an ydiote or a man of vicious lyving that is my curate[115], I ought rather to flee from him, than to seke unto him. For sonner might I catche yll of him, that is nought, than any goodnesse towardes my soules helth."

Than redde the doctour agayne.

The third point is this: Chryste ordeined Sainct Peter the Apostle, to be his vicar here in ærth, whose see is the church of Rome: and he graunted that the same power, which he gave unto Peter, shulde succede to all Peter's successours, which we call now Popes of Rome. By whose speciall powr in churches partycular be ordeined prelates, as archbisshops, parsons, curates, and other degrees more: unto whom Chrysten men ought to obeye after the lawes of the church of Rome. This is the determinacion of holy church. Sir, beleve ye not this?"

To this he answered and sayd: "He, that followeth Peter moost nighest in pure lyving, is next unto him in succession. But your lordely ordre estemeth not greatly the lowly behaver of pore Peter, whatsoever ye prate of him. Neither care ye greatlye for the humble maners of them that succeded him tyll the tyme of Silvestre[116], which for the more part were martirs, as I tolde ye afore. Ye can lett all their good conditions go by you, and not hurt your selves with them at all. All the worlde knoweth thys well inough by you, and yet ye can make boast of Peter."

With that one of the other doctours axed him: "Than what do ye say of the Pope?"

The Lord Cobham answered: "As I said before; he and you together maketh whole the great Antichryst. Of whom he is the great heade, you bysshops, priestes, prelates, and monkes are the body, and the begging fryers are the tayle; for they couver the filthinesse of you both, with their subtyle sophistrye. Never will I in conscience obey any of you all, tyll I see you with Peter follow Chryst in conversation."

Than redde the doctour agayne.

The fourth poynt is this: "Holy church hath determined that it is meritoriouse to a

[113] *al.* common. [114] Wald. 2. [115] Parish minister or priest.

[116] Silvester I. for, as Platina confesseth, Silvester II. sold himself to the devil, for his help to gain the popedom.

Chrysten manne to go on pilgrymage to holy places: and there specially to worship holy relikes and ymages of sainctes, apostles, martirs, confessours, and all other sainctes besydes approved by the church of Rome. Sir, what say ye to this?"

Wherunto he answered: "I owe them no service by any commaundment of God, and therfore I minde not to seke them for your covetousnes. It were best ye swept them fayre from cobwebs and duste, and so layed them up for catching of scathe; or els to bury them fayre in the ground, as ye do other aged people whiche are God's ymages. It is a wonderfull thyng, that sainctes, now being dead, shuld become so covetuous and nedye, and therupon so bytterly begge, which, al their lyfe-time, hated all covetousnesse and begginge. But this I saye unto you, and I wold all the world shuld marke it: That with your shrines and idolles, your fayned absolutions and pardons, ye drawe unto you the substaunce, welthe, and chefe pleasurs of all Chrysten realmes."

"Why, sir, (said one of the clerkes,) wyll ye not worship good ymages?"

"What worship shuld I geve unto them?" said the Lord Cobham.

Than sayde fryer Palmer unto him: "Sir, ye wyll worshyp the crosse of Chryst, that he dyed upon?"

"Where is it?" sayd the Lord Cobham.

The fryer sayde: "I put the case, sir, that it were here even now before you?"

The Lord Cobham answered: "This is a great wyse manne, to put me an ærnest question of a thyng, and yet he his selfe knoweth not where the thyng itselfe is. Yet ones againe aske I you, What worship I shuld do unto it?"

A clerke said unto him: "Such worship as Paull speaketh[117] of, and that is this: 'God forbidde that I shuld joye but onely in the crosse of Jesuchrist."

Than sayd the Lord Cobham; and spreade his armes abroade: "This is a very crosse; yea, and so moche better than your crosse of woode, in that it was created of God. Yet, will not I seke to have it worshipped."

Than said the bisshop of London, "Sir, ye wote wel that he died on a materiall crosse?"

The Lord Cobham sayd: "Yea, and I wote also, that our salvacion came not in by that materiall crosse, but alone by him which dyed therupon. And well I wote, that holy Saint Paull rejoysed in none other crosse, but in Chrystes passion and death onely, and in his own sufferings of like persecution with him, for the selfe same veritee, that he had suffred for afore."

An other clerke yet asked him: "Wyll ye than do none honour to the holy crosse?"

He answered him: "Yes, if he were myne, I wolde lay him up honestlye, and see unto him, that he shuld take no more scathes abroade, nor be robbed of his goodes as he is now-a-dayes."

Than sayd the archbisshop unto him; "Sir Johan, ye have spoken here many wonderfull wordes to the slaundrous rebuk of the whole spiritualtee, geving a great yll example unto the common sort, here, to have us in the more disdayne. Moche time have we spent here, abought you, and al in vaine, so farre as I can see. Well, we must be now at this short poynt with you, for the day passeth away; ye muste eyther submit your selfe to the ordinaunce of holy church, or els throwe your selfe (no remedy) into moost depe daunger. See to it, in tyme, for anon it will be els to late."

The Lord Cobham said: "I know not to what purpose I shulde otherwise submitte me. Moch more have you offended me, than ever I offended you, in thus troubling me before thys multitude."

Than sayd the archbisshop agayne unto hym: "We ones again require you to remembre your selfe wel, and to have none other opinion in these maters, than the universall fayth and beleve of the holy church of Rome is: and so, lyke an obedient child, to returne again to the unitee of your mother. See to it, I say, in tyme, for yet ye may have remedy, where as anon it will be to late."

[117] Gal. vi.

The Lord Cobham sayd expressely before them all: "I will none otherwise beleve in these poyntes, than I have tolde ye here afore. Do with me what ye will."

Finally, than the archbishop sayd: "Wel than I see none other, but we muste nedes do the lawe; we must procede forth to the sentence diffinitive, and both judge ye and condempne ye for an heretike."

And wyth that the archbysshoppe stode up, and redde there a byll of his condempnacion; all the clergye and laytee avaylyng[118] their bonnettes. And this was therof the tenour[119].

The diffinitive Sentence of his Condempnacion.

IN Dei nomine, Amen. *Nos Thomas permissione divinâ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ Archiepiscopus, Metropolitanus, totius Angliæ primas, & Apostolicæ sedis legatus*, and so forth, in barbarous Latin; which we have here translated into Inglish for a more playne understanding to the reader:

'In the name of God: so be it. We, Thomas, by the sufferaunce of God, Archbisshop of Caunterbury, Metropolitane, and Primate of all Ingland, and Legate from the Apostolyke Seate of Rome, wylleth this to be knowen unto all men. In a certein cause of heresy, and upon diverse articles, whereupon Sir Johan Oldcastle, Knight, and Lord Cobham, (after a diligent inquisition made for the same,) was detected, accused, and presented before us in our last convocation of all our province of Caunterbury, holden in the cathedrall churche of Paules at London. At the laufull denouncement and request of our universall clergye in the seid convocation, we proceded against him, accordinge to the lawe (God to witness) with all the faver possible; and, following Chrystes example in all that we might, which 'wylleth not the death of a synner, but rather that he be converted 'and lyve'[120], we toke upon us to correct him; and sought all other ways possible to bring agayne to the churches unytee; declaringe unto him what the holye and universall church of Rome hath sayd, holden, determined, and taught in that behalfe. And though we found him, in the catholike faith, farre wyde and so stifnecked, that he wold not confesse his erroure, nor pourge himself, nor yet repent him therof: we, yet pyteing him of fatherly compassion, and intierlye desyrynge the helthe of his sowl, appoynted him a competent tyme of delyberacion, to see if he wold repent, and seke to be reformed. And sens we have found him worse and worse; considering, therfore, that he is incorrygible, we are driven to the very extremitee of the lawe, and, with great hevynes of hart, we nowe procede to the publicacyon of the sentence diffinityve against him.'

Than brought he forth an other byll conteyning the sayd sentence, and that he redde a'so in his bauger[121] Latyne[122].

Christi nomine invocato, ipsumq; solum pre oculis habentes. Quia per acta inactitati, and so forth; whiche I have also translated into Englysh, that men may understand it:

'Chryst we take unto witness, that nothing els we seke in this our whole enterpryse, but his onely glory. For as much, as we have found by dyverse actes done, brought forth, and exibited, by sundry evidences, sygnes and tokens, and also by many moost manifest proves, the seid Sir Johan Oldcastell, Knight and Lord Cobham, not only an evident heretyke in hys owne parsonne, but also a mighty mainteyner of other heretikes against the fayth and relygion of the holy and universall church of Rome, namely about the two sacramentes of the aulter, and of penaunce, besides the Pope's power and pylgrymages. And that he, as the chyld of iniquitee and darkenes, hath so hardened his hart, that he will in no case attend unto the voice of his pastour: neyther wyll he be alured by strayght admonishments, nor yet be brought in by favourable wordes. The worthenes of the cause first wayde on the one side, and his unworthynes agayn considered on the other side, his fautes also aggravated, or made double through his damnable obsti-

[118] Pulling off. [119] *Ex magno Processu Thomæ Arundeli.* [120] Ezec. xviii. ib. xxxiii. [121] Barbarous. [122] *Ex magno Processu Thomæ Arundeli.*

nacy: we being loth that he which is nought should be worse, and so with his contagiousnes infect the multitude. By the sage councell and assent of the very discret fathers our honorable brethren, and lordes bishops, here present, Rychard of London, Henry of Wynchester, and Benet of Bangor, and of other great lerned and wyse men here, both doctours of divinitee, and of the lawes canon and civyle, seculars and religious, with dyverse other expert men assisting us, we sentencyally and dyffinitively, by thys present writing, judge, declare, and condempne the seid Sir Johan Oldcastell, Knight and Lord Cobham, for a most pernicious and detestable heretike, convycted upon the same, and refusing utterly to obey the churche againe; commyttyng hym here from hensforth as a condempned heretike to the secular jurisdiction, power, and judgement, to do him therupon to death. Furthermore, we excommunicate and denounce accursed not only this heretike, here present, but so many els besydes as shall hereafter in faver of his errour eyther receive him, or defend him, counsell him, or help him, or any other way maintein him, as very fauters, receivers, defenders, councelers, ayders, and maynteyners of condempned heretikes.

'And, that these premysses maye be the better knowen to all faythfull Chrysten men, we commit yt here unto your charges, and geve you strayghte commaundement therupon by thys wryttyng also, that ye cause this condempnacion and diffinityve sentence of excommunycacyon, concerning both thys heretyke, and hys fawters, to be publyshed throughoute all dyoceses, in cytyes, townes, and vyllages, by your curates and parysh priests, such time as they shall have most recourse of people. And see that it be done after this sort: as the people are thus gathered devoutlye together, lett the curate every where go into the pulpet, and there open, declare, and expounde thys processe in the mother tonge, in an audyble and intelligyble voice, that yt maye well be perseived of all men; and that, upon the fear of this declaracion also, the people maye fall from their yll opinions conceived now of late by sedicious preachers.

'Moreover we will that after we have delivered unto yche one of you bisshoppes (which are here present) a copye herof, that ye cause the same to be written out again, into dyvers copyes, and so to be sent unto the other bisshops and prelates of our whole province; that they may also see the contentes thereof solempnely publisshed within theyr dioceses and cures. Finally, we wyll that both you and they signifye again unto us seriously and distinctly by your wryttinges, as the mater is without fayned colour in every point perfourmed, the daye wherupon ye receyved thys processe, the tyme whan it was of you executed, and after what sort it was done in everye condicion, according to the tenour herof, that we may knowe it to be justly the same.'

A copye of thys writynge sent Thomas Arundell, the Archbisshop of Caunterbury [123], afterwarde from Maydeston the tenth daye of October, within the same year of our Lord, M.cccc. and xiij. unto Rychard Clifford, the Bisshop of London, which thus beginneth, *Thomas permissione divinâ*, &c.

The sayde Rychard Clyfforde sent an other copye thereof, inclosed within hys owne letters, unto Robert Mascall, a Carmelyte fryer, which was than Bisshop of Herforde in Walis[124], written from Hadham the xxiij. day of Octobre, in the same yere, and the beginning thereof is this: *Reverende in Christo pater*, &c.

The said Robert Mascall directed another copye therof from London, the xxvij. day of Novembre in the same yere, inclosed in his own commission also, unto his archdeacons and deanes in Herforde and Shrewesbury. And this is therof the beginning, *Venerabilibus & discretis viris, & cet.*

In like maner did the other bisshops within their dioceses.

After that the archbisshop had thus red the byll of his condempnacion, with most extremitee, before the whole multitude; the Lord Cobham sayd with a moost cherefull countenaunce [125]: "Though ye judge my body which is but a wretched thing, yet

[123] Thomas Walden. *in Fasciculo Zizaniorum Wiclevii.* [124] Wales. [125] *Ex utroque; exemplari.*

am I certein and sure, that ye can do no harme to my soul [126], no more than could Sathan upon the soule of Job [127]. He, that created that, wyll of his infinite mercy and promes, save it, I have therin no maner of doubt. And, as concerning these artycles before rehersed, I wyll stande to them, even to the very death, by the grace of my eternall God."

And therwith he turned him unto the people, casting hys handes abroade, and saying with a very loude voice, "Good Chrysten people, for God's love, be wel ware of these men; for they will els begyle you, and leade you blindelynge into hell with themselves. For Chryst sayth plainly [128] unto you, 'If one blind leadeth another, they are lyke both to fall into the dytche.'"

After thys, he fell downe there upon his knees, and thus, before them all, prayed for his ennemies, holding up both his handes and his eyes towards Heaven, and saying, "Lord God eternall! I beseche the, for thy great mercies sake, to forgeve my persuers, if it be thy blessed wyll." And than he was delyvered to Sir Robert Morleye, and so ledde forth agayne to the Tower of London. And thus there was an ende of that dayes worke.

Whyle the Lord Cobham was thus in the Tower, he sent out privily [129] unto his fryendes. And they, at his desyre, wrote this lytle byll here following, causing it to be set up in diverse quarters of London, that the people shulde not beleve the slaundres and lyes that his ennemies, the bisshopes servaunts, and pryestes, had made on him abroade. And this was the letter:

'FORASMUCH as Sir Johan Oldcastell, Knight and Lord Cobham, is untruly convicted and imprysoned, falsely reported and slaundred among the comen people, by his adversaryes, that he shuld otherwise both fele and speake of the sacramentes of the church, and specially of the blessed sacrament of the aulter, than was written in the confessyon of his beleve, which was indented and taken to the clergye, and so set up in diverse open places in the citee of London. Knowen be it here to all the world, that he never sens varyed in any one poynt therfrom; but this is playnely his beleve, that all the sacramentes of the church be proffytable and expedient also to all them that shall be saved, taking them after the intent that Chryst and his true churche hath ordayned. Furthermore, he beleveth, that, in the blessed sacrament of the aulter, is verely and truly Chrystes body, in fourme of breade.'

After thys, the bisshops and pryestes were in moche obloquie, both of the nobilitee and comens, partely for that they had so cruelly handeled the good Lord Cobham, and partelye agayne, bycause hys opinion (as they thought at that tyme) was perfyght concerning the sacrament. As they feared thys to growe to further inconvenience towardes them both wayes, they drew their heades together, and, at the last, consented to use another practise somwhat contrary to that they had done afore.

They caused it by-and-by to be blowne abroade by their fee'd servaunts, fryendes, and babeling Sir Johnes [130], that the sayde Lord Cobham was becomen a good man, and had lawlye submitted himselfe in all things unto holy church, utterly chaunging his opinion concerning the sacrament. And, thereupon, they contrefayted [131] an abjuracion, in his name, that the people shuld take no hold of that opinion, by any thing they had hearde of him before, and to stand so in the more awe of them, considering him so great a manne, and by them subdued.

This is the abjuracion (say they) of Sir Johan Oldcastell, Knight, somtime the Lord Cobham.

[126] Math. x. [127] Job i. [128] Math. xv. [129] *Ex vetusto Exemplari Londinensium.*
[130] *Sir Johns* was a general name for the priests in those days. [131] *al.* counterfeited.

An Abjuracion[132] counterfayted of the Bisshoppes.

'*IN Dei nomine, Amen.* I, Johan Oldcastell, denounced, detected, and convycted of, and upon, diverse artycles, savering both heresy and errour, before the reverend father in Chryst, and my good lord, Thomas, by the permission of God, Lord Archbisshop of Caunterbury, and my lauful and rightful judge in that behalfe, expressely graunt and confesse: that, as concerning the estate and power of the moost holy father, the Pope of Rome, of his archbisshops, his bisshops, and his other prelates, the degrees of the church, and the holy sacramentes of the same, specyally of the sacramentes of the aulter, and of penaunce, and other observaunces, besides, of our mother holy church, as pilgrymages and pardons; I affyrme (I say) before the said reverend father archbisshop, and els wher, that I, being yll seduced by diverse sedicious preachers, have grevously erred, and heretically persisted, blasphemously answered, and obstinatlye rebelled. And, therfore, I am by the sayd reverend father, before the reverend fathers in Chryst also, the Bisshops of London, Winchestre, and Bangor, lawfullye condemned for an heretyke.

'Neverthelesse yet, I now remembering myselfe, and coveting, by this meane, to avoide that temporall payne, whiche I am worthy to suffer as an heretike, at the assignacion of my most excellent Chrysten prince and liege lord, Kyng Henry the Fift, nowe, by the grace of God, moost worthye Kyng both of Englande and of Fraunce; minding also to preferre the wholsom determynacyon, sentence, and doctryne of the holy and universall Church of Rome, before the unwholsom opinions of myselfe, my teachers, and my followers: I frely, willyngly, deliberately, and throughly, confess, graunt, and affyrme the most holye fathers in Chryst, Sainct Peter the Apostle, and his successours, Bisshoppes of Rome, speciallye nowe at thys tyme, my moost blessed Lorde Pope Johan, by the permyssyon of God, the xxiij. Pope of that name, which nowe holdeth Peter's seate (and yche of them in their succession) in full strength and power to be Chrystes vycar in ærth, and the heade of the church milytaunt. And that, by the strength of hys office (what, though he be a great syner, and afore knowen of God to be damned) he hath full auctoritee and power to rule and govern, bind and lose, save and destroy, accurse and assoyle, all other Chrysten men.

'And, agreably styl unto thys, I confesse, graunt, and affyrme, all other archbisshoppes, bysshoppes, and prelates, in their provinces, dyoceses, and parrishes (appointed by the seid Pope of Rome to assyst him in his doinges or business) by his decrees, canons, or vertue of his offyce, to have had in tymes past, to have nowe at this tyme, and that they ought to have in tyme to come, auctoritee and power to rule and to governe, bind and lose, accurse and assoyle the subjectes or peoples of theyr aforseid provinces, dioceses, and parrishes; and that theyr sayd subjectes or peoples ought of right, in all thynges, to obey them. Furthermore, I confesse, graunt, and affyrme, that the sayde spyrytuall fathers, as our moost holy father the Pope, archbisshops, bisshops, and prelates, have had, have now, and ought to have hereafter, auctoritee and power for the estate, ordre, and gouvernnaunce of theyr subjectes or peoples, to make lawes, decrees, statutes, and constitucions, yea, and to publysh, commaunde, and compell theyr said subjectes, and peoples, to the observation of them.

'Morover, I confesse, graunt, and affyrme, that all these forsayd lawes, decrees, statutes, and constitucions, made, publyshed, and commaunded, accordynge to the fourme of spirituall lawe, all Chrysten people, and every man in himselfe, is straightly bound to observe, and mekelye to obeye, accordynge to the diversitee of the forsayde powers. As the lawes, statutes, canons, and constitucions of our moost holy father the Pope, incorporated in his decrees, decretals, clementynes, codes, chartes, rescryptes, sextyles, and extravagantes, the world all over. And, as the provinciall statutes of archbisshoppes in their provinces, the synodall actes of bisshoppes in theyr dioceses, and the commendable rules and customes of prelates in their colleges, and curates in their parrishes, all Chrysten people

[132] Walden. *in Fasciculo Zizaniorum Wiclevii.*

are both bound to observe, and also moost mekely to obeye. Over and besides all this, I Johan Oldcastell, utterly forsakinge and renouncynge all the aforesayd errours and heresyes, and all other errours and heresyes lyke unto them, lay my hande here upon this boke, or holy evangelye of God, and sweare, that I shall nevermore, from hensforth, hold these forsaid heresyes, nor yet any other lyke unto them wetingly. Neyther shall I geve counsell, ayde, helpe, nor faver, at any time, to them that shall holde, teache, affyrme, or mainteine the same, as God shall helpe me, and these holy evangelyes.

'And, that I shall from hensforth faithfully obeye, and inviolably observe all the holy lawes, statutes, canons, and constitucions, of all the Popes of Rome, archbisshops, bisshops and prelates, as are contayned and determined in theyr holye decrees, decretals, clementynes, codes, chartes, rescryptes, sextyles, summes papall, extravagantes, statutes provincyall, actes synodal, and other ordinary rules and customes constituted by them, or that shall chaunce hereafter dyrectly to be determined or made. To these, and all such other, wyll I myselfe, with all power possible applye. Besydes all this, the penaunce which it shall please my said reverend father, the Lord Archbisshop of Caunterbury, hereafter, to enjoyne me for my synnes, I will mekely obeye, and faithfully fulfyll. Finally, al my seducers, and false teachers, and all other besydes, whom I shall hereafter knowe, suspected of heresye or errours, I shall effectuallye present, or cause to be presented, unto my sayd reverend father, lord archbisshop, or to them which hath his auctoritee, so sone as I can conveniently do it, and see that they be corrected, to my uttermoost power. Amen.'

The cruell Complaint of the Clergye, and tyrannouse Acte thereupon made.

NEVER came this abjuracion to the handes of the Lord Cobham, neyther was it compyled of them for that purpose, but onely therwyth to bleare the eyes of the unlerned multitude. And whan they perceyved that polycye would not helpe, but made more and more agaynst them, than sought they out another false practyse. They went unto the kyng[133] with a most grevouse complaint, like as they did afore in his father's tyme, that, in every quarter of the realme, by reason of Wicleve's opinions, and the said Lord Cobham, were wonderfull contentions, rumours, tumultes, uproars, confederations, dissencions, divisions, differences, discordes, harmes, slaunders, scismes, sectes, sedicions, preturbacions, parrels, unlaufull assemblyes, variaunces, strifes, fyghtinges, rebelliouse ruffelinges, and dayly insurrections. The church (they said) was hated: the diocesanes were not obeyed; the ordinaries were not regarded: the spirituall offycers, as suffraganes, archdeacons, chauncelers, doctours, commissaries, offycials, deanes, lawyers, scribes, and sommeners were every where despysed: the lawes and liberties of holy church were troden undre fote: the Chrysten fayth was ruynouslye decayed: God's service was laught to scorne: the spirituall jurisdiction, auctoritee, honour, power, polycye, lawes, rytes, ceremonies, curses, keyes, censures, and canonicall sanctions of the church, were had in an uttre contempt. So that all, in a maner, was come to nought.

And the cause of this was, that the heretikes and Lolars[134] of Wicleve's opinion were suffered to preach abrode, so boldly to gether conventicles unto them, to kepe scoles in men's houses, to make bokes, compyle treatises, and wryte ballets; to teach privately in angles and corners, as in wodes, feldes, medowes, pastours, groves, and in caves of the ground. This wolde be (they sayd) a destruction to the commen-welth, a subvercion to the land, and an uttre decay of the kynges estate royall, if remedy were not sought in tyme. And this was their polycye to couple the kynges auctoritee, wyth that they had done in theyr former councell of craft, and so to make it thereby the stronger. For they perceived themselves very farre to weake els, to followe against their ennemies, that they had so largely enterprised. Upon this complaint, the kynge immediately called a parliament at Leichestre. It might not in those daies be holden at Westminstre, for the great faver that the Lord

[133] *Ex Statuto Parliamenti Regis*, Hen. V. [134] Abettors, defenders, and publishers.

Cobham had both in London, and about the cytee, yet were they deceived. That, they doubted moost, lighted there soonest upon them.

A byll was put in there agayne[135], by the commons, against their continuall wasting of the temporalties, lyke as it had bene twise afore by procurement of the seid Lord Cobham[136], both in the daies of Kyng Rychard the Second, anno 1395, and also of Kyng Henry the IIII. anno Domini 1410, wherupon was growne all this malice afore specified, but this was than workemanly defeated by another proper practyse of theyrs.

They put the kyng in remembraunce to claim his right in Fraunce, and graunted him therunto a dime[137], with other great subsidy of mony. Thus were Chrystes people betrayed every way, and their lives bought and sold by these most cruell theves. For in the sayd parliament the kyng made this most blasphemouse and cruell acte, to be as a lawe for ever[138]: that whatsoever they were, that shuld read the Scryptures in the mother tongue (which was than called Wicleve's lerning) they shuld forfet land, catel, body, lyf, and godes from theyr heyrs for ever, and so be condempned for heretykes to God, ennemies to the crowne, and most errand trayters to the land[139].

Besides this, it was inacted, that never a sanctuary nor priviledged grounde within the realme shuld holde them, though they were styll permitted both to theves and murtherers. And if in case they wold not gyve over, or were after their pardon relapsed, they shuld suffer death in two maner of kindes. That is, they shuld fyrst be hanged for treason agaynst the kyng, and than be burned for heresy agaynst God: and yet neither of both committed.

The beginning of that act is this:

Pro eo quòd magni rumores, &c. Anon after, was it proclaymed throughout the realme, and than had the bisshoppes, pryests, monkes, and fryers, a worlde somwhat to theyr mindes. For than were many taken in diverse quarters, and suffred moost cruell death[140]. And many fled out of the lande into Germany, Bohem, Fraunce, Spain, Portingale, and into the weld of Scotland, Wales, and Yreland, working there many marvels agaynst their false kyngdome to long to wryte. In the Christmas followinge was Sir Roger Acton, knight, Master Johan Browne, esquire, Sir Johan Beverlay, a lerned preacher, and dyverse other more, attached for quareling with certeine pryestes, and so imprisoned[141]. For all men at that tyme could not paciently suffer theyr blasphemouse bragges.

The complaint was made unto the kyng of them, that they had made a great assemble in Sainct Gyles-Felde at London, purposing the destruction of the land, and the subvercyon of the common-welth. As the kyng was thus infourmed, he erected a banner (saith Walden[142]) with a crosse thereupon, as the Pope doth commonly by his legates, whan he pretendeth to warre agaynst the Turke; and with great nombre of men entred the same felde, where as he found no such company. Yet was the complaint judged true, bycause the bisshoppes had spoken it, at the informacion of their pryestes. All this hath Thomas Walden in diverse of his workes, which was at the same tyme a Whight or Carmelyte fryer, and the kinges confessour; and partely it is touched both by Robert Fabian, and by Polidorus Virgilius, in theyr Inglish chronycles; but not in all poyntes rightly, as is to be seane in the Preface afore. In the meane season, Sir Johan Oldcastell, the Lord Cobham, escaped out of the Tower of London in the night[143], and so fledde into Wales, where as he continued more than iiii. yeres after[144].

Some wryters have thought this escape to come by the sayd Sir Roger Acton, and other

[135] [*Robertus Fabianus, in Chronicis:* [136] Walden. *in Fasciculo*, Fabianus *in Chronicis.*

[137] [A tithe. *Fr.*] [138] Walden. *ad Martinum Papam*, lib. ii. cap. 40. & *in Synodo* Polidorus.

[139] It was nevertheless enacted in this parliament, That a general pardon should for the present be granted to all Lollards, excepting Sir John Oldcastel, and some others therein mentioned. Claus. 2. Hen. V. m. 24.

[140] Walden. *ad Martinum Papam*, lib. i. cap. 50. *De Sacramentalibus*, cap. 53.

[141] Walden, Fabianus, Jo. Major, Polidorus. [142] Walden. *ad. Martinum, & in Prologo de Sacramentis.*

[143] About 28 October 1413, and on 10 January following, a commission was issued out to the Lord Mayor of London, for apprehending him, &c. And, at the same time, he was indicted for treason, and in Hilary term he was outlawed for treason. [144] Fabianus, Polidorus, *in Chronicis.*

gentylmen, in displeasure of the pryestes, and that to be the chefe occasion of their deathes, whiche might well be; but Walden doth not so utter it, whiche reigned the selfe same tyme. In January next following[145], was the afore-named Sir Roger Acton, master Johan Browne, Sir Johan Beverley, and thirty-six more (of whom the more part were gentylmen of byrthe) convicted of heresy by the bisshops, and condempned of treason by the temporalitie, and accordyng to the acte were fyrst hanged, and than brent in the sayd Saint Gyles-Felde. In the same yeare[146], also was one Johan Claydon, a skynner, and one Rychard Turmin, a baker, both hanged and brent in Smythfelde, by that vertuous act, besydes that was done in al other quarters of Ingland; whiche was no small nombre, if it were nowe throughly knowen.

The latter Imprisoning and Death of the Lord Cobham.

IN the yere of our Lorde a. M. cccc. and xv.[147] dyed Thomas Arundell, which had bene archbisshop of Caunterbury more than xxxii yeres, to the great destruction of Chrysten beleve. Yet dyed not his prodigiouse tyrannye wyth hym, but succeeded with his office in Henry Chicheley, and in a great sort more of the spyghtfull spiritualtee. For their malyce was not yet satled agaynst the good Lord Cobham. But they confedered with the Lord Powys (whiche was at that tyme a great gouvernour in Wales,) feding him with lordely giftes and promises to accomplysh theyr desyre. He at the last, thus monied with Judas[148], and outwardly pretending him great amitie and faver, moost cowardlye and wretchedlye toke him; and, in conclusion, so sent him up to London, where as he remayned a moneth or two imprysoned again in the Tower. And after long processe, they condempned him agayne of heresy and treason, by force of the aforenamed acte; he rendering thanks unto God that he had so appointed him to suffre for his names-sake.

And, upon the daye appointed, he was brought out of the Tower, with hys armes bound behynd him, having a very chereful countenaunce. Than was he layd upon an hardle, as though he had bene a moost haynouse traitoure to the crowne, and so drawne forth into Sainct Giles-Felde, where as they had set up a newe paire of galowes. As he was comen to the place of execution, and was taken from the hardle, he fell down devoughtly upon his knees, desyringe Almightye God to forgeve hys ennemies! Than stode he up, and beheld the multitude, exhorting them, in moost godly maner, to followe the lawes of God, written in the Scryptures, and in any wyse to beware of such teachers, as they see contrary to Chryst in their conversacion and lyving; wyth many other speciall councels. Than was he hanged up there by the middle in chaynes of yron, and so consumed alyve in the fyre; praysing the name of God so long as his lyfe lasted. In the ende, he commended his sowle into the handes of God, and so departed hens most chrystenly, his body resolved into asshes.

And this was done in the yere of our Lord a. M. cccc. and xviij. which was the sixt yere of the reygne of Kyng Henry the Fift, the people there present shewyng great dolour. How the pryestes that tyme fared, blasphemed, and cursed, requiring the people not to praye for hym, but to judge hym dampned in hell, for that he departed not in the obedience of their Pope; it were to long to wryte. This terrible kinde of death, with galowes, chaynes, and fyre, appeareth not very preciouse in the eyes of men, that be carnall, no more than did the death of Chryst, whan he was hanged up among theves[149]. 'The rightuouse semeth to dye (sayth the Wise Man[150]) in the syght of them whiche are unwise, and their ende is taken for very destruction. Ungodly foles thinketh theyr lyves very madnes, and theyr passage hens without al honour. But thogh they suffre pain be-

[145] Johan Major, lib. vi. cap. 9. *Historie Scotorum.* [146] Robertus Fabianus, *in Chronicis.*
[147] According to the Canterbury Register, it should be 1413. And according to Walsingham, p. 386, and Goodwin's Hen. V. p. 33, he died 20 Feb. 1414. [148] Math. xxvi. [149] Johan xix. [150] Wisd. iii.

fore men (sayth he [151]) yet is theyr expectacion full of immortalitee. They are accounted for the chyldren of God, and have their just portion among the sainctes. As golde in the furnace doth God trye his electe, and as a most pleasaunte brent offering receiveth he them to rest [152].

'The more harde the passage be, the more gloryouse shall they appeare in the latter resurreccion. Not that the affliccions of this lyfe are worthye of such a glory; but that it is God's heavenly pleasure so to reward them [153]. Never are the judgementes and wayes of men lyke unto the judgementes and wayes of God, but contrary evermore, unles they be taught of him [154]. In the later tyme (sayth the Lorde unto Daniell) shall many be chosen, proved, and purified by fyre; yet shall the ungodly lyve wickedly styll, and have no understanding, that is, of faith.' By an angell from Heaven was Johan [155] ernestly commaunded to wryte, that 'Blessed are the dead, which hens departeth in the Lord. Right dere (sayth David [156]) in the syght of God is the death of his true servauntes.' Thus resteth this valeaunt Chrysten knight, Sir Johan Oldcastell, under the aulter of God (which is Jesus Chryst) among that godly company, which, in the kyngdome of pacience, 'suffred great tribulacion, with the death of their bodies, for his faithfull worde and testimony; abiding there with them the fullfylling of theyr whole nombre, and the full restauracion of his electes [157].' The whiche he graunt in effect, at this tyme appointed, which is one God eternall. Amen.

The Conclusion.

BESYDES the causes rehersed afore in the Preface, concerning the dreadful death of thys moost Chrysten knight, Sir Johan Oldcastell, the Lord Cobham, this is also rekened for one. In the ende of the fyrst boke, which he put up into the parliament-house, agaynst the abusions of the clergye, in the yere of our I ord, a. M.ccc. xcv. (which was also the xviij. yere of King Richard the Second) were these vi. Verses written, as a brefe conclusion sommary of the universall contents therof.

Plangunt Anglorum gentes crimen Sodomorum.
Paulus fert, horum sunt idola causa malorum.
Surgunt ingrati, Giezite Symone nati,
Nomine Prelati, hoc defensare parati.
Qui reges estis, populis quicunque preestis,
Qualiter his gestis gladios prohibere potestis?

Though the verses be grosse and unperfight, according to the time than, wherin all fresh lyterature was clerelye extinguisshed; yet is the sentence of them lyvely, and of a fresh faithfull spyrite, even in the zeale of Helias and Phinees, for rebuke of synne· and thus are they in the Inglishe:

Bewayle maye Inglande the synne of Sodomites:
For idolles and they are grounde of all theyr wo.
Of Symon Magus a secte of ypocrites
Surnamed Prelates, are up wyth them to go:
And, to upholde them in all that they may do.
You that be rulers, peculyarly selected,
How can ye suffre such mischeves to go uncorrected?

Whan this boke wolde not helpe towardes any reformacion, but was laught to scorne of the bisshoppes; than were these verses copyed out by dyverse menne, and set upon

[151] Chap. v. [152] Chap. iii. [153] Heb. xi. Rom. viii. [154] Esayas lv. Hier. xxxii. Dan. xii.
[155] Apoc. xiiii. [156] Psalm cxv. [157] Apoc. vi. i. vii. xx.

their wyndows, gates, and dores, which were than knowen for obstinate ypocrites and fleshly lyvers; which made the prelates madde. And thys is the great insurrectyon, that Walden complaineth of unto Pope Marten the Fyft; and after him, Polydorus, the Pope's collectour, with other papistes more, wherin never a one manne was hurt. I wolde marvell moche more of the doublenes of Thomas Walden, beyng than the kynges confessour, if I did not knowthe unshamefast nature of that lyeng generation. In his fyrst Epistel[158] unto Pope Martine, and in the fyrst preface of hys fourth boke *contra Wiclevistas*, he sayth, that Sir Johan Oldcastell, with a great nombre of heretikes, conspyred against Kyng Henry the Fyft, in the fyrst yeare of his reigne; and that he offered him, for every monke, chanon, fryer, and popish pryestes head, within his realme, a gold noble. And, cleane contrary unto thys, he testifieth, in his boke, called *Fasciculus Zizaniorum Wiclevii*, that he was, the selfe same tyme, yeare, moneth, weke, and daye, a prisoner within the Tower of London. How well these two writtinges agre, I report me.

But thus comenly are innocent men lyed upon, among these blasphemouse bellygods. But He, that is essentially true of himself, hath promised[159], at one tyme or other, to clere his true servaunt, not by lyes and fables, but by his own pure worde: 'No secret (saith he[160]) is so close, but ones shall be opened; neyther is any thyng so hidde, that shall not at the last be knowne clerely.' Thus hath Sir Johan Oldcastell a triumphaunt victory over his ennemies, by the veritee which he defended, all contrary to the blinde worldes expectacion; and they have a fowle overthrowe, being proved manyfest murtherers, blind beastes, ypocrites, and lyers, by the same. Such a swete Lord is God alwayes to those that be his true servauntes: blessed be his holy name therfore! Conferre the causes of this godlye man's deathe with the poyntes that Thomas Becket dyed for, and other popish martirs besides, and ye shall fynd them farre different and unlyke. Thomas Becket was slayne[161] at Caunterbury, in his prelates aparell, in the heade churche, before the hygh aulter, amonge religiouse monkes and pryestes and in the holy tyme of Chrystmas, by his owne seking; and all this is gloriouse unto worldly judgmentes. Sir Johan Oldcastell was brent in chaynes[162], at London, in Saint Giles-Felde, under the galowes, amonge the laye people, and upon the prophane workyng daye, at the bysshoppes procurement. And all this is unglorious, yea and very despiseable unto those worldelye eyes. What though Jesus Chryst his master, afore hym, were handeled after a lyke sorte? For he[163] was crucified at Hierusalem, without the citee, and without the holy synagoge, accursed out of churche, amonge the prophane multitude, in the middest of theves, in the place where as theves and murtherers were commonly hanged, and not upon the feastful daye, but afore it, by the bisshoppes procurement also. Now let us consider the causes of both theyr deathes, and trye them both by the manifest scryptures of the Gospel, whiche of them shuld seme moost to the glory of God, and whiche moost to the glory of men. Thomas Becket dyed upon his own seking onely[164], for mainteyning the wanton lybertyes and superfluouse possessyons of the Romysh churche here wythin Ingland, which are both forbidden of Chryst, and also condemned by the same scryptures: 'He, that forsaketh not all that he hath, (sayth he,) can not be my disciple[165].' And, whan a contencion befelle amonge the Apostles for the superyoritee, he sayde[166] also unto them, 'The kynges of the worlde have the worldes dominion, wyth all pompe and riches belonging to the same; but you shall not be so.'

Sir Johan Oldcastell dyed at the importune sute of the clergy, for calling upon a Chrysten reformacion in that Romishe church of theyrs; and for manfully standing by the faithfull testimonies of Jesus, as all the aforesayd processe declareth. And this is both allowed in the Gospell, and also required of every Chrysten belever: 'He that confesseth me, and my worde before men (sayth Chryst[167]), him will I confesse for myne, before my eter-

[158] *Ad Martinum Papam. Et in Prefatione iv. lib. contra Wiclevistas.* [159] Johan viii.
[160] Matth. x. Luke xii. [161] Stephanus Langton *in Vita Thome*, lib. i. cap. 20.
[162] Walden, Jo. Major, Fabianus. [163] Heb. xiii. Johan ix. Matth. xxvii. Johan xix. Actes iii.
[164] *Heribertus Hoscam in Vita Thome.* [165] Luke xiv. [166] Chap. xxii. 2 Peter v.
[167] Math. x. Mark viii. Luk. ix. ib. xii.

nall Father. And he that shall denie me and my veritee before men, him will I also deny for mine, before my everlasting Father whiche is in heaven.'

Thomas Becket, in the tyme of his death, commended himselfe[168] to the patrones of his churche (whiche were two gilded ymages of Sainct Sauer and Saint Mary), and the cause of his church unto Saint Denis; and had no more but his pryestes crown cut of (which is the Pope's levery mark) even by the very shaving, as his story mencyoneth.

Syr Johan Oldcastell, in the tyme of his death, commended his sowle, with David, Chryst, and Steven, into the handes of God the eternall Father, and hys cause to the rightful judgement of his sonne Jesus Chryst; with desyre of mercifull forgevenes concerning his ennemies, as became a faithfull Chrystian, and had his whole body consumed in the fyre. Now, pluck from your eyes the corrupted spectacles of carnall or popysh judgementes, and do upon them the cleare light ye have by the spyrite of Chryst: and that faithfully done; tell me whiche of these two semeth rather to be the martir of Chryst, and whiche the Pope's martyr? 'The wayes of God (sayth Esay[169]) are not the wayes of men.' But so farre as the heavens are above the vile earth, so farre do hys judgments excede theyrs. 'That whiche semeth high and gloriouse unto men, (sayth Chryst[170]) is verye abhominacion afore God.' By this may ye see that the precyouse spowse, or immaculate churche of Chryst, is not a gorgiously painted, gentyll woman, nor gloryous glittering mayden; but al hidden and unknowne to the worldly infidels, whiche disdaineth to seek her in the Scryptures.

Nothing is precious unto them, that shyneth not unto the eye. A moost fyt membre for Chrystes mistycall body, is he that suffereth with the heade therof. As this good Sir Johan Oldcastell did, when he was, with Chryst, examined of the proude bisshops, scorned of the priestes, disdayned of the worlde, yll reported, mocked, hated, reviled, accursed, and so commytted unto the laye judgement, to be condemned by them unto moost shamful and cruell death. Yea, so extremely malicious was the spyghtfull spiritualtee agaynst him, that they wolde not suffre his body to be buried in their great cytee or holy church (which is spiritually called Sodoma and Ægyptus) to make the prophecy of Sainct Johan's Apocalyps[171] truly to be veryfied uppon him, and to prove him Chrystes membre alltogether. They both resolved his body into asshes, and also made the ryver to carye them away, lyke as they did also with the bones of Johan Wicleve[172], least any thing therof should remayne; because they wold also shewe themselves lyke in tyranny to Julianus Apostata, that so used the body of holy Johan Baptist afore them. I shuld make a comparyson betwixt thys blessed martir of Chryst, Sir Johan Oldcastell, and Peter of Myllane, wyth other of the Pope's martirs, which dyed for the Pope's power, pardons, pilgrymages, ear-confession, and other popish maters more establysshed in the generall counsell of Lateran; but it wolde axe too moch tyme.

And as concerning the kinde of his contemptuous death or martirdome: more vyle was not his hanging under the galowes in an yron chayne, than was the hanging of his Lord Jesus Chryst upon the crosse in the tyme of his death. Nor than was the hanging of Peter, Andrew, and Philip, his holy Apostles, Bisshop Simeon, Doroteus, Gorgonius, Alexander, Epipodius, Claudius, Asterius, Menon, Nemesius, Nestor, Agricola, Julia, Zoe, the wife of Nicostratus, with many other holy martirs more. More odyouse was not his burning in the fyre, than was the cruell burning of Barnabas the Apostell, Polycarpus, the good Bisshop of Smirna, Amancius, Agaton, Tiburcius, Petulius, Simphronius, Sosthenes, Victor, Dioscorus, Eulogius Fructuosus, Castus, Aemilius, Fidencius, Hero, Hyreneus, Aphra, Hylaria, Apolonia, Anastasia, and many hondreths more. Whan this strong witnesse of the Lord was among the fat bulles of Basan[173], and moost cruelly assaulted of them, he was thoroughly assertained in his conscience for that conflyct of fayth, to taste his eternal goodness in the lasting lande of the lyving.

[168] *Benedic. de Burgo Petri, Joannes Capgrave, Stefanus Langton*, lib. iii. cap. 18. [169] Esay lv.
[170] Luke xvi. [171] Apoc. xi. [172] *De Sacramentalibus*, cap. lxxxvi. §. 13. *Fasciculus Zizaniorum.*
[173] Psal. xxi. Amos iv.

Yea, soche tyme as he was reproved of his ennemies, and forsaken of his fryendes, in maner of a broken vessel[174], he toke a strong stomacke unto him, as dyd the mightee Machabees[175], and thought thus in his minde; that, though those ungratiouse tyrauntes shuld put him unto death, yet wolde the æternal Kyng (whiche is both resurrection and lyfe[176]) 'raise him up agayn in the resurrection of life everlasting;' among them that hath dyed for his pure lawes. Already hath he raysed his fame (which lay long dead) by the lyving spyrite of his Gospell, for that he was a minister therof: which is a moost evident token that he will hereafter, with his other mysticall membres, rayse him up in perfight glory. Whan the Gospell laye dead, gloryous Thomas Becket was a sainct, and Johan Oldcastell a forgotten heretike: but, nowe that the lyght therof shyneth, we are lyke to see it farre otherwise. For proud Becket hath already hidden his face[177], and poor Oldcastell beginneth nowe to appeare very notable. Not all unrightly did Saint Augustin speak it, and other olde doctours besides; that many were worshipped here in earth for sainctes, whose wretched soules are grevously cruciate in hell.

Such tyme as our moost worthy souverain, Kynge Henry the viii. now lyving, after the moost goodly example of Kynge Josyas[178], visited the temples of his realme, he perseyved the sinneful shryne of this Becket, to be unto his people a moost perniciouse evell; and therfore, in the worde of the Lord, he utterly, among other, destroyed it. If he had upon that, and such other abhominable shrynes, brent those idolatrouse pryestes, which were (and are yet) theyr chefe mainteiners, he had fulfilled the godly history throughout. But that which was not than performed, in hope of their amendment, may, by chaunce, lyght upon them hereafter, whan no gentell warning will seme to be regarded. I dout not at all, but his most noble discretion perceyveth much more in that wycked generacyon of the Pope's norryshynge up, which alwayes hath maynteyned (and yet do) soche manyfest errours, than he ever in his lyfe yet uttered. The eternall Father rewarde his Grace for that clere lyght of helthe, which we poore creaturs have receyved at his onlye hande undre God; though yt be not all without the grevouse punyshment of our bodyes. By the processe whiche we have afore here uttered of Sir Johan Oldcastell, ye maye evydentlye see, that great is the treasure which the Lorde hath layed up for the behove of them that hath trusted in him[179]; wherewith now he maketh dumme the lyeing lyppes of them that dysdaynouslye reported the ryhtuouse, to the honour and prayse of his most gloryouse name. Amen.

Thus endeth the brefe Chronycle concernynge the examynacyon and death of the blessed martir of Chryst, Sir Johan Oldcastell, the Lord Cobham; not canonysed of the Pope, but in the precyouse bloude of his Lorde Jesus Chryst. Collected by Johan Bale, and imprinted, *Anno Dom.* 1544. and vi. *die Augusti.*

[174] Psal. xxx. [175] 2 Mach. vii. [176] Johan xi. ib. vi. Apo. xx.
[177] The pilgrimages to his shrine being forbidden, and his bones, by the king's order, burnt.
[178] 2 Kings xxiii. 2 Chron. xxxiv. [179] Psal xxx. Eccl. i. Wisd. v.

The State and Dignity of a Secretary of State's Place, with the Care and Peril thereof; written by the Right Honourable Robert, late Earl of Salisbury. With his excellent Instructions to the late Earl of Bedford, for the Government of Barwick. A Work worthy of Memory.

London, printed in 1642.

[Quarto, containing Seventeen Pages.]

ALL officers and counsellors of princes have a prescribed authority by patent, by custom, or by oath, the secretary only excepted; but, to the secretary, out of a confidence and singular affection, there is a liberty to negotiate at discretion at home and abroad, with friends and enemies, all matters of speech and intelligence.

All servants of princes deal upon strong and wary authority and warrant in disbursements as treasurers, in conference with enemies as generals, in commissions in executing offices by patent and instructions, and so in whatever else; only a secretary hath no warrant or commission, no, not in matters of his own greatest particulars, but the virtue and word of his sovereign.

For such is the multiplicity of actions, and variable motions and intents of foreign princes, and their daily practices, and in so many parts and places, as secretaries can never have any commission, so long and universal as to secure them.

So as a secretary must either conceive the very thought of a king, which is only proper to God; or a king must exercise the painful office of a secretary, which is contrary to majesty, and liberty; or else a prince must make choice of such a servant of such a prince, as the prince's assurance must be his confidence in the secretary, and the secretary's life his trust in the prince.

To deal now with the prince, *tanquam infirmum futurum*, cannot be a rule for a secretary; for all that he hath to trust to is quite the contrary, which is, that his prince will be *semper idem.*

All strange princes hate secretaries, all aspirers, and all conspirers, because they either kill those monsters in their cradles, or else trace them out, where no man can discern the print of their footing.

Furthermore, this is manifest, that all men of war do malign them, except they will be at their desires.

Their fellow-counsellors envy them, because they have most easy and free access to princes: and, wheresoever a prince hath cause to delay or deny to search or punish, none so soon bear so much burthen.

Kings are advised to observe these things in a secretary:

First, That he be created by himself, and of his own raising.

Secondly, That he match not in a factious family.

And, lastly, That he hath reasonable capacity, and convenient ability.

On the other side, the place of secretary is dreadful, if he serve not a constant prince; for he, that liveth by trust, ought to serve truly; so he that lives, at mercy, ought to be careful in the choice of his master, that he be just *& de bonâ naturâ.*

If princes be not confident on those, whom they have made choice of, they shall ill trust the work of a strange hand; and, if the rule hath failed in some of those that have sinned in ingratitude to those princes, it is in those of the highest order, *Ero similis altissimo.*

But, for those of private quality, who have no other consistence, nor can ever look for equal blessedness, there the jealousy of a prince hath never beheld suspect, but mere contempt.

As long as any matter, of what weight soever, is handled only between the prince and the secretary, those counsels are compared to the mutual affections of two lovers, undiscovered to their friends.

When it cometh to be disputed in council, it is like the conference of parents, and solemnization of marriage; the first matter, the second order; and, indeed, the one the act, the other the publication.

If there be then a secretary, whose state can witness that he coveteth not for profit; and if his careful life and death shall record it, that love is his object; if he deal less with other men's suits, whereby secretaries gain, than ever any did; if he prefer his majesty, and despise his own.

If such an one should find that his hope could not warrant him, no, not against the slanders of those wicked ones whom he must use only; then, surely, that secretary must resolve, that the first day of his entry is the first day of his misery; for, if he be not worthy of trust, he is less worthy of life; and a suspicion of a secretary is both a trial and condemnation, and a judgment.

Mr. Secretary's Answer to the Earl of Bedford.

SIR,

I AM sorry, that I find in myself, that I am neither able to satisfy your lordship's request, nor my own desires; and yet yourself, perchance, will better accept my doings, than I shall, myself, allow them. Your lordship would have me, by your letters, give you advice, for your affairs and service there. It cometh of your too much good opinion of me, that your lordship thinks me able thereunto, which, surely, I am not: and though my desire be to do this, as you would; yet cannot I satisfy myself, as I would; and, if I should spend any words to declare my own inability, your lordship would not like them; and, to enterprize to do that which I know not, I am not therein like myself. Yet, notwithstanding, I had rather please your lordship with my folly, than altogether myself with silence. If I write foolishly, or unseasonably, the lack is mine; but the occasion of my fault is your lordship's. I heard so good report of your doings, the best advice is, I can give you, to go forward, and countenance your own example; and the next advice thereunto is, that when you see one day coming, to amend the day past; my meaning is, to have you, in all your actions, do, as all other natural things do, and most plainly. Things growing, which daily, from time to time, do increase; whose example if a man would follow, he should, as his body groweth in age, so see his wit with knowledge, his conditions with virtues, should amend; and, as we do live, we grow towards death, by moments of time; so should we grow towards Heaven, by multiplying of virtues, and good gifts. You see, I am at the first step in divinity; and so might I seem, to many others of your estate, to be of small discretion, to fall in preaching to him, that must be occupied in musters, with looking to fortifications, and such like worldly affairs. But, my lord, I know to whom I write; to him, who considereth between things worldly, and heavenly; to him, that knoweth 'the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom;' and, therewith, I end.

Now, to your external care; where, certainly, God is served, and pleased with them, that accomplish the same to their powers; and, if wisdom lack, they may ask it of him, who hath the treasure of wisdom and goodness. Your lordship hath there a great charge of government; I know, you think yourself unmeet thereunto, especially, in knowledge; and, surely, to know that amendeth your ability: for more hurt comes of men's securities, and presumption of wisdom, than in mistrust. It is a good thing for you to bethink your-

self of some nobleman, whom you have either read or heard, whose doings have been worthy of commendations, in such service as this.

And to make a pattern and example to yourself, daily in your doings, practising the imitation of him throughout all your life; and, in this point, may you choose many noble properties, of your own natural, good father, to follow; whereunto, nature shall bend, and make you soonest inclinable. If you have heard of any nobleman famous in justice; not being led by affection on the one side, or on the other; not being strict, in severeness of law; it were good to follow him. If, also, you have heard the same to be merciful, to have had compassion on others in adversity, and willing to end all causes with quietness and charity; the example will be good. You may also propound to yourself the example, to follow such a one as hath liberality in expences, without prodigality; remembering, that the property of virtue is, to continue in well-doing; and, therefore, to hold the mean is hard. As certainly, in these, or other like virtues, you shall see the fault on both sides so nigh standing to the virtues, that, unless you keep yourself in your doings very upright, it is easy to err on the one side or the other: as for example; in your expences, if you keep not a measure in your giving, you shall fail on the one side, and shall lack to give, when most gladly you would give; on the other side, if you forbear to give, where you may, and when you ought, then do you, as the Scripture saith, 'heap up stones for your grave.' The like is in the virtue of justice; wherein, it shall suffice to remember of one Byas, that when he had given judgment on one, wept himself; and, being asked of the cause, he said, 'In weeping, I satisfied nature; in my sentence, the law:' his pity was natural, and hindered not justice; his justice was lawful, and not unnatural. Thus I might spend your lordship's time, in reading a long and weary letter, if I would continue in that moral advertisement: I will, therefore, draw more to particulars of your charge; and, as I guess thereby, more aptly to satisfy your lordship's request. The foundation of your services there is your commission, and under seal of discharge; the force thereof is the end of your charge. Wherefore, you shall do well, by frequent reading and consideration thereof, to understand it well, and keep it in memory; for which purpose, it shall be expedient to have some conference with some learned man in the law, for the behalf of the law; and of some other discreet men, for the execution of the same. In like case this know, as you see time convenient, so may you perform the commandments.

But, methinks, you will say, I took upon me the easiest parts of advertisement, that is, to do discreetly; but I shew you not how, but remit you to others; and then will you think, that I do, as one that may bid a sick man be whole, be quit, shake off your sickness; but, how to do, he teacheth not.

Forsooth, my lord, my excuse is two ways: first, I know not your commission, and that you know is true; next, if I did know it, yet I have no such knowledge (especially in law) to inform you withal more particularly, than I do; but these, I think, content you not, for you will (according to your old mirth) call this a reason that cometh from Colliweston; and, therefore, to keep you occupied with scribbling, I will follow on with a hotch-potch of sentences.

In your commission, I think, many things be committed to your discretion, which maketh the burthen greater, than if you had been expressly commanded what to do. Therefore, must you needs consider, what is meant by Discretion; which, as we term it in our language, seemeth to be a knowledge to discern and judge one thing from another. And this part, truly, is properly pertaining to wisdom; for, before a man can discern, he must know it; and he that will perform this part, must measure and judge of these things: and therefore, before you shall conclude of any thing of weight, you must discern often thereupon; and, before you can do that, you must know the thing that is discerned; and then, for the election of these, it is very profitable, to imagine a pair of balances, and in the one, to lay reasons on the one side, and in the other, to lay the contrary, and then judge which is the heaviest; I mean, which balance hath the best reasons, not the most.

And, touching your own person, see things, pertaining thereto, be meet for the place which you keep; neither too negligent, neither too curious; to the one of these perad-

venture you are more subject, than to the other, and, therefore, you must regard yourself the more.

Your household must be governed as it may be an example of virtue to others, and an ornament to your office; let your officers have good ancient rules for order, and see they be not neglected; you must deport yourself so, with the same, as your servants may know you are acquainted with their doings; and yet not seem to strangers to meddle therewith. If you have cause to blame your officer, and have a mind to keep him, do it secretly, that he may know his fault, but not be known to the servant underneath him; in any wise cause not idleness to remain among your people; let not your servants exceed in apparel their degree, for the charge at length will be to your purse or estimation: let them understand, that you love them best, who live best in order; them next, who live nearest order; and them nothing at all, who live far from order; let them, which do well in your house, feel both your love and reward.

At your table, let no matter of princes affairs, or princes regiments, be disputed; nor of religion: for meat and drink requireth meaner talk; to keep men occupied of the common talk of the country, or other honest merry talks. Lastly, note, let Job serve in his degree, your lordship can well enough, with a few questions, set men occupied in talk.

For your fare (your lordship must give me leave to be bold) I can very well like, that in respect of your degree, your service be both in order, and service honourable; and in substance plenteous, and in art curious; but, considering the proneness of this age to excess, I can best allow the first without the last: and in any wise whatsoever you shall like to do in other places, let not your orders, belonging to your estate (especially in common assemblies) at your table be neglected; and, if your table be also plenteous, it is also serviceable for the poor; but the last, to have many devices of counterfeit meats, and also spiced, maketh waste in the household, gaineth little, giveth ill example to be followed, and is not wholesome to your guests, and, in the end, serveth small to hospitality.

Now for the usage of men there in those parts, as you find them at your coming, so as little as you may seek to alter their estate, (unless you see some cause) let it not appear, you use any man, with singular affection, above the rest; and yet you may use (indeed) as you see cause, men either for wisdom, or credit, with respect of others' envies, not them whom you shall make choice of.

In your consultations give every man leave to speak, and bear with their lacks, so that you make choice of the best: do what you can, to make every one live according to his own estate; the gentlemen to live of their own without reproach, and, if you see any young gentleman towards wasting, confer with his friends, for the stay thereof; especially, if his be of any continuance: likewise see, that poor men have their right, not for importunity of clamour, but for pity and truth.

Touching the lawyers of the country, esteem them of learning; see they lack not too much honesty; but in no wise seem to favour these demy-lawyers, except you see perfection of honesty, for in all countries they have least skill, and do most harm.

Do what you can, to make the gentlemen accord amongst themselves; and to extinguish old factions; either by some device of marrying, or by redemption of titles of lands, or such like incumbrances, which commonly be the seeds of discord. For termination of poor men's suits, remit them (as much as you may) to indifferent arbitrators to end; do not intermeddle therewith yourself, for so shall your labour be bottomless.

Whilst you be in that country (if you take any servants) let them be gentlemen's sons, and, if you may, their heirs, that, by their education with you, they may know you and yours.

Set up artillery, and neglect not the game of wrestling; let there be frequent games, as, shooting, running on horse and foot, and wrestling; in my country, have been used all ways for such purposes; and in this behalf I mean not to have you induce new devices in that country, if they have others of their own. But some might ask me this, Is this the true use of holy-days forsooth? Touching that part of the day, where the civil magistrate hath power, I think it not much amiss; but, for the time the ecclesiastical minister doth

appoint to pray, and teach a sermon, I think it not meet to be put to this use. But therein I will not much dispute, for it belongeth to divinity, whereunto your commission extendeth not; for hereof the bishops and others have their charge.

Surely, my lord, it would be time now to leave my scribbling, lest I shall be like the singers, who are dainty to begin, and know not when to leave: I think your lordship shall be weary of reading, wherefore I will leave with a few lines, like to my beginning.

Your doings here have deserved praise, see you continue your distance; so far of your acception here I mean, as I know. You were wont, and have professed unto me, that is, to serve uprightly and truly, and to do therein as you can, and then may you be bold of praise; and, if you miss of that, yet, of no dishonour; for nothing, indeed, is honourable, but well-doing. The weal of your country (I mean, the quietness of such, as you have authority to govern) is your mark, shoot thereat, guiding your purpose with the fear of God; and so shall you gain the love of God and man. If you do sometime (as you see cause) advertise the queen's majesty of the good estate of that country, and of the gentlemen there (so it be by short letters) referring (if you have any long declaration of things) to your letters to the privy-council. 'If any thing to be misliked, or tedious to be advertised; procure others also to write thereof, and in no-wise write thereof alone:' for, you know, fortunate things are welcome from any man, but, how the contrary may come from you, you may doubt.

It is full time for me to end my folly, and your lordship to end your labour; beseeching you, to make my will, in satisfying your request, answer the other lack fault: and, that I may be humbly remembered to my lady, to whom I acknowledge much duty, and am ashamed of my small deserving of her great goodness to me wards.

From my poor house at Wimbleton,

WILL. CECIL.

An Account of the Burial of King Charles the First, and of Oliver Cromwell: In which it appears, how Oliver's Friends contrived to secure his Body from future Disgrace, and to expose the Corpse of King Charles to be substituted in the Punishment and Ignominy designed for the Usurper's Body. MS.

Amongst other papers, the following MS. was carefully preserved by my Lord Oxford. It contains an extract from the Journal of the House of Commons; which honourable House, resolving to disgrace the name of the late usurper Oliver Cromwell, as far as lay in their power, ordered his body to be taken up, and to be first hanged on the gallows at Tyburn, and then to be burnt.

This order was pursued by the serjeant of that honourable House so far, as to find a coffin with Oliver's name, and usurped titles, at the east-end of the middle isle of Henry the Seventh's Chapel, in Westminster-Abbey.

This, with an account where the said inscription is, or was, within a few years ago, to be seen, is written in a very fair hand.

Then, in two different hands, there follows the most remarkable account of a counter-interment of the arch-traitor, as well as the reason and contrivance to secure his body from that expected ignominy, and to continue the revenge of King Charles's enemies,

even to the disgrace of substituting the body of the beheaded King, in the punishment intended by a justly enraged people, upon the dead body of the Usurper.

SOON after the Restoration, the then serjeant of the House of Commons was ordered, by the House, to go with his officers to St. Peter's, Westminster, and demand the body of Oliver Cromwell, buried there, to be taken up, in order to be disposed in the manner the House should adjudge fitting.

Whereupon the said serjeant went, and in the middle isle of Henry the Seventh's Chapel, at the east-end, upon taking up the pavement, in a vault, was found his corpse; in the inside of whose coffin, and upon the breast of the corpse, was laid a copper-plate, finely gilt, inclosed in a thin case of lead, on the one side whereof, were engraved the arms of England, impaled with the arms of Oliver; and, on the reverse, the following *Legenda, viz.*

Oliverius Protector Reipublicæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ, Natus 25.° *April.* 1599, *Inauguratus* 16.° *Dec.*ris 1653, *Mortuus* 3.tio *Sept.*ris, *Anno* 1658, *Hic Situs est.*

The said serjeant, believing the plate to be gold, took it pretendedly, as his fee; and Mr. Gifford, of Colchester, who married the serjeant's daughter, has now the plate, which his father-in-law told him he came by, in the manner above related.

A Counter-Interment of the aforesaid Arch-Traitor, as averred, and ready to be deposed (if Occasion required), by Mr. —— Barkstead, who daily frequents Richard's Coffee-House, within Temple-Bar; being Son to Barkstead, the Regicide, that was executed as such, soon after the Restoration; the Son being at the Time of the said Arch-Traitor's Death, about the Age of fifteen Years.

THAT the said regicide Barkstead, being lieutenant of the Tower of London, and a great confident of the Usurper, did, among other such confidents, in the time of the Usurper's sickness, desire to know where he would be buried? To which, he answered, "Where he had obtained the greatest victory and glory, and as nigh the spot as could be guessed, where the heat of the action was, viz. in the field at Naseby, co. Northampton;" which accordingly was thus performed. At midnight (soon after his death) being first embalmed, and wrapped in a leaden coffin, he was, in a hearse, conveyed to the said field, (the said Mr. Barkstead, by order of his father, attending close to the hearse;) and, being come to the field, there found, about the midst of it, a grave, dug about nine feet deep, with the green sod carefully laid on one side, and the mould on the other; in which, the coffin being soon put, the grave was instantly filled up, and the green sod laid exactly flat upon it, care being taken, that the surplus mould was clean taken away.

Soon after, like care was taken, that the said field was entirely ploughed up, and sown three or four years successively with wheat.

Several other material circumstances, relating to the said interment, the said Mr. Barkstead relates (too long to be here inserted) and, particularly, after the Restoration, his conference with the late (witty) Duke of Buckingham, &c.

Talking over this account of Barkstead's, with the reverend Mr. Sm——, of Q——, whose father had long resided in Florence, as a merchant, and afterwards as minister from King Charles the Second, and had been well acquainted with the fugitives after the Re-

storation; he assured me, he had often heard the said account by other hands: those miscreants always boasting, that they had wrecked their revenge against the father, as far as human foresight could carry it, by beheading him, whilst living; and making his best friends the executors of the utmost ignominies upon him, when dead. Asking him the particular meaning of the last sentence? he said, that Oliver, and his friends, apprehending the restoration of the Stuart family, and that all imaginable disgrace on that turn, would be put upon his body, as well as memory; he contrived his own burial, as averred by Barkstead, having all the theatrical honours of a pompous funeral paid to an empty coffin, into which, afterwards, was removed the corpse of the martyr, (which, by Lord Clarendon's own account, had never truly or certainly been interred; and, after the Restoration, when most diligently sought after, by the Earls of Southampton and Lindsey, at the command of King Charles the Second, in order to a solemn removal, could no where, in the church where he was said to have been buried, be found,) that, if any sentence should be pronounced, as upon his body, it might effectually fall upon that of the King. That, on that order of the Commons, in King Charles the Second's time, the tomb was broken down, and the body taken out of a coffin so inscribed, as mentioned in the serjeant's report, was from thence conveyed to Tyburn; and (to the utmost joy and triumph of that crew of miscreants) hung publicly on the gallows, amidst an infinite crowd of spectators, almost infected with the noisomeness of the stench. The secret being only amongst that abandoned few, there was no doubt in the rest of the people, but the bodies, so exposed, were the bodies they were said to be; had not some, whose curiosity had brought them nearer to the tree, observed, with horror, the remains of a countenance they little had expected there; and that, on tying the cord, there was a strong seam about the neck, by which the head had been, as was supposed, immediately after the decollation, fastened again to the body.

This being whispered about, and the numbers that came to the dismal sight hourly increasing, notice was immediately given of the suspicion to the attending officer, who dispatched a messenger to court, to acquaint them with the rumour, and the ill consequences the spreading or examining into it further, might have. On which the bodies were immediately ordered down, to be buried again, to prevent any infection. Certain is it, they were not burnt, as in prudence, for that pretended reason, might have been expected; as well as in justice, to have shewn the utmost detestation for their crimes, and the most lasting mark of infamy they could inflict upon them. This was the account he gave. What truth there is in it, is not so certain. Many circumstances make the surmise not altogether improbable: as all those enthusiasts, to the last moment of their lives, ever gloried in the truth of it.

The most lamentable and dreadful Thunder and Lightning in the County of Norfolk, and the City of Norwich, on July 20, being the Lord's Day in the Afternoon. The Whirlwind and thick Darkness, and most prodigious Hailstones, which, being above five inches about, did so violently batter down the Windows of the City, that Three-thousand Pounds will hardly repair them. Diverse Men and Women struck dead. The Firing of some Towns, and whole Fields of Corn, by Lightning, which also destroyed the Birds of the Air, and Beasts of the Field.

Together with another most violent Storm, which, happening on Saturday last in the same County, for almost thirty Miles together, performed the like terrible Effects. Attested by Ten-thousand Witnesses, who were either Spectators, or Partakers of the Loss. Entered according to Order, the 31st of July 1656.

London, printed by R. I. for F. Grove on Snow-hill, 1656.

[Quarto, containing Five Pages, with a wooden Cut in the Title-Page, representing Jupiter in the Clouds, with a Thunder-bolt in his Right Hand.]

WE have had too many sad examples of the anger of the Almighty, for our great and crying sins. 'How long shall the land mourn, and the herbs of every field wither for the iniquity of them that dwell therein?' saith the prophet Jeremiah; ch. xii. 4. whilst we do sin, and sin, and persevere in sin; whilst we continue despising the ministers and ordinances of God[1], whilst we will not weep for our own impieties. Behold, the earth is become as brass, and the clouds as marble; whilst, lulled in the lap of security, we wilfully do stop our ears, and refuse to hear the words of the preacher:—Heark! How God doth speak in thunder to us; and he speaks to us on his own day, to declare unto us how jealous he is of his honour, which he will not have given to another; he will not be served on his own day by those, whom he hath not called to his work; by those, who with unwashed hands and brains, as sick of ignorance as presumption, will thrust themselves into the temple of God, and venture to expound the highest mysteries[2].

Certainly where the ordinances of God have been most despised, there will his judgments be most visible; even the birds and the beasts will be made sensible of his displeasure, as he hath declared by his prophet; 'The beasts are consumed with the birds;' Jer. xii. we need not travel far to give you an example of this. The following narration is as full of truth as wonder, and may serve to make our hearts to melt, if they were not made of marble.

[1] Alluding to the state of rebellion in which the kingdom had then been almost sixteen years.

[2] In those days, the learned and stated ministry was deprived; and every whimsical or hypocritical mechanic assumed the Doctor's chair; and, in defiance to the justice of God, (who for the like usurpation, visibly punished Corah, Dathan, and Abiram,) dared to administer God's word and sacraments to a deceived people.

On the twentieth of July, being the Sabbath-day, about four of the clock in the afternoon, there was a great and sudden tempest in the city of Norwich, and in the country thereabouts; the flashes of lightning were most dreadful and violent, and the loud claps from the clouds did so amaze and affright the people, that they thought the spheres came thundering down in flames about their ears. About an hour afterwards, there appeared to the view of many a black cloud of smoke, like unto the smoke of a furnace, and ever and anon it did cast forth flames of fire; it was attended with a white cloud, which, sailing along the air, did seem to labour for all the advantages of the wind, to overtake the other; but, the black cloud being first come, and covering the face of the city, there arose a sudden whirlwind, which in the streets of the city did raise such a dust, that it was almost impossible for one man to discern another but only at a little distance; and, to increase this wonderful darkness, the clouds grew thicker and thicker, especially at the south, and the south-west; when, behold the lightning from them did leap forth again, and the thunder chid, and there followed such a rattling storm of stupendous hail, that, being afterwards measured, the hail-stones were found to be five inches about, and some more; all the glass windows that were on the weather-side of the city were beaten down.

Some letters from Norwich do affirm, that three-thousand pounds will not repair the windows. This which I now speak may in other countries seem incredible, and so it might in our own also, were it not to be attested by above ten-thousand witnesses. And surely it is well worth the observation of the best philosophers to take notice, that those hail-stones (as they exceeded all others in their bigness, so they were unlike them in their form) for many of them were mere pieces of flat ice, and had not the least similitude of roundness in them. But why should we, in so great a wonder, expect to be satisfied with reason from philosophy? He only knows what they were, who in the book of Job doth propound the query, as the subject of our admiration, and is pleased himself to acknowledge them to be of his own armoury, 'which is the armoury of God.' It is to be admired besides, that in many of these hail-stones, there was to be seen the figure of an eye, resembling the eye of a man, and that so perfectly, as if it had been there engraved by the hand of some skilful artificer.

If your eyes, possessed with these unusual spectacles, have yet the leisure to look into the country, in hope there to behold some more comfortable objects, you will find in some places whole fields of corn destroyed by the lightning; you will behold the tempest wrestling with the trees, and, having torn them up by the roots, to lay them on their backs with their heels higher than their heads; the burrows could not protect the listening conies, nor the trees the birds, but on the next morning the travellers found them dead in great numbers on the ground, and in some places a horse, or a cow, lying by them. The lightning whirled through the whole country, and, passing through some houses where the windows were made one against the other, it was seen afterwards to run all along, and to lick the ground; many houses were fired by it, and, had it not pleased God to send an extraordinary shower of rain, some towns, that had taken fire, had been undoubtedly destroyed. It struck some men and women dead for the present, whom it pleased God to recover again to life, to magnify his mercies, and to declare his wonders.

This relation is most true, and seriously we ought to lay it to our hearts; for undoubtedly God there did speak unto us all; you have read in the Gospel, how our Saviour did check the vain presumption of those men, who thought themselves more righteous than those on whom the tower of Siloam fell. Though this thunder and lightning were in the county of Norfolk, yet we ought to fear that the first exhalations did arise from this city[3], where so much pride, oppression, hypocrisy, and profaneness do reign: let us therefore endeavour to humble ourselves before the Almighty, lest he strike us with his forked thunder, and there be none to deliver us; lest our houses and our

[3] London.

bodies be humbled by fire[4], by the hand of God; for, although he delights in mercy, and his mercies are spread over all his works, yet to those who presume to overwit God, and do desperately run on in their impieties, 'our God is a consuming fire.'

And because we are slow to hear, although God himself is our admonisher; it hath pleased him to give us a second alarm in the same county on Saturday last, being the twenty-sixth of this present month, where was again another storm of lightning and thunder, which, passing almost thirty miles, performed the like terrible effects.

[4] As it came to pass ten years after, when London was burnt.

An Elegy on the Death of Trade. By a Relation of the Deceased.

London, printed in the Year 1698.

[Quarto, containing Thirteen Pages.]

A WORTHY old dame,
Mother *Trade* was her name,
That had long lain in desperate state,
Perceiving at last
That all hopes were past,
Contentedly bends to her fate.

And, since she is gone,
For the good deeds sh' has done,
As 'tis common in such like cases,
We can sure do no less,
Than attend to her hearse,
With some marks of remorse on our faces.

There's her grand-daughter, *Art*,
Hath almost broke her heart,
For the loss of so faithful a friend:
She sits in her chair,
In the depth of despair,
And seems to draw near to'ards her end.

Industry, her sister,
When she left her, she kiss'd her,
And bid her for ever adieu;
I must seek out a place,
Where to alter the case,
For here, I find, it will not do.

Her cousin, *Invention*,
Seems too in declension,
And sits down by her, and cries,
Oh! What shall I do?
I have nought to pursue,
Except it be forging of lyes.

But what is still worse,
'Twould make a man curse,
Her landlord has seiz'd all she had,
He hath not allow'd
Her a coffin and shroud,
Good people, i'nt this very sad?

But the beadle is gone,
To see what can be done;
'Tis hard she should lie above ground:
And yonder he comes.
A biting his thumbs;
I'm afraid there's no help to be found.

Then come, Master Beadle,
Pray how look the people?
What means this mighty dejection?
Why, Sir, the folk look,
Like our constable's book
That hath been these three years in collection.

I'm afraid, Master Blue-coat,
That you are no true coat,
For all you look so precisely;
Why sure they will give,
Since they wou'dn't let her live,
Some small thing to bury her wisely.

Come, come, you must out,
And try t'other bout,
And, pray, put the thing to the godly.
What! Must the good dame
Lie unbury'd? For shame;
This all o'er the world will look oddly.

Why, Sir, if you'd hear me,
You'd instantly clear me,
I've been with abundance already;
As God knows my heart,
I've acted my part,
And was always to serve her most ready.

I have been with the Merchant,
Who, you know, is an arch one,
As also with the Baker and Brewer;
I have been with the Banker,
And with him that makes th' Anchor,
With the Taylor, and almost all that knew her.

Then pardon my passion,
'Twas my zeal for my nation,
That urg'd me a little too fast:
Come, prithee, go on,
Let me know man by man,
What betwixt you and each of them pass'd.

For the Merchant then, first,
When I told him, he curs'd,
And swore he expected it long:
I'll be moving, says he,
No, faith, they shall see
I'll ne'er stay to starve with the throng.

My debts lay an embargo,
Or I'd be my own cargo,
And sail to the land of Mogul;
But, when a man breaks,
His vessel then leakes,
And 'tis danger to swim in the hull.

But I'll sell what I've got, land,
And e'en go to Scotland,
I'll venture their itch and their lice;
'Tis better you know,
Master Beadle, to go,
Than to stay here to be eat up with mice.

And now, for to give,
I have nought, as I live,
I was never so poor in my life;
The times are so dead,
I can hardly get bread
For myself, and my children, and wife.

Next I went to the Baker,
And he was a Quaker,
But a little inclin'd to the Papist;
When I told him our loss,
He made on him a cross,
And swore and damn'd like an Atheist.

Says he, Friend, be gone,
For money I've none,
Go, prithee don't trouble my shop;
Don't tell me o' the dead,
I must live by my bread,
And so I was forc'd for to 'lope.

When I came out o'the door,
Says I, You son of a whore,
By your forestalling, regrating, and cheating,
You have got an estate,
And that makes you prate,
Take notice I owe you a beating.

I went hence to the Brewer,
And there I thought sure
I should meet with a little relief;
But, faith, when I come,
He look'd so damn'd grum,
I said nothing, but stood like a thief.

It seems 'twas the day
He was doom'd to go pay,
Upon ale and beer, the excise:
Betwixt taxes and malt,
Says he, I don't get salt,
And so should lay down, were I wise.

At length I grew bold,
And went to him, and told
The long and the short of the thing;
His reply was, Don't tease me,
Pray friend, I'd be easy,
I must give not to her, but the king.

Then next with the Banker,
I soon cast my anchor,
And told him the state of the dame;
His answer was short,
All he had laid at court,
And bid be return whence I came.

To th' Anchor-smith next,
Whom I found sadly vex'd,
At the news of a merchant just broke;
I ask'd him for something,
Who stood like a dumb thing,
At last scratch'd his head, and thus spoke:

Friend, did you but know,
You'd ne'er press me so,
(And out he lugs a long scrowl;)
As God is to save me,
'Twixt merchants and navy,
I'm utterly ruin'd by my soul.

Thence I trudg'd to the Taylor;
That wretch did bewail her,
But swore he had never a souse;
If I had it, said he,
You shou'd have something of me,
But, faith, I'm scarce worth a louse.

A pox take all the beaux,
They must have their new cloaths;
I abhor those fools in the fashion:
Your knights, 'squires, and lords,
That won't keep their words,
By heavens, wou'd there was none in the nation.

I went next to the Drapers,
Found their boys cutting capers,
With abundance of fiddles and flutes;
But, when I ask'd them for money,
They stood staring upon me,
As though they'd been so many mutes.

Said I, Where is your master?
So I told the disaster;
To which answers one of the wisest,
Sir, he seldom comes here,
If he does, he with beer,
In a dreadful manner, disguis'd is.

From the Draper of linnen,
(Which they sell, and then sin in)
I went to their brother of Wool:
But he gave me a joke,
And said that his poke
Was as empty as his skull.

To the next that I went,
Was old Sir *Cent. per Cent.*[1]
That was soundly enrich'd by her art;
His reply was in short,
I have found better sport,
And don't value her death of a f—t.

Being thus in quandary,
I met Apothecary,
And told him the full of the matter;
He call'd me aside,
And ask'd, when she dy'd,
And withal, what doctors came at her.

I'm afraid, with their blisters,
Their purges and clysters,
And issues in every part,
They weaken'd her so much,
She could not stand the touch,
I'm afraid on't with all my heart.

If her head had been shav'd,
She might have been sav'd,
Had she taken a vomit withal;
But, if she's dead, 'tis in vain
Any more to complain,
Here's a couple of pence, 'tis my all.

I march'd next to the Presser's,
And from him to the Mercer's,
Where the Foreman stood combing his wig;
At the far-end o' th' shop,
The lads were whipping a top,
In the middle one dancing a jig.

You must know this spruce cit
Laid a claim to some wit,
And, to shew it, took a wife for her beauty;
But I saw by his face,
There was something i' th' case,
I'm afraid she'd late been on duty.

Well, without long petition,
I told the condition,
He gave me his answer in brief;
I lament the good dame,
And speak it with shame,
But have nothing to give for relief.

Being devilishly vex'd,
To a wretch I went next,
That was selling of buttons and thread;
But, had you been there,
You'd have said, I dare swear,
He was more fit to be ty'd in his bed.

[1] An Usurer.

When I told him, Mother *Trade*
Was gone to the shade;
He swore a great oath, Why do'u name her?
I have just bought a horse
And I'll out for a purse,
I'd almost venture hanging to shame her.

I thought 'twas no boot,
To say more to the brute,
And so to the Saddler I pack,
Where I found him a-swearing,
Stamping, grinning, and staring,
He had scarce got one to his back.

Says he, These commanders,
By their warring in Flanders,
Have so cursedly run in my debt,
They've scarce left me a farthing,
To keep me from starving,
Prithee, friend, don't urge me to fret.

I went then to the Grocer's
To the Brasier's and Throwster's,
To the Binders and Sellers of Books;
But for the success,
I could presently guess,
By their goods in their shops, and their looks.

I went next to the Black-smith,
The Silver and Jack-smith,
And so call'd on a Perfumer;
But he, like a rogue,
Though the chief trade in vogue,
Bid the devil in hell consume her.

I went to the Printer,
The Victualler and Vintner,
But, there finding nothing but chalk:
To the Weavers I went,
But, being near day of rent,
They were all mov'd, their landlords to baulk.

But, sir, 'tis too long
To repeat the whole throng,
I have been with most trades in the city;
And said what I cou'd,
But 'twould all do no good,
They're too poor to be wrought into pity.

Having finish'd my range,
From Temple-Bar to the 'Change,
I thought of a new expedition;
I was resolved to go,
As far as Soho[2],
And try of French and Dutch the condition.

And yet, by the way,
I made a short stay
At the Temple, if you know the place, sir:
On a Lawyer I call'd,
That oft client had maul'd,
And told him the state of my case, sir.

He ask'd me, from whence
I had that impudence,
To expect any goodness from him;
Says he, Sirrah, you know,
We have nothing to do,
But to cheat, drink, whore, and go trim.

Then, master Attorney,
Since it don't concern ye,
I'll go to the Jobber of Stocks:
But he'd jobb'd so long,
As I found by his song,
That he could give her nought but the p-x.

I went next to the Priest,
But he swore, 'twas in jest
To ask any charity there;
For he'd many children to get,
With much cost, pains, and sweat,
Besides something for puddings and beer.

And now for Monsieur[3],
Who, before I came near,
I suppose had smelt out the matter;
He makes two or three cringes,
As if he hung upon hinges,
And thus he began for to flatter.

Begar, me and Minheer,
Bin very sorry to hear,
Of de death of de English trade;
Dis be one good nation,
Upon my salvation,
As ever me tinke dat God made.

Here I put him in mind
Of what I design'd,
And he very briskly reply'd:
De French and de Dutch,
Dat love her so much,
Will take care dat she shall be supply'd.

[2] The French refugees and Dutch, that came over in King William's reign, chiefly settled about *Soho*-square.
[3] See the foregoing note.

The Frenchman, begar,
Will take very good care,
To lay her so deep she shan't rise;
For, if once she shou'd
Dat wou'd be no very good,
If de English should open their eyes.

The Beadle here ends
The tale he intends,
And so we march'd on to the grave;
But, when we came nigh,
There was such an outcry,
Good Lord! how the people did rave.

There was Gun-smith, and Cutle
And Founders, and Suttlers,
And Coach-makers a great many;
There were Coblers, and Tinkers,
Those honest ale-drinkers,
And Shoe-makers too more than any.

There were some of all trades,
Even Rogues, Thieves, and Jades,
All howling and yelping about her;
Such throwing away snot,
Drivel, p--s, and what not.
That, in short, I wish'd myself out, sir.

Had you been next,
When master Spin-text.
Began to hold forth to the people,
You'd have swore that the jar
Had been louder by far [steeple.
Than that 'twixt the 'Change and Bow-

And then for the sound,
When they put her i' th' ground,
What mortal was able to bear it?—
For my part, I confess,
I got out of the press,
And left those, that lik'd it, to hear it.

But now, to conclude,
I think, 'twou'd be rude,
Without saying something o' th' dame;
In short, we shall miss her,
But you know how 'tis, sir,
And let those that deserve 't have the blame.

A Letter of Advice to a Friend, upon the Modern Argument of the Lawfulness of Simple Fornication, Half-Adultery, and Polygamy.

Printed 1696.

[Quarto, containing Fourteen Pages.]

SIR, July 17, 1696.

THE discourse, which happened in our company last night, has obliged me to write this letter to you. I am astonished to see such paradoxes of iniquity set up, and to prevail so unreasonably among men who think themselves the greatest masters of reason. To think *polygamy* and *fornication* lawful; nay, as some have maintained (for there is no stop in wickedness) even *adultery* too.

There is nothing in this matter; but men, having their appetites unbridled, by any restraint or discipline of religion, have given them a loose, are resolved to pursue withersoever they go; and invent the best arguments they can to defend them. Nay, some come at last to believe what they have at first offered in jest, and to try what it would do. And it is a just judgment, and often threatened by God, to give those up to follow their own imaginations, who have no pleasure in his ways; but, instead of loving them, and setting themselves, with the full force and strength of their minds, carefully and diligently to follow them; and to take pleasure in them; do, on the contrary, delight to rally them; and to hear arguments set up against them, which is a sure intimation of a dislike of them, and consequently a contempt of him who enjoined them; nay, a hatred of him; for we cannot love him, and hate his laws. We never saw him, and know him only by his laws,

and that light of himself, which he has given us therein. Therefore, when we would transgress the plain letter of the law, as all the world has ever understood it, we can never be sure but that we are in the dismal number, and under the heavy curse of the haters of God, unless we can bring an authority which will outbalance that upon which the letter of the law does stand. Now all the world has hitherto understood that both fornication and adultery are forbidden under the Gospel. And what is it which our modern wits have to oppose to this? Why, (forsooth!) as you have heard some of them say, that the same word, in Greek, signifies adultery and fornication, which is a great mistake, otherwise than as it is in English, and in all languages. There are general words which comprehend both, as whoredom, uncleanness, and the like. But there are likewise particular words, which distinguish the particular species of these from one another; and you have these reckoned up distinctly, Gal. v. 19, 'adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness.' And the words adultery and fornication are as much distinguished in the Greek as in the English; μοιχεία is adultery, and πορνεια is fornication. And this poor and false criticism is sufficient to carry those, who have strong inclinations to the hazard of their souls, against the received and current testimony of the whole world; whereas they would not venture a penny against a crown, were there half that odds against them.

Let me next recollect to you the arguments they brought for their pretended opinion from reason. I call it *pretended* opinion, because, though men endeavour to amuse themselves, that they be not stopped in the hot pursuit of their lusts, yet I cannot believe, that, in cool thoughts, any, who has ever learned the first principles of christianity, can persuade himself (especially upon a sick-bed) that any fornication and uncleanness can be allowed in the Gospel, which requires the utmost purity, not only of the eye, but of the heart. However, let us hear their reasons. They urge from justice, that there is no wrong to any third person, where both the parties are single.

1. But this argument will have no effect, unless they can annul the commands of God, which forbid it: because we are bound, and that in the strictest justice, to obey God's commands, even in things which are indifferent in their own nature. It was death to neglect circumcision, and other legal institutions. God sought to kill Moses himself, for neglecting to circumcise his son, Exod. iv. 24.

2. The argument is false, that there is no wrong done to any third person in fornication: for it is a great wrong to the parents, relations, and whole family. Let any man judge of this, by the resentment he would have against any who should debauch his mother, daughter, or sister, and against them so debauched.

3. If there was no wrong to any other, yet, if it be a sin, it is the greatest wrong to the person and themselves, to damn their souls. And it is the highest injustice, as to this world: it ruins their reputation, and this, especially in women, is not only a shame (if they should be content to bear with that) but it is a real loss, and hindrance of their fortunes; and, though it should not be known, it is a great injustice to the man who shall marry such a woman. If any man think little of this, let them consider how they would take it to marry another man's whore; and let them do as they would be done to. But there is yet a greater injustice, and that is, to the person herself; for she, that is once debauched, is laid open to the temptations of others; and, when forsaken by her first lover, seldom returns to her virgin modesty, but seeks out, or is found by some other; and often goes on to common prostitution; all which is, in justice, chargeable upon her first corrupter. And if, as many believe, the reason, why Dives desired the conversion of his brethren, was not charity to their souls (for that is not found in hell), but because his punishments were increased to the same degree that his evil example did spread upon earth, (by which we must suppose his brethren and nearest acquaintance to be chiefly infected,) this will be a terrible consideration to those who do corrupt others.

What I have said, as to fornication, that is betwixt two single persons, will operate more strongly against that new notion of adultery which you heard advanced, viz. That *adulterium* is *quasi, ad alterius thorum*, i. e. 'to go to another's bed;' and therefore that, be-

twixt a single and a married person, it is adultery only in the single person, who invades the bed of another.

But this poor quibble, upon the Latin word, *adulterium*, is lost in the Greek original of the text, μοιχεία. But, as to the reason of the thing, if the single person invades, the married does defile and betray the bed of another; and moreover adds the breach of the solemn vow to God, which is enacted in the office of matrimony. Besides, if one be guilty, both must; because it is a sin to be accessary to the sin of another.

Wretched are these shifts, which men, bent to their own destruction, have found out to delude themselves! But they will stand them in no stead at the bar of the great tribunal; no nor qualify their desponding consciences upon their death-bed; upon which men have a notion of sinful pleasures, when they are to be for ever separated from them, very different from that which they had, while they were in the pursuit of them; and those arguments, which then appeared favourable to the gratification of their lusts, will now be seen in their true colours, to be nothing but deceit and fatal delusion: like promises which are said to be made to witches by their familiars, which are not discovered, till their death, to have a double meaning; a false one to delude them with hopes while they lived; but the true one always verified in their destruction, when it is too late to prevent it.

When men sin out of human infirmity, there is a sting of conscience always remains; which, by the blessing of God, may some time or other reclaim them; though it is the most extreme danger and madness, to go on in our sins trusting to this; for, when habits are grown strong, it is the utmost difficulty to return from them. 'Can the Ethiopian 'change his skin, or the leopard his spots? Then may ye also do good, that are accus-'tomed to do evil;' Jer. xiii. 23.

But some, to get rid of that terrible monitor, a wounded conscience, (when they are resolved not to part with their vices) do study and greedily catch at arguments, to alter the nature of their sin (which cannot be altered), and so come at last to persuade themselves that they are persuaded of the lawfulness, at least tolerableness of a darling sin; which therefore they indulge, if not without all reluctance, yet with less than they had before; and therefore think this a happy conquest.

But alas! it is a miserable one over themselves; and their condition then is most desperate, for this is a corrupting of their principles; and there is no repenting or returning from that sin, which they think not to be a sin, or can find excuses for it, such as, for the present, shall satisfy them; at least stop the mouth of a clamorous conscience. Balaam sought such an excuse, and he found it; and 'He that seeks shall find' in this wicked sense, as well as in the contrary sense of which our Saviour spoke it.

And now let me reason a little with you upon the merits of this cause: 'God is a spirit,' and therefore spirit is more real, more substantial than body; and the true pleasure is indeed but spiritual, in that low degree, by which our spirit or soul partakes of pleasure by the mediation of the body; or the body only by the powers of the soul, which enliven and actuate it; and from which it receives its sensation: and therefore, when our soul is gone, the body is no longer sensible either of pleasure or pain; because the soul acts no more by it. But those pure souls, which act without the incumbrance of bodies, have a perception much more quick and delicate, than can be conveyed by such gross and elementary bodies as ours are rendered since the fall. And therefore the happiness which is laid up for us, is to be freed from the dull and terrestrial bodies, and to have spiritual bodies given to us, fashioned like unto Christ's glorious body. This is our utmost happiness, and thither all our endeavours should tend. And this is the great end of our religion, to wean us from the body; to fit and prepare us for the spiritual state; for we must be, in some sort, made like unto it before we enter into it; and that is to be done, while we are in this life. Now, of all sins, those of the flesh are the most opposite to the spiritual enjoyment, and therefore the flesh is to be kept under, even in our lawful allowances; we may sin by excess in them; how much less then are forbidden pleasures to be allowed of? For all these do proceed from an inordinate affection; which of itself is a sin. Therefore, taking this matter from the bottom, you see the reason of the severe prohibitions against the sins of the flesh; they are

utterly inconsistent with a spiritual estate; they do, the most of all other sins, incapacitate us from the spiritual delight; they put us into a frame quite opposite to it; and that is, to God, whom the pure hearts and minds do only see, (Matth. v. 8.) for he is spiritually discerned. Therefore it is said, Gal. v. 17. 'That the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and 'the spirit against the flesh; and these are contrary the one to the other.' And 1 Pet. ii. 11. 'Dearly beloved, I beseech you, as strangers and pilgrims, abstain from fleshly lusts, 'which war against the soul.' Observe, they 'war against the soul;' and the reason why we should subdue them is, because we are 'strangers and pilgrims,' that is, in this world; our rest, our enjoyment, is not here; but we are ordained to be made partakers of the Divine nature, but this shall be only to those 'who have escaped the corruption that is in 'the world through lust,' 2 Pet. i. 4. That is, either those who have not been guilty of it; or who have sincerely repented, and returned from it; as Mary Magdalen, out of whom Christ cast seven devils; Mar. xvi. 9. There are evil spirits (believe it) which possess those who give themselves up to uncleanness; and these must be dispossessed before the holy Spirit of God will enter; which will never descend to a foul and polluted soul. This is the great argument used, 1 Cor. vi. 'That our bodies are the temples of the Holy 'Ghost;' and chap. iii. 17. 'If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God de-'stroy. We are members of Christ; shall I then take the members of Christ, and make 'them the members of an harlot?' This consideration is dreadful! 'The body is not for for-'nication, but for the Lord; and the Lord for the body.' Here is great honour given to our bodies; the Lord has reserved them for himself, and himself for them. This is a great mystery, and should strike us with astonishment! And from hence it may be argued, that when we abuse our bodies, we commit adultery even against God; who is 'married to us,' Jer. iii. 14. And, to shew the hatefulness of this sin, idolatry is all along through the Prophets called, 'going a-whoring from the Lord,' committing adultery against him. And, as this is most provoking to God, so it comes nearest to ourselves, it affects us most of any other sin. 'Every sin that a man doeth is without the body; but he, that committeth 'fornication, sinneth against his own body.' It is like putting hand on one's self, assaulting of our own bodies. And God hath punished this sin severely, in Samson, in David, in Solomon; the greatest, the wisest, the bravest of men. It was this sin of lust, for which the world was drowned, Sodom burned, and the Canaanites utterly destroyed, Lev. xviii. 27. God hath poured greater vengeance upon no sort of sin. Many late examples might be given; King James I, in his Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον to Prince Henry, particularly observes, that 'this sin is often punished with want of lawful issue, or the death of those we have;' and he gives his grandfather King James V. for an instance, who was much subject to incontinency, and lost both his sons most unfortunately, and left his crown to an infant daughter. And, on the other hand, he observes how God had blessed himself with a greater gift of continency, and a numerous issue: as he did in both respects to his son King Charles I. But King Charles II. had no lawful issue; and his unlawful was a grief of heart to him, joining with the seditious party against him. How many noble families in England might be brought as instances, to confirm this observation, whose honours are fallen, or gone into collateral families, for want of lawful heirs, from the most remarkable corrupters of the marriage-bed? But I will not take up time in this. I refer you, for the heinousness of this sin, and God's punishments upon it, to the Homily against Adultery, and 'The Whole Duty of Man,' upon this head.

I shall only observe, that there is a kind of evil spirits, as our Saviour tells us, which will not be got out by prayer and fasting; and certainly this of lust is one of that kind. For, while we pamper our body to that degree, that it is grievous to us to deny it a meal of meat; when shall we subdue it, and bring it under, that it may serve us, but not master us; not overcome our reason, to lay aside the care of our soul, which is eternal, to gratify its beastly desires, which are but for a moment? But the guilt never dies, though the body be laid in the dust. How foolish then, how dreadful, how sottish is it to neglect the eternal welfare both of soul and body, for nothing else but to give the body a little swing now after childish and transitory follies! And how reasonable is it, how manly, how Chris-

tian, to keep it under a fit discipline; to feed but not to pamper it; not to destroy it, but to hinder it from destroying itself, and us, that is, our soul with it! 'Whoredom, and wine, and new wine take away the heart;' Hos. iv. 11. they incapacitate it from serious consideration, or any business that requires thought, though even of this world; how much more then of spiritual things! These are so opposite, that they cannot come into the same mind together.

And if a man would be justly laughed at, and despised, who could not leave his whore, or his bottle, to save his estate, or any worldly matter of great moment; or to serve his friend, in a point of honour: if the pleasures of the body must be sacrificed to such considerations as these; is it then so monstrously unreasonable that they should give place, but a little, to matters of eternal moment! If we venture the health of our bodies, to sit up whole nights upon business; or it may be goodfellowship, cards or dice; reading plays, or a romance; with what face can we pretend our health, as an excuse against watching one night, or part of one, in divine exercises, to, 'trim our lamps, and fit us for the coming of the Lord!' No, then we cannot keep our eyes from closing; and we grow sick, that is, weary of that employment. And the reason is, sensuality takes away the relish of divine things; which cannot be apprehended but by a strong and settled thought: and, of all things, sensuality does most weaken the mind, enervates, and takes all strength from it. 'How weak is thine heart, saith the Lord God; seeing thou doest all these things, the 'work of an imperious whorish woman?' Ezek. xvi. 30. See a further description of this, Prov. vii. And then read an account of that which is opposite to it, the true Wisdom, in the viiith chapter. St Paul said, 1 Cor. ix. 27. 'I run, not as uncertainly; so 'fight I, not as one that beateth the air; but I keep under my body, and bring it into sub-'jection; lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be 'a cast-away.' You see, he esteems it but an 'uncertain fighting, and beating of the air,' to use all other exercises of religion, if we add not that of mortifying the body; and that, without this, he himself, notwithstanding his great labours in preaching, his travels and persecutions, would be in danger of being a cast-away. And if *he* needed it, who can excuse himself? He, who was (one would think) in a continued state of mortification: 'For, 'even unto this present hour (says he, 1 Cor. iv. 11.) we both hunger and thirst, and are 'naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain dwelling-place; and labour, working with 'our own hands;' &c. And yet we hear men excuse themselves from fasting one day in a week, who live in plenty and ease; if that was all; but who plead the vigour of their body, and strength of their constitution, as an excuse for gratifying their lusts; which, by these means, grow too strong for them! And therefore there is no hopes of persuading any man by reason, to forsake his lusts, unless he will first consent to mortify his body. The least measure can be advised are all the fasts of the church; and let each man's zeal add to these, as he sees cause. Without this, your lusts will never give you leave to be heard; but keep you in perpetual hurry, and want of thought. This is the deaf adder that stoppeth your ears, and her own, against the voice of the charmer. It is not words will do it; this is a more stubborn devil. We must set to our whole strength, and all our application, and fast, and pray, and beg God's assistance; we fight for our souls! We must not do it indifferently; and we must not be discouraged, if we do not presently prevail. God may think fit to try us, and to shew us the danger we were in, and the bitterness of sin, by the difficulty of returning from it, and overcoming long habits; and to let us see our own weakness, that we have no power of ourselves, to help ourselves; and thence to teach us to put our whole trust in him; and apply diligently unto him, by earnest prayer, and a careful attendance upon all his holy ordinances: and then he will not fail us; we shall presently perceive that we have gained ground of our enemy, and we shall overcome in the end. We have gone a great length, when we are brought seriously to reckon our lust as our enemy: for then we shall begin to stand upon our guard against it; and never till then can we deny it any thing, but follow its impetuosity, 'as a horse rusheth to the battle;' and violently pursue our own destruction; and nothing can stop us, but a stronger than this strong man; an higher relish of divine than of sensual things; till when, sensual

things must prevail; and this true knowledge of heavenly pleasure is obtained in fasting and retirement. Then it is that God works with us, when we are at leisure to hear him; and shall we deny him such an opportunity?

All this may seem an excursion, and leaving of the argument; but it is not. Their arguments for this sin are easily answered: and I have, in few words, answered them, for more needed not; but that which they most want is to be stirred up, and shaken out of their lethargy. If once they come to consider, their conversion is half effected; towards which, I can only add my prayers to what I have said in the small compass to which I confine myself. And I will now go on to consider the other point, which you heard discoursed of, that is, *Polygamy*.

This is bottomed upon the same loose principles as the other; to give the range to our lusts, and let them endure no limits. But it has more pretence than the other; because God did dispense with it, as with arbitrary divorces, in many ages of the world. But our blessed Saviour reduces both back again to the original institution, Matth. xix. from verse 3, to the 10th. 'From the beginning (says he) it was not so.' How was it then? 'God at the 'beginning made only one male, and one female.' And, 'for this cause, a man shall leave 'father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife; and they twain shall be one flesh.' They twain, here were but two; this was the original institution; and this is applied to the mystical marriage betwixt Christ and his church; even as to the number Two, and no more. Eph. v. 31, 32. 'They two shall be one flesh. This is a great mystery; but I 'speak concerning Christ and the church.' This parallel is made up by two, being joined in one; but not in one being joined to many; it can hardly be said to be one with many. There is a rivalship of the many to that one, and there is a dispersion of the love of the one among many; and they cannot all partake of the one alike. This is no perfect union; like the union of one and one, which is a full perfect union; and a true emblem of the union betwixt Christ and the church: 'My love, my undefiled is but one;' Cant. vi. 9.

The first who broke in upon the original constitution was Lamech, of the posterity of Cain, who took two wives, Gen. iv. 19. But we find not that it prevailed in the posterity of Seth; for, at the Flood, Noah and his three sons had each of them but one wife, who made up the eight persons in the ark.

And even when polygamy was most in use, it was thought, though (in strictness) lawful (because then dispensed with), yet an imperfect, a miserable, and inconvenient state. Therefore Laban adjures Jacob thus, Gen. xxxi. 50: 'If thou shalt afflict my daughters, or if 'thou shalt take other wives besides my daughters.——God is witness,' &c. And Lev. xviii. 18. it is written, 'Thou shalt not take a wife to her sister,' or, as our margent reads it, 'one wife to another.' This was a more perfect state; though the other, 'for the hardness of their hearts, was dispensed with, till Christ came to restore all things, who gives a plain rule, Mark x. 11. against polygamy, when he made it adultery to put away one wife, and marry another. For, if polygamy be lawful, how comes it to be adultery to marry another wife, whether he put away the first or not? To put away a wife unjustly, is a crime; but it is not adultery; the adultery is the marrying of another, while the first wife is alive.

'Let every man have his own wife, and every woman her own husband;' 1 Cor. vii. 2. and the reason given for it, ver. 2, 3, and 5, is only applicable to *monogamy*. If it be said, that that was for the time to come; but did it dissolve the polygamies before contracted? I suppose not: so that, if a man, who had several wives, were converted to the Christian religion, it did not divorce from them all, or from all of them but one; but that he might keep those wives which he married before his conversion: yet such a man should not be preferred to any office in the ministerial function, and this I take to be no improbable construction of those commands, 1 Tim. iii. 2. and 12, that 'bishops and deacons must be the 'husbands of one wife; that is, though polygamy did not incapacitate a man to become a Christian, yet it did to be a clergyman; at least it was so thought expedient by the Apostle.

And from the Apostle's times, to this day, there is no one doctrine of Christianity which

has descended by a more universal consent, and uninterrupted tradition, than this of monogamy, polygamy having never been allowed in any Christian church or nation. And yet against the doctrine of Christ, (as understood and practised by the Apostles, and the church of that age, and all the ages since,) our thin beaux would oppose their little criticisms; and cover themselves with cobwebs; who one day, if they repent not, will call to the hills and mountains to fall upon them, and hide them from their Judge, and their guilt. 'Who now, being past feeling, have given themselves over unto lasciviousness, to work all 'uncleanness with greediness. But ye have not so learned of Christ;' Eph. iv. 19. For, chap. v. 5, 'this ye know, that no whoremonger (πόρνος it is, not only μοιχὸς adulterer) nor 'unclean person hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ, and of God. Let no man 'deceive you with vain words; for because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon 'the children of disobedience.'

Bacchus' Bountie: Describing the debonaire Deitie of his bountifull Godhead, in the Royall Observance of his great Feast of Penticost. Necessarie to be read and marked of all, for the Eschuing of like Enormities.

Fœcundi calices, quem non fecere disertum?

By Philip Foulface of Ale-foord, Student in good Felloship.

Printed at London, for Henry Kyrkham; and are to be solde at his Shop, at the little North-dore of Paules Church, at the Signe of the Black-boy. 1593.

[Quarto, in Black Letter, containing Three Sheets.]

The intention of this Pamphlet was to expose the sin of drunkenness, and the folly and danger of those who give themselves up to that chargeable, silly, and health-destroying vice: a vice, in which a man takes the utmost pains to drown his own reason, to commence a fool, the object of a sober man's resentment and reproach, and to ruin both his own estate and constitution. And it plainly demonstrates, that drunkenness is not the peculiar vice of the present age, as some pretend; but that strong liquor was both as intoxicating, and as much abused in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, as in our days: otherwise it could not have given occasion to the severe satire of this ancient treatise; which, I apprehend, may be useful now to be published; as it was thought necessary to forewarn the temptations, as to anatomize the vice, by its reputed author Mr. Philip Foulface, who, it appears, was a miracle of his age, forasmuch as he was a reformed drunkard; and, though he could not rub the ale-wife's score out of his carbuncled face, was resolved to be no more ensnared with the goodness of her ale.

To the right worthie and renowined Roister, Sir Richard Swash, Lord and Master on Mount Malvorn, cheefe Controller on Salisburie-plain, Keeper of Accounts in the Cart-way, cheefe Forester in the Forest of Dalamere, high Generall of the Downes, Baron of Birlip-hill, Sergeant of the Shoares

and Sea-side, and Vicar of the Vallies: Your dayly Orator, Philip Foulface, wisheth all Health, Wealth, Might, long Life, and prosperous Successe, in all your Affaires and Enterprises where so ever.

WHEN Jupiter's head was great with childe, and the time of travaile nere at hand; he, skorning to complaine, yet put to his shiftes, was faine to send for Vulcan the smith, to crase his crowne with a downedriving blow; not only to cause the swelling to cease, but also to provide passage for the birth of his babe. Which thing when Vulcan had performed, in giving him a sound pat on the pate, out starts Pallas at the opening of his head, and danced before him so maiden-like, that the present sight, so pleasant, expelled all former paines in the birth. Even so (most worthie sir) when the confused chaos of this matter following, was first inhabitant in my witlesse head: then feared I no such swellings, as since I did feele, nor regarded those throwes, which now are overpast. Nevertheless, when my braines fell to their busines, and began to beate as though my head had been ready to burst, disdaining withall the help of Mother Crackfart the midwife; Juno Lucina was as deafe as a dishclout, so that *(volens nolens)* I betooke myselfe to the hearbe hellebore, whose pleasant operation produced so present a purgation, that forthwith there followed a moost speedie deliverance, excluding cares, renuing joy. This young impe thus borne, being brought to the font, was named Bacchus' Bounty: which Bounty I willingly offer unto your Worthines; doubting not at all, but that you will highly accept of him; not only because he is a bonny boy, and the gift of a welwiller: but also because he was begot by Bacchus, you welbeloved friend; conceaved by me, and nourished ever since with the juice of the grape. From Ale-foorde, this ninth of December, anno Dom. 1592.

Bounden to your Bignes,

Philip Foulface.

Philip Foulface to the courteous Reader.

SO many men (some say) so many mindes,
The bravest Gnatho cannot but offend:
Men's mindes do waver like unconstant windes,
Hard then sometimes to please our dearest friend.
Some hungrie curre may bark above the rest,
But please, or displease, I have done my best.

He, that delights to heare of mortall warres,
Is too austere to reade this little booke:
But he that joyes to heare of good ale jarres,
I licence him with leave, herein to looke.
Here (gentle reader) maiest thou finde great sport
To ease thy cares, if hither thou resort.

And welcome all, which reade and meane none ill,
No further ill than I, and welcome all:
A mery minde to mirth enclineth still,
If waightie causes doe not backward call.
Be mery then: Reade here, and do not spare,
And welcome still: here is no better fare.

Philip Foulface.

Quint. *Allicit externas præsuavi nectare gentes.*

Polit. ——————— *non mollia pleno*
——— *Desunt vina cado.*

THE groutheaded Græcians, especiallie the annointed Achives, I meane the Bezila-distes, those devout doctors of Lob Libers canne; these (I say) with their knight-like crue, thought it an high assumption to be as fathers in a frolicke feaste, or as base borne brothers, in bickering with the broth of bountifull Bacchus. Which copper-nosed crue, the knuckle-debunions of Rome, so assaulted with a fresh canvazado the citie of Vinosa, that the alarum of the Romans brake Nectar's necke, head, and shoulders; insomuch, that Vesta in great outrage rushed out of a rocke, and dedicated to sweet father Bacchus as crimson a colour as was then seene in her peereles peticote, most fragrantlie fuming up unto Bacchus; and likewise into the nostrills of all his nosled novises wheresoever.

This newfound sacrifice, in this sort offered to this bursten-bellied god, lent such a sweet scent to the rest of the gods and goddesses, especially to platter-faced Jupiter, that presently he appeased their furie, mitigated the afore offered injurie, renewed Nectar to former jollitie, and sent out Mercurie as ambassadour, to parle with Neptune, rector of the seas; that Triton, his trustie trumpeter, should sound along from shoare to shoare throughout the whole worlde, the blessed Bountie of Bacchus.

Mercury discharging himselfe, and Triton by commaundement of his king, tied to the aforesaid chardge, with clattering clang he thundred out such joyfull newes, that not only Mount Ætna yeelded forth fierie flames in signification of sodaine joyes: but also Olympus merily mounted, in hope that Permessus, that pleasant spring, should bee somewhat tainted with the sweet taste of so lovely a liquor.

The decreed tidings of Jupiter are worde by worde in effect, as followe:

Passe, Mercury, to Neptune's brinish bowers,
My wish, my will, in hast to him unfolde;
Let Triton scale those hiest fleeting towers,
In Bacchus' praise let all his tale be tolde.
Let him commaund, the Curists change their lives,
In vain strives he, with Bacchus' brood which strives.

The Bacchanals henceforth shall beare the sway,
With help of hypocrites they shall doe well;
This gift I give, it shall be as I say,
Their forwardnes in fraies shall beare the bell.
I give them right to sweare it out with wordes,
I give them might to swash it out with swordes.

I will that these the auncient order holde,
Th' order of knighthood never to decay:
The greatest soakers shal be least controulde,
Each tyro shall of Nectar make his pray:
And whose conceipts god Bacchus deemes the best
Shall have a rich reward above the rest.

Come, Ganimedes, come with chrystal cups,
Some nappie nectar bring me here in place;
Accurst be he which Nectar only sups,
And turns not over pot by pot apace.
Accurst be he which after Ceres gapes.
And shunnes to sucke the sugred sappe of grapes.

In griefe live they with carkes of cares oprest,
Which leave their liquor and away depart,
Till Bacchus have them crowned with his crest,
Whose force expelles all sorrowes from the hart.
With *Vivat Bacchus*, let the Ocean ring,
The same let Africk, Asia, and Europe sing.

Now Eccho, the babbling nymph, at the sound of Triton, having intelligence hereof, resounded this decree so mightilie towards the maine, that it easily entred into the hearing of all the inhabitants in every haven. And even as at the bellowing of the bonnie white bul, the ardent heates of Pasiphae were more and more increased; in so much that one horn of his head was more precious in her precise imagination, than all her former sacrifices dedicated as dainties to delectable Diana: even so as soone as the bruite of most bountifull Bacchus was blazed abroad, Tom Typsay, an English tapster, wel-nere choaked with a marveilous drie heat, which he of late had got by lifting overlong at Old Mother Redcap's[1]; this Tom Typsay, I say, with a wel tried tankard trailing at his tail, the more he thought of Bacchus' bountie, the more he desired to try the experience: and, the further he laboured after his liking, the longer he lusted after his liquor; wishing, at every foote, the worthie presence of so gracious a god.

Thus Tom Typsay (not only in hope to tipple with the best, but trusting to merite a further rewarde,) fell flat downe on both his maribones, holding up his hands on hie towardes the heavens, and made his orison to the renowned god Bacchus, as hereafter followeth:

BONNY Bacchus, god of wines,
Cheefe maintainer of our vines,
Sucker the soule, in greefe which pines;
Water to drinke, I hold not god,
Thy juice, O Bacchus, breeds best blood.
Nectar, good Bacchus, Nectar send,
Brave Bacchus, do thy bounty lend:
Unto Tom Typsey stand a frend,
And so thy fame shall never ende.
Nectar, sweet Nectar, is my wish,
Behold my tankard, and my dish.
As for my plate, I have it solde,
And for pure broath my money tolde;
Yet once againe let me beholde,
Every morning warme or colde,
Nappie liquor, stout and bolde,
Commended and boasted,
In a pot trimly toasted,
The pot's feet finely roasted
In a worthie fire.
And first of all for my part,
To besiege and sacke the quarte,
Till it warme me well at hart,
And then doe it feele
Sincke downe into my heele:
And so next to take the paines
To passe upward through the vaines,
And soake withall into these braines,
Which witles now, alas! remaines
For want of good liquor.

Scarse had he ended this his petitory prattle, but Bacchus, as willing to lend him a long eare to heare, as hee to open a wide mouth to aske; and as desirous to fetch him in for a footman, as to turne him off his trusse; and as ready to feede him as fat as a foole, as to teach him the tricke to shue the goose; presently he roused up his moisty head, and from a muddie muse so cleered up his cherilike countenance, that the majestie of his nose seemed as the beames of the sunne shining along throughout the coastes of Archadie. But, missing the sight of him whom he lately heard, forthwith he tumbled upon his tunne, and standing bolt upright, through the merveilous influence which to him was imparted by Euriopazeus; he saw Tom Typsay in an exceeding quandary, insomuch that Bacchus, for very pittie, through the might of his deitie, so curiously soared through the airie region, that in a moment he descried this perplexed Tapster, and drawing nere him, he hailed him after this manner:

'Whereas (my friend) thy groanes are so great and grievous, that they have ascended the hiest cloudes, which cry out, in thy behalfe, for my accustomed clemency, and pierced withall into my bountifull tunne, which now, troubled with the sharpnes of thy speech, threates out a danger to her former swavitie: Behold, Bacchus, Bacchus, I say, thy best beloved god, ready prest to performe what thou art willing to demaunde.

'Say on therefore boldly, and fear not; and withall know this, that Bacchus hath

[1] At the sign of Old Mother Redcap, in Highgate-road, formerly much noted for good ale.

not only to a care to keep his clients in safety, but great cause (no doubt) to preserve them in felicity. For who is he that hath ever heard, much lesse seene, that any of the gods, at any time, so tendred the welfare of their suppliants, as from age to age, both dayly and hourely, hath been seene in me. The tyranny of Jupiter is testified by his threatning thunderbolte; the malice of Mars is expressed by his bloody blade; the outrage of Pallas is dissembled by the booke, but evidently perceived by the piercing launce; the broyles of Pan are performed by the crooke; the fury of Sylvanus is known by the clubbe; the dismal decrees of Diana are noted by her dartes; and, to be briefe, all the other gods and goddesses, Hercules-like, are cloyed with such cholericke clubbes, that their mouthes taste nothing saving wordes of wrath, and their deeds seem undecent, unlesse they smel of revenge.

'But Bacchus, that brave god, whom thou seest here present, abhorreth that his wightes should bee wearied with the waight of such unweildie weapons. No, no; I beare (as thou maiest see) a beautifull braunch of goodly grapes, in token of joy and gladnes: whereas the terrour of other gods, to the griefe of many, doth prognosticate sorrow and sadnes.

'Now therefore, Tapster, if thou wilt be as ready to make trial of my bountie, as I willing to invite thee to my banquet, beholde, Whitson-weeke is neere at hand, then are my feasts called Bacchanalia[2]; then resort together the whole band of Bacchus in their chiefest braverie, amongst whome, if it so please thee, thou shalt be entertained as a guest most welcome to Bacchus.'

Tom Typsay hearing so courteous a discourse, as a man marvellously amazed for joy, stood a long time staring in Bacchus' face; not able, poore soule, as then, to make a reply. But Bacchus, a perfect phisitian, willing to preserve his patient in so pitifull a plight, revived his spirites with the sweet moysture of his tunne, and refreshed his braines with the juice of his grapes. Hereat Tom Typsay, awaking as it were from a drousie slumber, yeelded to his god, Bacchus, a tub full of thankes, and promised at the time appointed to bee there with the first. Yet, because hee knew not the place, hee demanded of him thus:

'Sith your worship's godhead hath vouchsafed to commaund my companie to so famous a feast; let it not displease your majestie to put me in memorie of the place; else, by the masse[3], I promise you, I feare mee, I shall never finde out your honour's house: I pray you, sir, how do you call it?'

'To resolve this doubt, (quoth Bacchus,) understand therefore, that my mansion-house is called Alepotto, scituate on the south-side of Quaffington, enquire for mee at the signe of the Scarlet Nose, and from thence shalt thou bee set aright into Beerebury-lane; so that, being there, thou canst not misse to finde out my palace, for thou shalt plainely see it before thine eyes.'

Hereat Tom Typsay made a long legge, vowing to be there without faile; and Bacchus, willing to dismisse him, blessed the Tapster's tankard with part of his bountie, and thereupon departed.

Thus the Tapster in great haste hies him home as mery as any hare in the moneth of March. For whereas, before this so comfortable a conference, he was so lazie, that every foote seemed to have a leaden heele; everie legge in such a quandarie, as though they had tooke some new acquaintance with the goute; yea his very head so heavie, as if it had beene harnessed in a horse-nightcap; and his whole bodie so distempered, as though he had beene prickt to the very heart with a belclapper. Beholde, nowe the case is altred, and hee is altogether become another man; for now he is as nimble as a dog's taile, as couragious as a butterflie, and as merrie at the heart as the best pair of bagpipes in all the countrey.

[2] i. e. drunken feasts: and truly whoever observes the rioting of the London-youth at Whitsontide, at Greenwich, or Wandsworth, &c. will be soon convinced, that Bacchus still keeps his Pentecost at London.

[3] An old popish oath.

But as times are altred, so divers accidents are inferred. Happie was Midas, when it was graunted unto him, that all which hee touched should bee golde! but soone haples againe, when his meate was metamorphosed into metall, and he with his wish ready to starve. Glad was Acteon at the sight of Diana, when she bathed herselfe amongst her nimphes; but luckles was his lot, when shortly after hee became himselfe a present pray to bee devoured of his owne dogs. And joyfull was Tom Typsay in remembraunce of the bountie of his god Bacchus; but sorrowfull, alas! at his returne, when first he came within the viewe of his wife. For shee, (as is the maner of all headie huswives, whose tongues[4] are more ready to rave, than their hands to worke,) not sticking one jot to teache him a newe lesson, tooke him roundly by the topping, and welcomed him home after this maner.

"Ah, ah, Sirra! I see by astronomie that the moone is even now at full, and the signe settled just in the nose; in so much that, as by all mathematicall probabilities I dóe conjecture, backe and bellie may this yeare both goe bare[5], so that there be no want of harnes for the head. Well, well, I need not to tel thee what thou art, the gilding of the nose sufficiently bewraies thy good behaviour. In so much that either Luna hath come downe alone, and, in taking thee for her olde Endimion, hath made thee her newe moone face; or, as thy tottering too and fro doth plainely testifie, thou hast had some long tariance at Simon Soaker's house, the coppernose smith, your ever assured friend. But one thing assure thee, for so I am certainely perswaded; that as the divell hath already dubbed thee for a drunkard, so hereafter one time or other, but never too late, Don Tyburne will invite thee to a liveles feast, and teach thee the crosse caper in a halfepennie halter." And thus in a fustian fume she flung away.

If true it be, as many report, that a curst queane's tongue is as sharpe as a razor; experience then proveth, that this poore shaveling needed no better a barber. However it be, I will referre it to their rehearsall, which have had their crownes smoothed as well with a crabtree combe, as those which have tried the sharpnes of the sisers.

But even as the clap of the thunder, the greater it is, the sooner it ceaseth; and the blastes of Boreas, the more furious they are, the lesse while is their continuance; so likewise, a woman's mouth, the more full it is of wordes, the lesse it is of force, and sooner it wasteth into winde. The falling out of lovers is the renewing of love[6], and the bitternes of the tongue is easely seasoned with the sweetness of the lippes; for what with pleasing speeches, sweete conceipts, the clinking of the pot, and the drinking of new nectar, these two sweete soules became both as one, and the heate of their former furies were frozen up as it were into a lake of everlasting love.

Thus whiles this couple continued in solacing themselves to their hearts content, behold Whitsontide drew on: and, to be briefe, away they both do walke to the banquet; but, because these guestes were wrapped up in their chiefest roabes, it will not be amisse to describe them in their cheefest bravery, as they passed along on their journey.

THE Tapster's hat was all in blew,
Beseeming well his nut-browne hew:
His nose was ruddy, as I weene,
And bending as the faucons beene.
His thin-set heire along did sit,
Which represents a woodcock's wit;
Yet bald withall was Typsay found,
With eares side-hanging like a hound.
His eyes mere fiery on each side,
His mouth was open, gaping wide;
His lippes great as a cable-rope,
His teeth white, as washt in sope.
A bristled beard did flower his cheekes,
His breath was sweete, as unset leekes:
Upon his chinne a wart did grow;
Bacchus thereby might well him know:

[4] See the "Anatomy of a Woman's Tongue," at page 183 of the present Volume.

[5] [This phrase may have been proverbial: it forms a burden to the first *chanson à boire* of any merit, in our language. See Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, vol. 3.]

[6] [*Amantium iræ amoris redintegratio est.*]

About his neck he wore a ruffe,
A quarter long, which was enuffe.
His jacket grey, well fac'd with furre,
His voyce was like a barking curre.
His shoulders did like horseloves stand,
As pillers to uphold his band:
His back was ridged like a boare,
His belly like a tunne before.
There hangs a tap betweene his legs,
From whence he turneth foorth his dregs.
On either hand was placed a cuffe,
And bravely was he breecht in buffe.
His leggs they were so crooked seene,
A yoked hog might run betweene.
One foot was of the largest sice,
The other clubbed crabtree wise.
And here described is the guest,
Which Bacchus bad unto his feast.

Now, as concerning the costly attire of the Tapster's wife, because I am in haste at this time, I am rather willing to slip over so cumbersome a matter with silence, than to trouble idle heads with matters of so great importance.

As they thus traveled togeather, at length they obteined their long-desired haven, and entered into the pallace of good Bacchus; where they were so worthilie entertayned, that the sunne in his midday spheare, shining out most brightlie, doth scarce halfe represent such glorie, as was, by report, seene in this feast. For whereas commonly, now a daies, we either invite them of our acquaintance, or such whose newfound friendship may be as meanes to cure olde soares; this mightie god, Bacchus, to the wonder of the worlde, inviteth not onely such as bee his familiars, but men altogether unknowne, as well the poore as the riche.

See then the goodnes of this so gracious a god, al yee which in the driest drought of summer, had rather shroude your throates with a handfull of hemp, than with the expence of an odde crinclepouch[7], wash yourselves within and without, and make yourselves as mery as dawes; yea, learne, yee niggards, at god Bacchus to bee lively; whose especiall favor spreads out itselfe so far, that every nation doth magnifie his name, every countrey speakes in his commendation, and all people paint him out with pen and pensill, in so much, that Jupiter himselfe doth wonder at his worthines.

But, to returne from whence I came: Their entertaynment, I say, was such, that they rather thought themselves transported into Paradice, that place of pleasure, than remayning in any earthly habitation; for there they saw a royal resort, as well of all lands and languages, as of all degrees and callings whatsoever.

There was Ganimedes sent from Jupiter, to imploy his service at Bacchus' table: there was halting Hebe sent from Juno to furnish this feast with all solemnitie: there was Sylenus, a stately servitour, waiting at every winke, and preventing every want. Yea, such was the bounty of Bacchus, that he sent downe to Plutus, prince of Hell, and craved the company of divers of his acquaintance, which Plutus performed accordingly.

Thither rode great Alexander upon the back of prauncing Bucephalus, bravely accompanied with Sardanapalus, King of Assiria, Queene Semiramis, and Ninus her sonne, first founders of Babilon.

After these came Claudius Tiberius, the Romaine Emperour; who, for the zeale hee had to the vintree, was merely termed *Caldius Biberius mero:* with him came Caligula, Nero, and Heliogabalus, Anthonie, Cleopatra, and such like.

After these againe came stumbling in blind Homer, the Grecian poet: and with him came Aristophanes, Menander, and others; and along with these came Virgil, Horace, Ovid, olde father Ennius, Geffery Chaucer, Lydgate, Anthony[8] Skelton, Will. Elderton; with infinite mo, whose several names to rehearse were no les labour, than to make a mouse to p—s over Poules, or a louse to leap over the high tops of Malverne hills.

Moreover, after these came young Cicero, who, for the large loose that he had in turning downe his liquor, was called Bicongius; with him came the blockheaded Balatronus and Vibidius, Mecenas' trencher-mates, and that old huddle and twang Aristodemus, the shadow of Saint Socrates.

[7] Six-pence. [8] [Or rather *John* Skelton.]

And Proserpina, the infernal queene, willing to honour Bacchus in what she might; releaseth Tantalus out of the river, causeth Sysiphus to cease from his tumbling taske, sets Ixion free from his torture, calls downe Prometheus, and compels the vultures, devouring his heart, to cease from their pray; and, for the time only that Bacchus' feast continueth, she doth licence them al to depart.

Glad were they to be released, though but for a time; and glad was Bacchus, that it was his lot to welcome such willing guestes.

As Bacchus was thus most busie amongst his friends, behold a reverend route resorted towardst his court with a trumpet before them; sounding most melodiously in token of great joy, for that they were so near the pleasant paradice of god Bacchus. Who they were, from whence they came, and in what maner they appeared in presence, followeth as thus:

First of all, came David Drie-throat, from Lesbona in Portugale; in his hand he held a peece well fild with wine of Canary, which with cap and knee he presented to god Bacchus, and gave place to the rest.

Secondly, came Alexander Addlehead, from Dun Baur, a Scot, who offered to his god a dozen of red herrings, to season his mouth, before he sate downe to taste his liquor.

Thirdly, there skipt in a Spaniard, of the city of Logronio, named Blayner Bloblip, who gratifying his god with two limons, and an orange pill, with a most lowly legge he lept aside.

Fourthly, came wallowing in a Germane, borne in Mentz, his name was Gotfrey Grouthead; with him he brought a wallet full of woodcocks' heads; the braines thereof, tempered with other sauce, is a passing preservative against the ale-passion, or paine in the pate.

Fifthly, came posting in one Peers Spendall from Brundusium, an Italian frier, with a pot full of holy water, sprinkling to and fro and round about him, to drive away the divell, least hee should chaunce to come invisible and deceave them of their drinke.

The sixth was one Frauncis Franckfellow, a Corinthian, in the coasts of Achaia; with him he brought a box of oyle, that Bacchus therewith might baste his belly, when it was ready to crack, with licking up overlavishly the small crums that tumbled out of his tunne.

The seventh was one Simon Swil-kan; he came from Colops, a citie in Africa; and presented to Bacchus a buttock of bacon; which, broyled on the coals, and so eaten, will set a man on longing for his liquor before sunneshine, bee the morning never so moysty.

The eighth was of Capsa, a towne well known in Numidia; his name was Geffery Gooscap, and with him hee brought a nightcap for god Bacchus' great godhead; least, through his hot compotations in the day, his head should crow with cold consumptions in the night.

The ninth was a jolly gentlewoman, named Mistris Merigodown; she came from Archelais, a citie in Cappadocia, with a fanne of fethers in one hand[9], and a looking-glasse in the other, which both she gave to Bacchus: the one to gather winde, lest his breath shoulde faile him when he blew a long blast in a wine pot; the other to see his nose, least, continuing overlong in a fierie colour, it shoulde chance to be changed into a carbuncle.

The tenth was one Philip Filpot, brought up in Varica, a citie of Iberia, and one of the sect of Saint Sinckator[10]. This Philip was a phisition, and brought to his god Bacchus a certaine potion, marveilous in operation; of which, whoever hee were that did drinke, after he had been well whitled, by vertue thereof, if he once were asleepe, shoulde never awake till hee were wiser.

The eleventh was a Jewe, borne in Joppa: he had to name Christopher Crabface, a man famous in astrologie; he brought in his hand a prognostication newly composed, which hee bestowed on god Bacchus: in which booke hee had largely set down divers detriments accidentall to this yeare. Especially this I noted, that many drunkards, whiles

[9] [Specimens of feathered fans may be seen among the notes of Mr. Steevens on the Merry Wives of Windsor.]

[10] [*Cinque-Quatre:*] i. e. a back-gammon player.

they looked upwards on high towards the man in the moone, shall breake their necks downwards below in the bottome of a ditch.

The twelfth was Gilbert Goodfellow, from Arbila, an Assyrian; this Gilbert was a butcher, and brought with him an hog's head, a sheepe's tongue, and a calve's chauldron[11]; the hog's head for harnesse against entreatie; the sheepe's tongue to temper his owne the better in telling of a true tale; and a calve's chauldron to wrap up his noddle, least in the ende of a banquet his inward heate should fume out with a farewell to all good felloship.

The thirteenth came from Choka, a citie in Arabia, named Nicholas Neverthrive; he brought with him a pudding-pie, pretilie powdered with such hot spices as his countrie plentifully dooth afforde; which, being once tasted, dooth marvellously encrease a moystie appetite, which Bacchus receaved very thankfully.

The fourteenth was called Hodge Heaviebreech: he came from Miserga, a citie in the confines of Persia. Hodge by his occupation was a cardmaker, who, for the zeale he had to god Bacchus and all good fellows, offered up to him that renowned ruffler, the Knave of Clubs,with a box of trim-trillilles, commonly called, the Dice; the one to aide him in a needeles combat; the other, after his losse, to serve him instead of recreation.

The fifteenth was one Maudlen Moonface, a mery gentlewoman of Dublin, a citie in Ireland: with her she brought a glasse ful, nose high, of aquavitæ, the operation whereof is no less monstrous than marveilous; for, being drunk in a morning, it so warmeth the heart, as if the body were in a bath; whose inward heats, when they begin to bud forth, transform themselves into goosberry-grapes to be seen most plainely as under a vizard of glistering glasse.

The sixteenth was a pleasant Parthian of the stately citie Catompylon, called Loblurchall; this youth was a feate fellow, and a fine faulkner; with him he carried a waterwagtaile, readie to flie at the fairest goose in Winchester; which present god Bacchus accepted very gratefully.

The seventeenth was borne in India, at a fair citie called Tyndis; this forsooth,was a coy dame, called Cate Crashpot; she came clincking a quart-pot for sweet musicke, instead of the tabret, to which maner of melodie, god Bacchus listned exceedingly.

The eighteenth was one Baudwin Barrelbelly, from Ormusa, a place sufficiently knowne in the ile of Cyprusse; with him he brought a firkin full of wine of Basterdes, assuring god Bacchus on his fidelitie, that so many as he made thereof partakers with him, as long as they applied themselves to the harty carouse, should never be haunted by death, and faile footing.

The nineteenth came from Garma in Æthiopia, called Goody Goodale; she (in token of pure devotion) delivered to Bacchus a sack full of groute, and a sack full of hops, standing stoutly in this opinion, that the barley-broath, above all other, did beare away the bell,and that neither grape nor berry might in any respect be compared to the majestie of the mault.

The twentieth was a worthie yeoman, one Tom Tospot; he came from Friburgum, an Helvetian; he, as willing to please himselfe, as to honour his god, presented to Bacchus, a dainty devised compound of sundry simples pastiewise, as the trimming of tripes, the fat of chitterlings, and the marrow of sweet-souse, lapt up altogether within the crusty walls of paste-royal, in so much, that a world of belly-cheere was contained therein; which god Bacchus received with so greate thankes, that he promised to honour the eating thereof, with the best increments of his overflowing tunne.

When these had ended their devotion, they were placed all in order, and used as most welcome guests: busie was Bacchus in uttering his bounty, and the rest of the servitors no lesse diligent; so that no man wanted his wish, nor was deprived of his will.

Scarse had they tipled gyrum-wise[12], (as commonly the sect of the Surratims use to doe,) as only of triall to whet their whistles; but in comes Bat Barlicap, a mery musitian,

[11] [Chauldron is *entrails.* See the Witches' incantation in Macbeth, Act IV. Sc. 1.] [12] Round.

ready with cap and knee to give them a song; which proffer god Bacchus accepted gladly; wherupon M. Barlicap tempered up his fiddle, and began as followeth:

THE Gods of Love,
Which raigne above,
Maintaine this feast:
Let Bacchus find
Their hearts most kind
To every guest.
And long may Bacchus brave it here,
In pleasures to abound,
That wine and beer, and belly gut cheere,
With plenty here be found.

I pray likewise,
That, ere you rise,
You drink your fill;
That no man want,
Nor find it skant,
Whereof to swill.
Then may you all carouse in blisse,
And bid farewell to woe;
Who lives in this, he cannot misse
But straight to Heaven goe.

Be mery all,
Both great and small,
Be mery here;
And with your liquor
Sweetly bicker,
Doe not fear.
Wash well your throats which now are dry,
And spare not you for cost;
I tell you true, no shot is due,
Where Bacchus rules the rost.

Sadnes and griefe
Bring no reliefe,
Bid them adiew:
In pain none pine,
Which love strong wine,
I tell you true.
Then learn to laffe, carouse and quaffe,
And spare not while you may:
Hey dery, dery, my masters, be mery,
And look for a joyfull day.

This song thus ended, the whole hall for joy did ring out a loud laffing-peale, and thanked the fidler for his mirth. Bacchus made him drink, Silenus bade him not spare, so Barlicap did drink till his eyes did stare.

Thus every man falls to his taske, and hee happie that is able to stand stoutly in the fore front, to give the bravest onset.

Whiles thus they tipled, the fidler he fidled, and the pots danced for joy the old hop about, commonly called Sellengar's Round[13]; every man set to his foot; there was not whip, snatch, and away, but plaine rack and manger, where every one dranke himselfe out of danger; cups and cans went clip clap, the guests were all welcome, their tongues ran at randome, Sir Prattle kept a wrangling, and Dame Tattle a great jangling; each one was mery, and no man wanted words to solace his next neighbour: to be briefe, heaven was here, and hell where they were not; yea, who but the guests of god Bacchus!

Amids these only pleasures, and joys incomparable, Jupiter sends down Mercury, to make them pleasant; and Venus, the Queen of Love, sent also her son Cupid, to creep in amongst them for kindness, and to lead them along blindfold unto lust and loathsome self-lking.

Then Pluto, the master-divell of hell, seeing fit opportunity and place convenient, sent amongst the joyful guests of this feast the furies of hell, who with all speed posted to god Bacchus' pallace, to exercise their hellish outrage.

Now Cupid lingred not out his time, but did drive his dartes amongst them with such force, that some for pure love wedded themselves to wine; some became sworne brethren to the beere-pot; other some matched themselves only to metheglin; one liked this, another that; all was wonderful to behold.

Bawdwin Barrelbelly was greatly grieved with love-gripes, especially through the desire hee had to Goody Goodale, the Æthiopian.

[13] [*Sellenger's* or *St. Leger's Round*, was an old country-dance mentioned by Morley, and printed by Sir John Hawkins in his History of Music, vol. 3.]

Kit Crabface so ardently burned in the love of Maudlin Moonface, that well nere he burned himself to ashes.

Mercury he cast his eloquence amongst them by horse-loades at once; so that large promises, with no performance, were as easy to be heard, as small bells in a morrice-daunce.

Medusa, Megera, and the rest of those furious hags, flie al at once in amongst them, and set their teeth on edge to practise villanie one against another; one puls his felow by the beard without cause; another crackes his next fellowe's crowne with a quart-pot; one flings a glasse in another man's face, another makes a buckler of his hat to save himselfe before, whilst another with a black jack breakes his head behinde; one cries, 'Downe with him, downe with him;' not able of himselfe to kill a louse; another lies lurking under the table altogether speechless.

Here David Drithroat gathered up his teeth, which Pierse Spendall, the frier, had lately strooke out, because David, like an unmannerly knave, presumed to p—s in the holy water-pot.

There Gotfrey Grouthead begins to fume, and fometh at the mouth like a savage bore; hee falls at variance with Mistris Merigodowne, and hales her along by the hair of the head; in so much, that (thou knave) was as common among them as cartway, or *probo* in the schooles; and (thou whore) as usuall a terme, as *hait hary* in the mouth of a carter.

Whiles thus they lay on heapes, one on the neck of another; some spurning others with their heeles, some scratching their heads where they itched not; some sprauling underneath, most glad to rise up againe; some wiping the blood away from their faces; some rubbing their shinnes, which they burst on the frames, some gaping for winde, almost choked with flies: while these, I say, did lie in this so great disorder, the gods above were constrained to winke at their follies, and the divels below rejoiced at the viewe of this our mortall wretchedness.

Thus Bacchus arose with the rest of his barons, and dismissed every man very bountifully; who, after long stumbling, at the last returned from whence they came. And Bacchus himselfe retired to Archadie, where, at this day, for his singular liberalitie and bounteous behaviour towards all inhabitants, travellers, and passengers, he is of power to make a greater companie of able men than any man of his degree.

Et largas epulas et bona vina dedit.

The Baths of Bath: or, A necessarie compendious Treatise concerning the Nature, Use, and Efficacy of those famous hot Waters; published for the Benefit of all such as yearly, for their Health, resort to those Baths. With an Advertisement of the great Utility that cometh to Man's Body, by the taking of Physick in the Spring; inferred upon a Question moved, concerning the Frequency of Sickness, and Death of People, more in that Season than in any other. Whereunto is also annexed a Censure, concerning the Water of St. Vincent's Rocks, near Bristol; which begins to grow in great Request and Use against the Stone. By Thomas[1] Venner, Doctor of Physick in Bath.

London, printed by Felix Kyngston, in 1628.

[Quarto, containing Twenty-six Pages.]

Serenissimæ Principi Mariæ, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, Reginæ, Hoc de Thermis Bathoniensibus opusculum humillimè dedicat et consecrat Tho. Venerus, Med. Dr.

TO THE READER.

Good Reader; seeing, in the few years that I have exercised physick at the Baths, the yearly concourse, in the spring and fall, of people of all sorts, and from all parts of this kingdom, to those famous waters; and the little benefit that many after great expence and trouble receive thereby; I was induced to publish this ensuing treatise, wherein I have very briefly shewed the nature and efficacy of those waters; touching the causes that many find not comfort, but oftentimes rather hurt, that resort to them; with such advertisements concerning the use of the said waters, which if they be rightly observed, I am persuaded few will hereafter complain, that they have been at the Baths in vain; and so the waters regain that esteem which, in respect of their singular virtues, they are worthy of. But here you must take from me this one advertisement, which is, 'That sickness is a symptom of sin;' and therefore first, *pœnitentiam agendo*[2], before your departure from home, make peace betwixt God and your conscience; and then repair to the Baths, *quò te faustum ducat, atque sanum reducat, qui solus id potest. Vale*[3].

BATH, so called from the baths in it, is a little well-compacted city[4], and beautified with fair and goodly buildings for receipt of strangers. Although the site thereof, by reason of the vicinity of hills, seem not pleasant, being almost invironed with them; yet,

[1] [The biographers of this M. D. called him *Tobio* or *Tobias* Venner, and say that he practised physick for many years at Bridgewater and other places in Somersetshire, before he settled at Bath. His present production seems designed to recommend the physician, at least as much as the waters of that place. Wood speaks of another treatise intit. *Via recta ad Vitam longam*, as having procured him most of his practice: and at this we cannot wonder, since he confirmed his own theory by living beyond the age of eighty.] [2] 'By repentance.'

[3] 'Where may that God, who is only able to cure thee, lead thee safe, and bring thee home again in good health. Farewell.'

[4] See the Letter of Observations by Tho. Guidott, M. B. which followeth this Tract,

for goodness of air, nearness of a sweet and delectable river, and fertility of soil, it is pleasant and happy enough; but for the hot waters that boil up, even in the midst thereof, it is more delectable and happier that any other of the kingdom.

There are in it four public baths, so fairly built, and fitted with such conveniency for bathing, as the like, I suppose, is not elsewhere to be found; besides a little bath for lepers, called, 'The Lepers'-bath.'

They all have the original of their heat from one matter, namely, sulphur; burning in the cavities of the earth, through which the waters flowing, receive their heat. They partake of no other mineral that I can find: what may lie hid *in visceribus terræ*[5], I know not; of this I am sure, that such diseases, as cannot receive cure elsewhere, here do.

These baths, as they differ in their heat, so in their operations and effects. The 'King's Bath' is the hottest; and it is, for beauty, largeness, and efficacy of heat, a kingly bath indeed, being so hot as can be well suffered. This bath is of so strong a heating, opening, resolving, attracting, and exsiccating faculty, and therefore only convenient for cold and moist bodies, and for cold and moist diseases.

Next to the king's bath, for efficacy of heat, is the 'Hot Bath,' and the difference in their heat is so little, that it is scarcely to be discerned. This bath is good for the same infirmities that the king's bath is; and, for the effects which it worketh, I cannot find it to be inferior unto it. They are two excellent baths for cold and moist diseases, and for very cold and moist bodies.

The 'Queen's Bath' is a member of the king's bath, a well only going between them, with a passage therein, to go from one to the other. This bath is not altogether so hot as that; and therefore the use of it is convenient for them that cannot well endure the heat of the king's bath.

The 'Cross Bath' is for heat the mildest, being very temperately warm. It is a dainty bath for young, weak, and tender bodies, that cannot endure the heat of the hotter baths, or for whom the hotter baths may not be convenient. It is an excellent bath for temperate bodies, by way of preservation, because such the hotter baths may soon distemper, and occasion hurt: neither is this bath good only for such as are of a temperate state and constitution of body, by way of preservation; but for them, and others also, by way of curation, in some cases, where the hotter baths are not fit to be used. This bath, by reason of the mildness of its heat, is of a notable mollifying and relaxing faculty; good, therefore, in contractions of any member, in obstructions of the breast, spleen, liver, and kidneys; and effectual also for aches, when it is in its prime and vigour of heat, especially for such, whose temper, or habit of body, shall prohibit the use of the hotter baths. This bath attains not to its perfection of heat, till the weather grow to be constantly hot; and when the other baths, by reason of the fervour thereof, cannot be used, but by such, whose diseases and state of body are intensively cold.

I cannot, in regard of the diversity of bodies, insist upon every particular in the use of these baths; wherefore, I will only, for your better instruction and direction herein, give you some special advertisements, and thereupon leave you to some learned physician, that can accordingly guide you in the use of them.

These famous hot waters are of singular force, not only against diseases gotten by cold, or proceeding from a cold and moist cause, but also bring, in time of health, exceeding comfort and profit to all cold, moist, and corpulent bodies; for they open the pores, resolve, attenuate, digest, consume, and draw forth superfluities, and withal strongly heal and dry the whole habit of the body.

They are of excellent efficacy against all diseases of the head and sinews, proceeding from a cold and moist cause, as rheums, palsies, epilepsies, lethargies, apoplexies, cramps, deafness, forgetfulness, trembling, or weakness of any member, aches, and swellings of the joints, &c.

They also greatly profit windy and hydropick bodies, the pain and swelling of any part

[5] 'In the bowels of the earth.'

of the body, so that it proceed not from an hot cause; the sluggish and lumpish heaviness of the body, numbness of any member, pain in the loins, the gout, especially the sciatica; cold tumours of the milt and liver, and the yellow-jaundice in a body plethoric or phlegmatic.

They are also very profitable for them that have their lungs annoyed with much moisture; and to make slender such bodies as are too gross, there is nothing more effectual, than the often use of these waters. Wherefore let those that fear obesity, that is, would not wax gross, be careful to come often to our baths; for by the use of them, according as the learned physician shall direct, they may not only preserve their health, but also keep their bodies from being unseemingly corpulent.

They are also singularly profitable to women; for they help them of barrenness, and of all diseases and imperfections of the matrix, proceeding from a cold and moist cause. They also cure all diseases of the skin, as scabs, itch, old sores, &c. all which to be true, we daily find with admiration, to the exceeding great comfort of many, who with deplored diseases, and most miserable bodies, resort to these baths; and are there, by the help of wholesome physick, and virtue of the baths, (through the blessing of Almighty God,) recovered to their former health.

But baths naturally hot (as these our baths are) to bodies naturally hot and dry, are generally hurtful; and so much the more, as the body is drier, and the bath hotter, because it distempereth and consumeth the very habit of the body, and maketh it carrion-like lean.

Wherefore, seeing, that these our baths are not indifferently agreeable to every constitution and state of body, I do advise, that not any one go into them rashly, or upon a preposterous judgment; but that he be first advised by some faithful, judicious, and expert physician, and to him expose the state of his body, whereby he may understand, whether or no it may be expedient for him to attempt the same. And whereas, there are in Bath divers baths, as I have shewed; and they differing in their heat, and accordingly in their effects, he must also from the learned physician be directed in which to bathe: neither must he only understand which bath to use, as most convenient for his state of body, but also when and how often to use the same, and how long to abide therein at a time. Besides this, he must take special care not to go into the bath without fit preparation (which is a gross error of many), but must be first purged, as his state of body shall require; and be also directed in other things how to order himself, before he go into the bath, while he is in the bath, and after that he is come out of the bath, and when he leaveth the bath: and must also with his bathings and sweatings use such physick-helps, as may work with the baths, according as his disease and present state of body shall require; not relying wholly upon the use of the water for his cure, as many ignorantly, and some basely do, to save their purse. The neglect of all these, or of some of them, either through ignorance or voluntary wilfulness, is the cause that some that take great pains to come to the baths, are not by them healed of their infirmities, but oftentimes never return to their homes again; or, if they do, it is most commonly with new diseases, and the old worse than ever they were; whereas, those of a generous and religious understanding, using the true helps of physick with the baths, are of their diseases perfectly cured.

Here I may not omit a special reason, why many receive little benefit by the baths, but oftentimes much hurt; and that is, because they take not the aid and directions of a physician present, in the use of the bath; but bring their physick and directions with them from some physician in the country where they abode; perhaps, one that well understands not their state of body, much less the nature and true use of the baths. But, admit that they have their directions from an understanding physician, yet I must tell them, that many accidents fall out oftentimes in bathing, that require the help of a present physician.

Another special reason why many find little good by the baths, is, because they make not such a stay at them, as, in regard of their infirmities, or state of body, is meet; for some go away before the bath (in regard of the density of body) hath wrought any manner of effect at all on them; others even then when the bath begins to shew its force and efficacy on their bodies; and some too soon upon much benefit received, by means whereof

they easily incur a relapse. Wherefore my counsel herein unto you is this, that you limit not your stay at the baths, before you depart from your homes, but in that be advised and ruled by your physician, when you are at the baths, according as he shall find to be meet for your infirmities and state of body; and think not to receive in four, five, or six weeks an absolute cure for an infirmity, which, perhaps, you have borne two or three years, notwithstanding all the helps and means you have used for the same in your own country. Wherefore let your abode at the baths be, as it shall be requisite for your state of body, and limit not the time, no, not to a spring, or to a fall: for it may be needful for you to reside there the whole year, it may be more; for, otherwise, by your untimely departure, you may lose the good that you have gotten by the bath, before the time come that you shall think to be fit for the use of the baths again.

But here I know you will object against me, saying, 'Is it good to make use of your baths in the summer and winter? Are not those times by all learned and judicious physicians prohibited for bathing in hot baths? Whereupon grew the custom of frequenting them in the temperate seasons of the year, namely, in the spring and fall?'

Whereunto I answer; and first, that bathing in our baths in summer, taking the cool of morning for it, if the season shall be hot and summer-like, brings much more benefit to the body, the disease being of a cold nature, and proceeding from a cold and moist cause (for so you must conceive me), than in the spring or fall, when oftentimes the coldness and variableness of the air takes away the benefit of your bathing; for cold or vaporous air entering into your body after bathing, the pores being open, doth not only very greatly annoy the spirits and principal parts, occasion wind and tortures in the bowels, but also induce oftentimes irrecoverable effects to the sinews and joints. 'But if seasons, that are constantly warm, be best for bathing in our baths, and cold times hurtful; why should any reside at them in the winter?' I answer, That it is good for them that are in the way of cure, by reason of their former bathings, and that the waters are in their nature as effectually hot in the winter, as in any other time of the year, only the superficies, or upper-part of the bath, is cooled by the winds. But in the winter there are some calm days, in which the diseased body, lying nearer to the baths, may well and safely bathe, without any offence or danger in taking of cold after; for he may keep himself in a warm chamber, having nothing else to do, or take care for, but for his health.

And here I cannot but reprehend the error of most people, that, at the end of May, depart from our baths; and after that month, I know not out of what prejudicate opinion, altogether refrain to come to them till the fall. Perhaps they do this, supposing that after the spring, till the fall come again, the baths lose their virtue. I must tell them, if this be their conceit, that they are in a great error; for the waters lose not their virtue at any time; only the disposition of the ambient air may make them less fit to be used at one time than at another. But I would have you to know, as I have afore-shewed, that our baths may as profitably be used in summer, as in the spring, and most commonly with far better success in the whole month of June, than in any of the former months; and that in regard of the constant temperature of this month, and the variable disposition of the months preceding. I am persuaded, that this untimely going from the baths, at the very approach of summer, hurts many, and overthrows the good they have received by them. Wherefore, my advertisement herein is this, that they who resort to the baths for prevention of sickness, or such hereditary diseases as they fear will befall them, depart from the baths about the end of the spring: but such, as go to them for diseases already fixed, abide there the whole summer, and longer too, if there shall be occasion.

And admit, that after the month of June the weather be too fervently hot to bathe in the hotter baths; yet the Cross Bath, which for heat is the mildest, being (as I have said) in its nature temperately hot, attains not to its efficacy and perfection, till the weather be constantly warm; which, for the most part, happens not till towards the end of May, or the beginning of June. The use of which bath is of excellent efficacy, not only in the month of June, but after also; yea, all the summer, according as the state of the body

and disposition of the season shall permit; wherein I leave you to the counsel and direction of some learned physician resident at the baths.

And now also I must advertise such, as in the declining or fall of the year, which we call the autumn, shall for the health of their bodies repair to our baths, that they defer not their coming till the middle of September or after, as many ignorantly do; but that they rather be there shortly after the middle of August, that they may have time sufficient for bathing, before the air grow to be too cold, as commonly it is in October, especially towards the end thereof. But, perhaps, some, out of an ignorant timorousness, will object, that to come to the baths before the dog-days are gone, or too soon upon them, is hurtful. Herein they are more scrupulous than judicious. But, to yield them some satisfaction, I answer: besides the alteration of seasons from their ancient temperature, in this decrepit age of the world, that, though the middle part of the day, in the latter part of August shall be hot, yet the mornings and evenings, which are the times for bathing, begin then to be cold, and decline to a temperature; and the heat of the day, growing on upon the bathing, is that which we specially respect for the health of our patients, for whom we approve the use of the baths. Wherefore, such as for the health of their bodies repair to our baths, shall, if they be there in the latter part of August, receive a double commodity. For, first, they shall have the whole month of September, very convenient for bathing, and physick also, as shall be occasion; yea, and part of October, as the disposition of the season shall permit. Next, sufficient time for their return to their homes, before the air grow too cold, or the weather distempered; for to take cold betwixt the bathings, or to expose the body to travel in foul and intemperate weather, upon the use of the baths, induceth, the pores being open, besides feverish distemperatures and ventosities, oftentimes very great and dolorous affects of the brain, breast, sinews, and joints.

I may not let pass, how certain accidents now and then befall some in their bathing, as weakness and subversion of the stomach, faintness, and sometimes swoonings; and these the physician must take special care to prevent, which may be occasioned by means of the sulphurous vapours of the bath: yet I must tell you, that these or the like accidents our baths do seldom occasion, especially the Cross Bath; but in them that are weak by nature, that are subject to swooning, or go into them preposterously, without fit preparation and direction. And the reason is, because our baths being large, and having no sulphur in them, nor in the cavities near adjoining, the vapours are the less noisome, not so gross and adusted; and therefore not quickly offensive, but to them that are very weak by nature, or (as I have said) go into them without fit preparation, or make longer stay in them than is meet.

And here I cannot but lay open baths technology, with such as, for the health of their bodies, resort to those baths; wherein I am sure to gain little thanks. But I pass not for it; my purpose being to discharge a good conscience, and to do my country good. The thing, therefore, that I would have you to take notice of, is, how the people of that place, that keep houses of receipt, and their agents, (for such they have in every corner of the streets, and also before you come to the gates,) press upon you, importuning you to take your lodging at such and such an house, near to such and such a bath; extolling the baths, near which they dwell, above the rest; respecting altogether their own gain, not your good or welfare. And when they have gotten you into their houses, they will be ready to fit you with a physician, perhaps an empirick[6] or upstart apothecary, magnifying him for the best physician in the town, that will not cross them in removing you to another bath; though the bath, near which you are placed, be altogether contrary to your infirmities and state of body, or at least, not so convenient as some other. And this is also

[6] Bath being a place, in regard of the baths, that many resort unto for cure of infirmities, that cannot receive help elsewhere; it were to be wished, that empiricks, and all others, whatsoever they be, being not graduates in the faculty of physick, were utterly prohibited to practise in the city, or near to the confines thereof, *idque sub pœnâ gravissimâ.*

a special reason, why many, oftentimes, receive rather hurt, than good, by the use of the baths.

My counsel, therefore, to the learned physicians shall be this: That they so tender the good of their patients, and their own worth and reputation, as that, for base gain, they subject not themselves to these kind of people, in hope to get patients by their means: and to the patients, that they fall not by any means into the hands of empiricks, who, by their ill qualified physick, will spoil their bodies; and, by reason of their pragmatical nature, persuade and put them to unnecessary and preposterous courses, which cannot but produce disastrous effects.

But, seeing that no calling is more disgraced, than by the men of the same calling; I wish all professors of physick to carry themselves worthy of their calling, to be faithful and honest in their courses, not to insinuate with any, or (after the manner of our bath-guides) press upon them to be retained. If an empirick or mountebank seek about for work, I blame them not; let them deceive those that will be deceived; but, for such as are graduated in the noble faculty of physick to do so, it is fiddler-like; a note (if not of some unworthiness in them), I am sure, of a base mind. Let those, therefore, that are physicians indeed, strive to maintain the reputation of their art; and not, by a base insinuating carriage, or mountebank-like tricks, to get a note and repute, vilify their own worth, or disgrace so noble a faculty.

But to draw to an end: When you shall, for your health, repair to the baths, be cautious, and suffer not yourself to be taken up by such as will press upon you; but rest yourself at your inn, and be well advised by a physician that knows the nature and use of the baths, and can well judge of your infirmities and state of body, what bath shall be fitting for your use, and then take up your lodging accordingly. Which course if it were observed, and the physician carefully and learnedly perform his part, I am persuaded that many more, than now do, would for their infirmities find remedy at the baths, to the great honour of the place; and that scarcely any would depart thence, but much eased and bettered in their state of body.

Thus much I thought fitting to advise and publish concerning the nature and use of our baths; and the rather, that such as preposterously use them, as the greater part, I suppose, do, that resort unto them; may not erroneously detract from the admirable virtues of them. For unto us it doth yearly appear, by the miraculous effects they work, of what excellent efficacy they are, if they be rightly and judiciously used. And seeing that, in the true use of them, there are many things to be considered; I do therefore again advise all such, as are respective of their health, that they enterprize not the use of them without the counsel and direction of some honest and learned physician resident at the baths. Which if they do, the *incommodum* may be *majus commodo:* and so I conclude this treatise.

An Advertisement of the great Utility, that cometh to Man's Body by the Taking of Physick in the Spring, inferred upon the ensuing Question.

The Spring being the most reviving, flourishing, and temperate season of the year; whence is it, that sicknesses are more frequent in the same, and people sooner die therein, than in any other season?

THERE may be two reasons yielded for the same: the one taken from the winter preceding, which, by reason of its moisture, filled the body with crude and excremental humours; and, by its coldness thickening and compacting the same, quieteth them from fluxion: but the heat of the spring approaching, and working on those humours, rarefieth and dissolveth them; which thereupon fluctuating, and putrefying in the body, are the cause of sickness, unless they are expelled by the force of nature, or timely help of physick.

The other reason may be taken from the inconstancy of the spring itself, which sometimes is cold, sometimes hot, sometimes moist, and sometimes dry; which sudden alterations cannot but produce feverish distemperatures, and other infirmities, according to the disposition of the matter congested in the body the winter preceding. From whence it may be concluded, that the sicknesses and deaths of people, which happen more frequently in the spring, than in any other seasons of the year, are not so much to be attributed to the spring, as to the winter, which hath filled the body with superfluities, and prepared it for sickness.

Wherefore, whosoever will be so provident, as by the timely help of physick, to free his body, as his state and constitution shall require, of the superfluities congested in it, by means of the winter going before; he shall be sure to be far more lively, healthy, and free from sickness in the spring, than any other season of the year, so as he err not overmuch in other things. And this purging of the body, and purifying of the blood in the spring, will not only preserve from sicknesses that commonly reign in the spring, but also be a means to keep the body in a perfect integrity the whole year after. And, therefore, I commend the taking of physick in the spring, to all generous people, to them that lead a genial sedentary kind of life, especially to such as are subject to obstructions, or any yearly disease.

You may here demand of me, 'What time of the spring is fittest for physick, by way of precaution?' I answer, That for them that are wont to be affected with sickness in the spring, and whose humours are too choleric and thin, and consequently subject to fluxion, it is best to take physick at the very beginning thereof; but, for others, about the middle, or after; especially, if the precedent time shall be cold, and not spring-like.

You may also here demand of me, 'Whether it be not as necessary to take physick in the autumn, which we commonly call the fall, as in the spring?' Whereunto, in regard of a generality, I must answer, No: because the summer prepareth not the body for sickness, filling it with superfluities, as doth the winter; yet, for some bodies it is, as for them that naturally abound with crude and phlegmatic humours, that are subject to obstructions, to cold winterly diseases, or any melancholic affects, as necessary to take physick by way of prevention in the fall, as in the spring; and that, for avoiding the superfluities before the winter, for opening the obstructions, and freeing the body of superfluous melancholy; which then, by reason of the season, increaseth. And the fittest time for the doing thereof, for such as are subject to melancholy, and autumnal diseases, is soon after the beginning of the fall; but, for others, towards the middle thereof.

But here, I must advertise you, that you expose not your body to the unlearned empirick, that can neither find out the peccant humours, nor parts affected; but to such as are learned in that art, that can well judge of your state of body, and accordingly prescribe you remedies, as your constitution and affected parts shall require. Many men think, yea, some of a generous note (wherein they bewray their carelessness, if not their stupidity too,) that whilst they are in health, they may, for prevention, take physick from any one; it matters not from whom it be, nor what physick it be, so it work with them. I must tell you, that many overthrow their bodies hereby, and that there is no less art and judgment required for preserving the body in health, than for curing of it, being sick: if they did but know how the four humours are or ought to be proportioned in their bodies, for enjoying, according to their constitutions, a sound and healthy state; they would (I am persuaded) be more cautious, than to commit themselves into the hands of the unlearned, who, by their inconsiderate courses, take humours from them at an adventure, as well those which are not offensive, as those which are, to the utter subversion of the œconomy of the body. Whereof though, perhaps, in regard of their strengths, they are not by-and-by sensible, which is that which only cloaketh the errors of empiricks, and, as a vail, masketh many men's eyes and understanding herein: yet they will, as I have in divers observed to their peril, by little and little incur a relapsed state of body.

It is strange to see the ignorance of most people, how backward they are to give to the learned professors of physick their due, and ready to lay scandals upon them; but forward

to magnify empiricks, their physick, their honesty, their care, willing to excuse and pass over their gross slips and absurdities. *O mira hominum stupiditas!* But proceeds this altogether out of ignorance? I suppose not. For doubtless, many seek unto them, and magnify their physick, because it is cheap: but such are fools and gulls, indeed; for they wrong, and even poison their bodies with gross and ill-qualified physick, to save their purse.

But, to answer the reasons, or rather the words, which they produce and allege in the favour and behalf of empiricks; to what purpose is the working of that physick, which respecteth not the peccant humours, nor parts affected, but to the overthrow of the body? What is a supposed honesty in a physician without learning, but a snare, wherein the ignorant do voluntarily entrap themselves? I say *supposed:* for I cannot think that man to be honest, that usurps a calling, which, with a good conscience, he is not able to discharge. Or, to what purpose is the care that empiricks take about their preposterous and ill-composed medicines, but to the utter ruin of the patient's body? As it too unluckily happened of late to a gentleman of good worth and note; who, taking physick, by way of prevention, of a pill-boasting surgeon; in a short space, by his ill-qualified and preposterous physick, incurred an incurable and mortal lapse of his stomach and liver, being in his constant age and perfect strength of body. Vain, therefore, and very absurd is that conceit, which many have in favour of empiricks, *viz.* 'If they do no good, they will do no harm.' Admit, that sometimes by their trivial petty medicines, they do no harm; yet, nevertheless for that, I must tell you, that they do much harm: for the sick body relying upon their skill, and they being not able to direct and execute such courses as shall be fitting and effectual to impugn the disease, while there is time fitting for the same, the sickness gets the mastery; and then, perhaps, when their strengths are too much weakened, and the disease become incurable, they seek help of the learned physician. So basely, verily, are most of our people affected to their health, that until some practical minister, parish-clerk, apothecary, surgeon, or the like, have done their utmost hurt, they seek not to the physician.

And here, to vindicate our art from calumny, I cannot but tax the most sort of people, that being affected with any great or difficult disease, which, by reason of the nature thereof, or contumacy of the peccant humours, will have such progress, as that it cannot, in a short time, by the medicines and best endeavours of the learned physician, how forceable soever, be evicted; will reject their physician, and betake themselves, which is an absurdity, *super omnem absurditatem*, to some ignorant, sottish empirick; and every good-wives medicine, to their great hurt, and oftentimes, overthrow. But, if it happen that they recover thereupon, they lay an imputation upon the physician, and grace their empirick with the cure; whereas, in very deed, the matter of their disease was wholly (or, at least, the greatest part thereof) eradicated by such fit and powerful remedies, as the learned physician had formerly administered unto them. Whereupon, the residue of the cure was effected by the force of nature, not by the weak endeavours of the empirick, or trivial medicines of any other whatsoever.

I have, on purpose, enlarged this advertisement, and do leave it for a memorial and caveat to all posterity, especially to the gentlemen of this our age; who, for the most part of them, very greatly wrong their judgment and understanding, in taking physick of the unlearned; and, wherein they do not only wrong themselves, but also give occasion of hurt unto others. For the meaner sort of people, following their example, do the like; whereby it comes to pass, that, in all likelihood, more untimely perish (which I believe to be true, in the western parts of this kingdom) under the hands of empiricks, than die otherwise. Such as will not take notice hereof, *in empiricorum manus incidant.* And if any *asinus Cumanus*, or *terræ filius*, shall object, that divers recover under the hands of empiricks; I answer, in a word, that the recovery is not to be attributed to their physick, but to the strength of nature, that bears up, both against the disease, and their preposterous courses.

A Censure concerning the Water of St. Vincent's Rock, near Bristol[7], which begins to grow in great Request and Use against the Stone.

THIS water of St. Vincent's Rock is a very pure, clear, crystalline substance, answering to those crystalline diamonds, and transparent stones, that are plentifully found in those clifts. It is no less commendable for smell and taste, than delectable for colour and substance; and, for its temperature, excels any other of this kingdom, being almost of a mean between heat and cold. I say almost; because it is a little more inclined to cold than to heat, which maketh it the more effectual for allaying the burning heat of the bowels; and yet by reason of its good temperature, not quickly offensive to the stomach, if it be not lapsed by cold.

But, before I deliver my censure and opinion concerning the nature and use of this water, it is fitting that I declare unto you the matter from whence it receives its medicinal faculties; and that is (for I have twice made probation thereof) from sulphur and nitre, and from both, but in a small measure. For the water, at its issuing forth, carrieth with it an obscure heat, being scarcely lukewarm; and the reason thereof is, because the heat of the water and strength of the sulphurous vapours are qualified and abated in the passages through the earth; or else it is, because this water issueth but from a small vein of sulphur. And the note that it hath but little nitre in it, besides the probation thereof, is, because it can hardly, or not at all, in the taste be discerned, but by a curious and skilful palate for the purpose. I suppose that this water partakes of other good minerals: but I leave that for a farther search, or to such as shall hereafter live more conveniently for that purpose than I do. But whatsoever minerals shall lie hid in the passages of this water, it is sufficient, that it partakes of two so good as sulphur and nitre; and that in such a mixture, as it makes it to be of an excellent temper, and medicinal faculty, in potable uses for divers cases, as shall be hereafter shewed. It were to be wished, that the water issued forth in a more convenient place, as well for access unto it, as for conserving the heat thereof.

This water is frequented for no other use, but for the drinking of it against the stone. It hath also other excellent faculties; but I suppose (such is the vanity of our time) that the fame thereof will not long hold, but will in a short time have an end, as some other waters, of good force and efficacy against sundry infirmities, in divers places of this kingdom have had; and that by reason of the absurd and preposterous use of it. For, upon notice and experience, that this water hath done some good against the stone, people of all sorts repair unto it, as well such as have not the stone, as those that have, or stand in fear thereof; and abundantly glut and fill themselves therewith, till they vomit and strout again; scarcely one of fifty, I dare say, having the opinion of a judicious physician for the taking of the same, or preparing their bodies for it as it is meet; which cannot but bring a disgrace to the water: for admit, that a few chance to receive benefit thereby, some will not, but many much hurt. Neither can the water be good for all bodies that are troubled with the stone, or subject thereunto: and, therefore, I would have you to know, that the ill and preposterous use thereof will weaken the stomach, subvert the liver, annoy the head and breast, occasion cramps, pain in the joints, breed crudities, rheums, coughs, cachexies, the dropsy itself, and consumption.

But I will proceed to shew you the faculties and true use of the water. It notably cooleth the inflammations of all the inward parts, and yet (as I have said) not quickly offending the stomach, as other waters do; and is, withal, of a gentle mundifying faculty. It is, therefore, very effectual, against the burning heat of the stomach, inflammations of the liver and reins, and adustion of the humours, being taken with fine sugar in this proportion; as, half an ounce of sugar, or thereabouts, to a pint of the water. In such as have had hot livers, red pimpling faces, and adusted humours, I have caused a tincture of roses and violets to

[7] *Urbs pulchra, et emporium celebre.*

be taken therewith, and that with singular success. It may be given with other good convenient adjuncts, which will not only make it the more grateful to the stomach, but also more effectual for the cases aforesaid, which I leave to the physician to find out and direct, as shall be best fitting for his patient's body. In inflammation and siccity of the intestines, it is good to give, with this water, syrup or *mel. viol. sol.* In inflammation of the kidneys, with obstruction also in them, I have given it to such as had withal hot livers, with *crystallo minerali*, with wished effect. For the distemper of the kidneys was not only quickly allayed therewith, but also, abundance of sand, and other drossy matter, stopping in them, purged forth.

That this water is good against the stone, strangury, and purulent ulcers of the kidneys and bladder, it is evident, by reason of its mundifying and cleansing faculty, to be taken with sugar, as aforesaid, or with some good and effectual adjunct, for the speedier carriage of it to the affected places, &c. which, by reason of the diversity of bodies, I cannot here describe, but must leave you, therein, to the advice and counsel, not of a vulgar, but of some learned, judicious, expert physician; and that, with this caution, if you be not sure of the accurate judgment and skill of your physician, that you take the water only with sugar, without any other mixture with it. This water is also good in the ulcerations of the intestines, with this proviso, that it be taken with some convenient adjunct, as *mel rosat.* &c. to occasion the passage thereof thorough the belly, diverting it from the veins.

As concerning the use of this water; and first, for inward inflammations: the time of the year best for taking thereof, by way of cure or prevention, is in the months of April, May, and June, and that in the morning fasting; the body being first prepared thereunto, that is, gently purged, according as the constitution thereof shall require: but, in case of necessity, it may be taken at any other time, respect being had to the season, age, and present state of the body. As for the quantity that is to be taken every morning, and how long to be continued, in that (because of the diversity of bodies) I must leave you to the discretion and judgment of your physician.

As for the taking of this water against the stone, ten rules are to be observed in the use thereof.

The first is, the preparation of the body; that is, that it be exquisitely purged, before you attempt the use thereof; for, the passages being cleared, and the ill matter diverted by stool, the water will the more freely, and with greater force, penetrate unto the reins.

The second is, that it be taken in the morning fasting, the excrements of the belly being first deposed, and that at divers draughts; allowing betwixt every draught or two draughts, taken the one after the other, the space of a quarter of an hour, or somewhat more, till you have taken the whole portion of water, that is intended to be taken each morning; walking and stirring gently your body between every taking; for that will cause the water to be the sooner distributed thorough your body, refraining to go abroad in the air, between, and upon the takings thereof, if the weather shall be any thing cold; for cold will hinder the distribution of the water.

The third is, the quantity of the water that is to be taken every morning, which must be directed by your physician, that knows your age and state of body.

The fourth is, how many mornings together it is to be taken; as, eight or ten, more or less, according to the ability of the stomach, strength and state of body, wherein you must likewise be directed by your physician.

The fifth thing to be observed in the taking of the water is, to take it, as near as you can, in the same temper of heat as it issueth forth, or else so hot as you shall be well able to drink it; and herein every one may gratify his own stomach. But seeing that the place is unfit for the taking of it, and that the water seems, by reason of the rawishness of the place, to be colder at its issuing forth, than it is otherwise; (for, being taken into a stone jug, it warmeth the same;) I advise that the water be taken into stone jugs, or other convenient bottles, and the jugs or bottles to be immediately stopped, to keep in the vapours, and so the water to be taken, while it reserveth its heat; but, if the water shall wax cold before you take it, you may heat the jug in a kettle of hot water, till it shall be so hot as

you shall like to take it, keeping the jug close stopped all the while; and so you may do such mornings, when you cannot have the water, it being all overcovered by that Severn, that floweth to the city. If you demand of me, Whether the water loseth any thing of its virtue, being so kept? I must answer you, That it is likely that it loseth somewhat of its sulphurous, but not any thing of its nitrous quality, and therefore it may be well reserved, and used in manner as aforesaid.

The sixth is the time of the year, that is best for the taking of this water, and that in a season that is not cold or rainy; but hot, or inclining thereunto, as from the beginning of May, to the middle of September; but after that, in regard of the alterations of the air, and winter approaching, this water is not good to be taken, because it will weaken the stomach and liver, annoy the breast, breed crudities, coughs, &c. as I have already shewed.

The seventh is the diet, that is to be observed all the time of the taking of the water, which is, that it must be but slender, and that of meats of good juice, and easy digestion; the dinner not to be taken, till the greater part of the water be avoided, and the supper must be always less than the dinner, that the stomach may be the next morning empty for receiving of the water again.

The eighth is, that the body be purged immediately after the taking of the water, that is, when an end is made of taking it, for avoiding some relicks thereof, which perhaps may abide in the body after the use of it, which the physician must be careful to do with a fit medicine. Afterwards a moderation in diet, and all other things, is to be observed.

The ninth is, that it be not given to children that are subject to the stone, under twelve years of age, unless they shall be naturally of a very hot constitution, and that, to them, in quantities proportionable to their age. Neither is it to be admitted to them, that are entered within the limits of old age; because it will abbreviate their life, *calorum innatum extinguendo*[8].

The tenth and last thing to be considered in the use of this water is, that it be not given to such, as, by reason of the smallness and straitness of the veins, cannot extreat and pass it away by urine, though the infirmities of the stone, stranguries, &c. may otherwise require the use thereof. Neither is it to be given to such, as have cold stomachs, weak livers, feeble brains, and subject unto rheums; in a word, not to phlegmatic, nor to any that abound with crudities, or have a cold and moist habit of body; for in all such it will soon infringe the natural heat, breed rheums, annoy the breast, occasion cramps, and divers other infirmities; as I have afore shewed.

The same observations must be kept in taking of this water against the strangury and ulcerations of the bladder and kidneys, as is directed in taking thereof, against the stone. In which affects it is good to give therewith some lubrifying, cleansing extract, or the like. And here note, that if the water in all the aforesaid cases be given, with a fit and convenient adjunct, it will not only be the more effectual, and sooner conveyed to the affected parts, but less quantities also may serve to be taken; and then the stomach will not be so overpressed and charged therewith, as it is in the common manner of taking it. But, if it be at any time fit to overcharge and press the stomach therewith, it is in cases of the strangury and purulent ulcers of the bladder and kidneys.

I may not omit to give you notice, that divers symptoms or perilous accidents may happen oftentimes in the use of this water, which (because they cannot be well rectified or prevented without the presence of a physician) I here omit to nominate or treat of, and instead thereof, as also for divers reasons afore nominated, do advise you not to adventure the drinking thereof, without the advice and presence of a judicious physician; which if you do, you may haply, instead of the good you expect thereby, receive much hurt. As for outward uses, this water may sometimes assuage the itch, mundify and palliate old sores; but no matter of moment is to be expected from it this way. And thus much concerning the nature and use of this water, whose virtues will be better known if people make a right and good use thereof.

[8] 'By extinguishing the innate heat.'

A Letter concerning some Observations lately made at Bath: Written to his much honoured Friend Sir E. G.[1] Knight and Baronet, M. D. in London. By Thomas Guidott,[2] M. B.

Faciliùs ducimur, quàm trahimur. Senec.

London, printed in 1674.

[Quarto, containing Twelve Pages.]

Honoured Sir,

I KNOW you (as well as other ingenious and inquisitive persons) are somewhat concerned, and desirous to understand what success my late enquiries have had into one of the grand mysteries of nature, I mean the baths of this city; considering especially that you were pleased the last summer to afford me the honour of your company and particular acquaintance, and to express a more than ordinary desire of my proceeding in this thing. Concerning which I must tell you, that as I have not been wanting, either to pains or pay, in my proceedings hitherto; so I have had the good hap (which hath been my encouragement) to meet with many considerable discoveries. And though the main body of the matter, collected touching this affair, be not yet ripe for the lancet, but will require a longer time to digest; yet some observations I shall now communicate, which will give a little satisfaction to an earnest desire, and make, in some measure appear, that we have been lame and defective hitherto, in a rational account and true understanding of the nature of these waters.

It hath been indeed the ill fortune of these baths (which, I may truly say, are as good, if not better than any baths in the world) to lie a long time in obscurity, and not so much as to be mentioned among the baths of Europe, by any foreign writer, till about the year 1570; when that excellent person, Sir Edward Carne[3], sent ambassador by Queen Elizabeth, to Pope Julius the Third and Paul the Fourth, made some relation of them to that famous writer Andreas Baccius[4], then at Rome; and writing his elaborate book *de Thermis*, into which he hath inserted them, upon his relation, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 13, though, somewhat improperly, among sulphurous baths.

About the same time also one John Jones, an honest Cambro-Briton, (frequenting the baths for practice,) composed a little treatise of them, which he calls 'Baths Aid[5],' in which are some things not contemptible, though in a plain country dress, and which might satisfy and gratify the appetite of those times, which fed more heartily and healthily too then, upon parson's fare, good beef and bag-pudding, than we do now upon kickshaws and haut-gousts; yet nothing of the true nature is there discovered, only, as almost in all

[1] [*Edward Greaves:* physician in ordinary to Charles the Second. Wood calls him 'a *pretended* Baronet:' and I do not trace his name in Beatson's list.]

[2] [Aliàs *Guidotti:* being the son of a Florentine of that name. Wood mentions him as a person of good parts, well versed in learning, and intelligent in his profession; but overwhelmed with pride and self-conceit, and sometimes nearly crazed with too much *bibing*.]

[3] [Edward Carne, LL. D. was sent to Rome, towards the end of 1554, by Q. Mary, to notify the obedience of England to the Apostolic See; and afterwards became the ambassador of Q. Elizabeth. He was knighted by the emperor Charles V. and seems to have been a man of consummate policy. See Lodge's Illustr. I. 197. and Wood's Fasti, I. 37.]

[4] [Andreas Baccio was first physician to Pope Sixtus V. and author of several learned works.]

[5] [Or rather 'The Bathes of Bathes Ayde; wonderful and most excellent agaynst very many Sicknesses;' printed in 1572. See Herbert. This medical Welshman was also a profound genealogist; and in his wonderful pamphlet, traces the pedigree of legendary Bladud up to Adam! !]

former writers of baths, chiefly catholic, a strong stench of sulphur, and a great ado about a subterranean fire, a fit resemblance of hell, at least of purgatory. Our countryman Doctor William Turner[6], I confess, was more particularly concerned to give a better account, than I find, is done in his discourse of English, German, and Italian baths. But whether want of opportunity, or any other impediment was in cause, I know not; but I find that, at this stay, they stood till the famous Doctor Jorden took pen in hand, about the year 1630[7]. To whom I thought fit to make some additions, at my first entrance on this place, some five years since; and although that learned and candid physician had chiefly, and more especially, an intent to enlarge the knowledge of our baths in Somersetshire, as he declares to my Lord Cottington, in his dedicatory epistle; and hath performed more than any man before him; yet what was first in intention, was last in execution, and how small a part of that treatise is spent upon this subject, how short he is in some material points, and what objections may be framed against his opinion, I may some time or other, with due respect, more largely treat of, and for the present shall here, with good Shem and Japhet, cast a garment over the nakedness of this my father.

What hath been done since (except in some particular pieces of other tracts, to the authors of which the baths are also indebted for their kindness and good will) is not worth the mentioning. The old saying is true, 'Little dogs must p—s,' and what is writ upon an ale-bench claims the greater affinity to the pipe and the candle; especially if the best wine at the feast (which is usually kept till last) be but a silly story of Tom Coriat, and an old Taunton ballad new vamped (the creature's parts lying that way) abusing the dead ghosts of Ludhudibras and Bladud, with a nonsensico-pragmatical, anticruzado-orientado-rhodomontado-untruth *le grand*, which we, westerly moderns, call 'a grote lye,' into the bargain. A pretty artifice in rhetorick, to cry a thing up, and besmear, and shed plentifully on the founder ordure, both human and belluine,

> *Rode, caper, vitem; tamen hic, cùm stabis ad aras,*
> *In tua quod fundi cornua possit, erit.*
>
> Goat, bark the vine; yet juice enough will rise
> To drench thy head, when made a sacrifice.

I have industriously omitted Doctor Johnson, Doctor Venner, and some others; in regard it would be improper here to write more historically, which I resolve to do, if my leisure permit, on another occasion. I shall therefore now let you know not so much, what hath been done by others, as what further discoveries have been made by my endeavours, assisted by the careful pains of Mr. Henry Moor, an expert apothecary and chymist of this city.

And here at first I cannot but take notice, how that opinion hath so much prevailed as to be accounted orthodox, and not only received by tradition as certain, but printed as such, that the body of the waters is so jejune and empty, as to afford little or nothing at all whereby to make a discovery of its nature; and that what impregnates the baths is not substantially, materially, or corporally there, but potentially, virtually, and formally, or, to use the author's own words, δυνάμει μᾶλλον ἢ ἐνεργείᾳ, with much more canting after this manner in a small discourse in Latin written by an itinerant exotic[8]; whenas a slight operation will soon evince it, though white and transparent of itself, being taken immediately from the pump, to contain a considerable quantity of a dusky, gritty, and saline

[6] [This versatile writer was a student in divinity in well as physick, and had the deanery of Wells conferred on him by Edward the Sixth, for his controversial tracts, intitled, 'The Hunting of the Romish Fox and Wolf,' as he termed the Roman Pontiff. The discourse here adverted to, on the Baths of Germany and Italy, was printed at Cologne in 1562; that on the English Baths, appeared at London in 1587.]

[7] [Or 1631. In a 'Discourse of Natural Baths, and Mineral Waters.']

[8] Car. Claramont. *de Aer. Aq. & Loc.* T. A. p. 32.

matter, with many transparent particles intermixed with it; to the proportion (as near as I can calculate, sometimes more, and sometimes less) of two drams to a gallon of the water. And this I can ascertain, having had several ounces of it done in earth, iron, bell-metal, and glass, and have at this time three or four ounces by me, untouched, beside what I have made use of in other experiments.

But the thing I shall more peculiarly insist on, at present, is, that by God's blessing, on my industrious search, I suppose I have lighted on the main constituents of the virtues of the bath, in which alone resides what benefit can be expected from the use of these waters, and lodgeth in a saline substance, in a very small proportion to the body of the waters; so that, as they are now, not much more than forty grains are contained in a gallon, insomuch that this little soul (as I may so term it) is almost lost in so gigantic a body, and cannot animate it with that vigour and activity, as may be rationally expected, were a greater quantity of the salt contained in a less proportion of the water. The remainder, which is not saline, being (as I judge) two parts in three of the bulk of the contents, is partly whitish, gritty, and of a lapideous nature, concreting, of itself, into a stony consistence not easily dissolvible; partly more light and dirty, resembling clay or marle, and discovers itself by an apparent separation from the saline and gritty part mentioned before.

Now the chief virtue of the bath, as I conceive, consisting in the salts; which appear, by undeniable experiments, to be nitrous, and I believe vitrioline, bitumen and sulphur being not primarily, as these salts, but secondarily concerned; which, consisting of unctuous particles, cannot be supposed capable of mixing with the body of the waters, and therefore no way observable in the contents,)and no small proportion of other things blended with it; the best way to make it most serviceable, I conceived to be, to free it from those incumbrances and allays it hath from the other ingredients, and prepare it as exactly as may be performed by art, for the benefit of those especially, who are willing to drink the waters with greater success in a lesser quantity; which they may now do, and have more of the virtue of the waters, in a quart, three pints, or a pottle, than they formerly had in two or three gallons, did they drink as much: which will be, besides other conveniences, a great relief to the stomach, which certainly must be relaxed, and the tone of it injured by that vast quantity of water, which is usually taken diluting its ferment overmuch, and distending its membranes beyond all the bounds of a reasonable capacity.

Besides, what is separated only by an artificial extraction, will better unite again, and mix with the waters, as much more familiar, than the extraneous salts of sal prunella, cream of tartar, &c. which are usually dissolved and drank with the waters; so that a great part of the operation may be ascribed to that; and the waters, being, as we say, between two stools, that of itself, and the dissolvent in it, have not attained to that degree of reputation as they have deserved, and may be procured with much more advantage, if nothing but the same be spent upon the same; a way of improvement altogether equally beneficial to the fluids and solids, to the wet as the dry.

Again, whereas it is a custom here, as in all other places of the like nature, when persons are not willing, or have not conveniences to come to the fountain-head, to send for the waters to the places of their residence; not thinking it much material whether Mahomet go to the mountain, or the mountain come to him; whereby the virtue of the waters is much impaired, though stopped and sealed up with never so much care; this defect may be supplied by the addition of a quantity of the same ingredients, which may repair the loss that hath been sustained by evaporation in the carriage, or any other way of damage; and restore it again, as near as may be, to its pristine virtue, and genuine advantage. Not to mention that, if need require, and the poorer sort can not procure or pay the freight for the waters, they may take a shorter course, by mixing the salt, which they may have at reasonable rates, with spring water, brought to a proportionable degree of heat at home, and expect more advantage, for aught I know, than those that drink the waters themselves at so great a distance; and I have therefore or-

dered convenient doses of the salt to be prepared and kept, by Mr. William Child, Alderman, and Mr. Henry Moore, two apothecaries in Bath, to whom any one may resort, that shall have occasion.

And, because I am now fallen on this subject, I shall crave leave to remind you of what you well enough understand already, that not only *dulcius*, but *utilius*, *ex ipso fonte*, &c. and waters, especially impregnated with volatile spirits, such as most acid are, and peculiarly vitrioline, to avoid the inconvenience and expence, not so much of money as virtue, in the carriage, must be drunk on the place where they are; which, in some kind resembling children, that must live by sucking, if once removed from their mother or nurse, by degrees dwindle away, and at last die.

It is observable in these waters, that with four grains of gall injected into a pint-glass of water, or the water poured on it, it immediately turns of a purple colour, which in short time after, as the water cools, abates much of its vividity, and becomes more faint; if the waters be suffered to cool, and be quite cool before the galls are injected, no alteration happens upon a much greater proportion of galls superadded; and what is more remarkable, if the water, which is permitted to cool, be recruited by the fire, and the same trial reiterated, it offers no greater satisfaction in change of colour, than the second experiment. Consonant to what Andreas Baccius, a veteran and experienced soldier in this militia, hath formerly observed, who in his second book *de Thermis, cap.* x. *pag.* 69, hath these words, *Nulla balnei aqua, eodem cum successu, ac laude, bibitur, longè exportata, quod ad fontem proprium; maxima enim pars, ex ipso fonte haustæ ac delatæ, amittunt omnem virtutem, multæ non servantur per hyemem: dilutæ pluviis, & quæ utcunque servantur delatæ à propriis fonticulis, fieri non potest, quin amittant, cum calore suo minerali, vivificos illos spiritus, in quibus omnis juramenti vis consistit, quæ semel amissa, nullo postea extrinseco calore restituitur. Quod est valde notandum.*

I have been the more particular in this, in regard it is a very useful and practical discovery, and may procure more real advantage to mankind, than the vain and unattainable attempts of the philosopher's stone, making glass malleable, and the quadrature of a circle.

Some other observations I shall also mention, of no less magnitude, and more contracted circumference, as the dying of the bath-guides' skins, the bathers' linen, and the stone in the bottom of the bath, of a yellow colour, and the eating out of the iron rings of the bath, the iron bars of the windows about the bath, and any iron infused in it; insomuch as I have now by me a gad of iron, by accident taken up among the stones of the King's Bath, so much eaten out, and digested by the ostrich stomach of these waters, that the sweetness extracted, what remains resembles very much a honey-comb, a deep perforation in many places being attempted, and the whole gad itself reduced very much like a sponge.

The first, *viz.* the tincture, I have discovered to arrive from an ochre, with which the bath abounds, and hath afforded me a considerable quantity; so that now I have near a pound by me; and, with an infusion of that in warm water, tinge stones as exactly of the bath colour, that they are not discernible one from another. It is further observable, that the nearer the place of ebullition, where the springs arise, the deeper and finer is the yellow colour; so that in some places, about the cross in the King's Bath, and at the head of the great spring, at the south-west corner thereof, it is almost made a natural paint; being laboured together by the working of the springs, and a continual succession of new matter coming on, free from those impurities it contracts in other places, which makes it distinguishable into two or three sorts, according to its mixture with, or freedom from, more adulterating matter. The clouts also and woollen rags, which the guides use to stop the gout withal, besides the walls, slip-doors, and posts, when the bath is kept in a considerable time, (as in the winter-season it useth to be,) are all very much tinged with this yellow substance; and if at any time they chance to lie unwashed, or not thrown away, they send out so ungrateful a scent, that a man had rather smell to a carnation, rose, violet, or a pomander, than be within the wind of so unwelcome a smell, it being the greatest policy to get the weather-gage in this encounter. The same thing I have experienced in ves-

sels at home, where after it had stood some time, in a common infusion of warm water, I have the same reverence for that as pictures; and do aver it to be true, *E longinquo reverentia major.*

One thing more is to be noted before I leave this particular, that although so much of this yellow matter is continually bred, with which the neighbouring ground is sufficiently replenished (as I have found by digging in some places not far distant), yet nothing of that colour is discovered in the contents; a probable argument, it either evaporates, to which I am more inclined, (in regard I find it much more copious where the steam of the bath meets with any resistance;) or else perhaps, which is less probable, turns colour by the fire in evaporation that way; less probable, I say, because, for further satisfaction, I have decocted the ochre more than once, and find it rather gets than loses in its colour.

The greenish colour ariseth from another cause.

The eating out of the iron, I conceive, must proceed from something corrosive; and, till any one can assure me it is something else, I shall judge it to be vitriol; and that it may appear not to be caused by the bare steam, as rust is bred upon pot-hooks and cotterels (as some imagine) besides the difficulty to conceive how the steam should operate under water, as in the case of the gad beforementioned, I made a lixivium of the contents of the water, and in it infused iron, but a very small time, and found it to do the same as in the bath itself, considering the time of infusion; and the very knives and spatules I put in, to stir some residence in the bottom, were, almost as soon as dry, crusted over and defended with a rusty coat.

I have other arguments, I suppose, will contribute something more to the confirmation of this opinion; as, that with the help of the sand of the bath with water, and galls, I make good writing ink, which, in a short time, comes to be very legible; but the infusion of the contents in common water, or the lixivium thereof, with an addition of an inconsiderable proportion of the decoction of galls, makes it tolerably legible, on the first commixture, only the first, viz. that made with sand, casting an eye of decayed red from a mixture of ochre contained in the same. Neither is it altogether to be slighted, that the water itself hath been heretofore used by the best writing-masters for the making ink, who, observing by their experience, that ink made with bath-water, and the other usual ingredients, had a better colour, and was more lasting than any other, preferred this water before any other for this use, as I have been informed by some credible persons. Also, having not long since occasion to pour warm water on the contents of the bath, in order to the making a lixivium; some of the water happened, by an accident, to fall upon a bazil-skin I sometimes use, and immediately turned the red into black, more than the breadth of an ordinary hand, with as much facility, as any currier's liquors; alum I know will do the like; but I find no necessity to assert, that, had it any thing to do here, must make the water much tougher, whiter, and sourer, than I find it to be. To which I may add, that many judicious persons, my patients, and some intelligent and eminent physicians also have assured me, that they have perfectly discerned by the taste a mixture of vitriol, and that I need not doubt but that was one principal ingredient. It is also not very inconsiderable, that the bath-water alone will coagulate milk, though not after the usual way of making a posset; for, after the milk and water are put together, it must boil pretty smartly, else the curd will not rise. I may likewise subjoin as a further probability, that, on the relenting of the salt extracted into an oil *per deliquium*, there is a very sharp styptic and vitrioline taste perceived in the gross deliquium, as also in the clear oil, and the salt itself; not to mention its shooting into glebes, of which I have some small assurances by some trials I have made, not yet sufficiently satisfactory: and therefore I dismiss this part for the present, with the greatest probability, till a farther enquiry shall make me positive.

But, as to nitre, there can be no question made about that, I suppose; for, besides the quick acrimonious cooling, and the nauseous taste, most apparently discoverable both in the infused contents, the salt and the oil (the latter of which, viz. the nauseous taste, I take more particular notice of, in regard it is most predominant, and assigned by Fallopius to nitre,

and the waters impregnated with it, which, he says, sometimes do *subvertere stomachum, & facere nauseam, de Therm. Aq. & Met. cap.* 9. besides, I say, these probable conjectures,) what will set it beyond all contradiction is, that it hath the true characteristick of nitre, and shoots its needles, as long and firm, to the quantity I have, as any I have seen in the shops, of which I have now lately shot above twenty *stiriæ,* some near an inch in length, which I keep in a glass ready by me, to give any one satisfaction that desires to see it, besides what I have parted with to some friends abroad.

I the rather mention this, in regard it hath been my good hap to bring this to perfection and autoptical demonstration, which hath been in vain attempted by some industrious persons; not that I am, in the least, willing to arrogate to myself, or derogate from them, more than what is fitting, but to confirm this truth, that there are some *mollia tempora fandi;* some oportunities, when nature will give willing audience, without much ceremony or ado; confessing more by fair persuasions, than racks and torments, and greater importunity: and that we ought to be very cautious how to affirm a thing not to be, upon the failure of a single, or some repeated experiments.

In fine, lest I should too much exceed the bounds of a letter, which concerns the cause of the heat of the waters, I say little of here; only tell you, that when I shall come to discourse of that subject, (of which I intend, God willing, a large disquisition in another language,) I believe I shall find myself obliged not so much to depend on a subterranean fire, as to expect greater satisfaction from another hypothesis.

Many more experiments I have made upon the sand, scum, and mud of the bath, with some obversations drawn from the *natura loci,* or ground hereabouts: but, I fear, I have been too tedious already, and therefore, without further ceremony, shall release you out of this purgatory, with the subscription of.

Sir,
Your most faithful and much obliged servant,
THO. GUIDOTT.

Strange and true News from Staffordshire; or a true Narrative concerning a young Man lying under Almighty God's just Vengeance, for imprecating God's Judgment upon himself, and pleading his Innocency, though he knew himself Guilty. Written by W. Vincent, Minister of God's Word at Bednall, in the County of Stafford, aforesaid; who saw and discoursed the said Person, upon the 26th Day of April, 1677. The saddest Spectacle that ever Eyes beheld. Licensed, May 11, 1677, Roger L'Estrange.

London, printed in the Year 1677.

[Quarto, containing Six Pages.]

THOUGH the sad examples of God's justice upon notorious offenders have been many, in the several parts of the world, yet men are not deterred from, but persist in perfidiousness and villainy. When Satan has, by his temptations, got once an advantage, he never leaves tempting such vanquished sinners, till he has drawn them from less sins to greater, and so brought them to shame and destruction, either in this life, or that which is to come; as by this sad example, of which I am about to discourse, will more fully appear.

One Mr. William Vincent, a minister, hearing a report that a man's hands and feet should rot off, and yet the said man not at all sick, but could eat, and drink, and speak heartily; and having an account where this man lay, could not be satisfied, but made it his business to ride to the place, which was about fourteen or fifteen miles distant from Bednall, where the said minister liveth; and coming to some few houses adjoining to a heath-side in the county of Stafford, aforesaid, in a little shed or barn, there he finds this subject of God's wrath, and object of every eye's pity that beheld him; and, at that time, there were a great many, both men, women, and children, beholding of him: the person, so afflicted, lying there upon a pad of straw, between a pair of sheets; not being able to help himself, neither one way or other, more than what the person that looked after him did for him; for there is a man hired only to attend him.

As to the miserableness of his condition, it is this. Several of his members consume away and rot; one hand being rotted from the wrist, that you may not only see through the master-bones, but also the bones, for half a handful, between the knuckle- bone of the wrist, and upwards, towards the elbow, hath neither vein, flesh, nor sinew left, but is as bare as any bone can be. One hand is as black as a beast's hoof, and drawn together in the form of the same; so that the said minister, upon the first sight of it, did conclude that it had been a beast's-hoof that had lain by him, till his keeper shewed him to the contrary, by moving his arm; by which it did appear, that that was his hand, and did join to his wrist, that was bare to the bone for above four inches. The flesh that next appeared, towards his elbow, was ulcerous, and in a rotten condition, and one of his knees rotted, so that his leg was ready to drop off; yet, all this while, the said afflicted person eating, and drinking, and speaking heartily.

Now, you have heard in what a miserable and dreadful condition this sad subject of God's just wrath now lies. Let us proceed to give you an account of his own conjectures, of the cause of his so exemplary punishment.

The said person stealing a bible, being accused of the fact, did absolutely and impudently deny it; not only so, but imprecating sad judgments against himself, in these and such like words, saying, 'That he desired that God might make him an example, if he were any ways guilty of that crime laid to his charge; and that his hands might rot off if he stole it; and he might rot alive if he had it, or meddled with it;' notwithstanding, he knew himself to be guilty of the stealing of it.

All which you may more fully understand, by this following confession from his own mouth, to the said minister, the author of this present narrative.

This minister, when he came to him, propounded several questions to him, after he had bewailed the lamentable condition of the said person.

1. He asked him, 'Whether he did not look upon the hand of divine vengeance to be upon him, in an extraordinary manner?'

He answered, 'He did.'

2. The said minister asked him, 'Whether he did apprehend, what that so sore a judgment was for, that he then lay under? Whether he were guilty of any particular sin (that his conscience accused him withal) which did provoke God's wrath in so high a nature against him?'

He said, 'that his particular sin was stealing a bible, for which he apprehended this sore judgment of God upon him.'

The said minister said further to him, 'Did you steal a bible?'

He answered, 'Yes.'

The minister told him, 'though he did, that was a sin pardonable upon repentance; that God was a merciful God.'

But the afflicted person further added, 'That, when he was questioned for it, he positively denied it, and wished that he might rot alive, and that his hands might rot off, if he ever touched it; and all this while knew himself guilty of the crime.'

The minister asked him, 'How long since this fact was committed?'

He answered, 'About six weeks.'

The minister asked him, 'How long, after that he had wished those sad wishes to himself, it was, before he apprehended that hand of God's wrath to be upon him?'

He answered, 'Not long.'

The minister asked him, 'After what manner he found himself alter, as to any distemper that seized upon him?'

He answerd, 'He was taken with an aguish and feverish condition, and immediately his hand began to rot, and then he looked upon it to be the hand of God upon him, in punishing him for those sad wishes he wished upon himself:' and he further added, 'That he desired all good people to pray for him!'

Let this sad spectacle of Divine vengeance move us to consider, with what a God we have to do. 'Be not deceived, God will not be mocked.' Let every one consider and admire God's free grace and mercy, that he hath not been made a subject of God's immediate wrath, instead of being a living monument of God's long-suffering and patience. Let no man presume to take God's name in vain; much more, not dare to challenge God's vengeance upon himself. This sad example (being well considered) may deter all that hear of it from such notorious sins. Let every man take the advice of Moses, Deut. xxxii. 29, 'To be wise, to understand, and to consider their latter ends:' which, being done, will bring us to the knowledge of God, ourselves, of heaven and hell, and prevent from being unhappy or miserable, either in body or soul. Which is the hearty desire of your humble remembrancer!

W. V.

A particular Description of the famous Town and Citadel of Dunkirk, with all its Fortifications; viz. Rice-bank, Forts, Harbour, Peere, the Bason; the Number of the Ships in the Harbour, and Cannon in each Port; as it is now in the Possession of the Queen of Great-Britain. With a particular Account of the Churches, Cloisters, and Nunneries, their Worship and Ceremonies; and all Things worthy of Observation.

Printed 1712.

[Quarto, containing Twenty-one Pages.]

THE PREFACE.

It was not the author's first intention to have published this to the world, being designed for his own private observation; but the repeated importunities of several of his acquaintance, who had the perusal thereof, have at last prevailed with him to commit it to the press, hoping it will meet with a favourable reception from all who are desirous to know the particulars of that famous place, which hath made so much noise in Europe. The author is not insensible but it will meet with censure from the captious, and perhaps from the imperfection they may find in not expressing this description in that regularity as the curious may expect: however, what is here related is genuine in every particular, wherein he has studied more of truth, than art or eloquence, and adapted to the comprehension of the weakest capacity; and doubts not but the candid reader will accept of his good intentions, and excuse the omissions that may have escaped in this scrutiny.

AT the entrance into the Peere on the right hand next the sea, is a wooden fort, supported with mighty beams and piles drove into the sea. It lies opposite to the other fort, of which I shall make mention hereafter. Here are twenty-four pieces of cannon

mounted, whereof six are brass. There are also two very large mortars. There are places for ten pieces of cannon more. It has a communication with the walk on the Peere by a gallery. It has a beacon; and in the middle of the fort are the barracks for the soldiers; it is all boarded with prodigious beams of timber, and right against each cannon are placed about forty cannon-balls, besides great numbers upon piles, with great quantities of powder, and a great many carriages for cannon under the piazzas of the barracks: the fort is all raised round above breast-high, where the cannon is, with great pieces of timber; there are two great gates, and one draw-bridge coming into the fort, which lies a full mile on the Peere from the town.

Next to the fort last mentioned, lies the famous Rice-bank, of which I shall be very particular in describing what is worthy of observation. It lies about half-way the Peere, and has a communication with the walk on the Peere, by a very long gallery, which is railed all along above breast-high: it is supported with great piles drove into the sea. The form of the Rice-bank is round, and is built with stone half-way up, the other half brick: the walls of it are wide enough for a coach, and, where the cannon is planted, are wide enough for six coaches to go a-breast, and the grass as even as a bowling-green. There are mounted twenty-two pieces of cannon, which are prodigious large, and between each two iron cannon is one brass; there are also six large mortars mounted, which are reckoned the largest in the world; there are places for twenty-six pieces of cannon more, and against each cannon are placed about forty cannon-balls, besides great numbers upon piles. At the first coming into the Rice-bank is a drawbridge; then there are four gates at small distances one from the other, all plated over with iron; the entrance into it is but narrow. There is an ascent of fifteen steps into the court-yard, which is very large and spacious, and round it is pitched with stone. In the middle is a very large well of good water, and all around are the barracks for the soldiers, which are built with brick two stories high; there is likewise a noble house for the governor and other officers, and a fine church at one end of the yard is railed in with iron rails; a very prodigious quantity of cannon-ball, and bomb-shells of all sizes, besides the magazines of powder which are very large: it is incredible to relate the vast magazines of all sorts of warlike stores that are therein. In going up the walls, where the cannon is planted, is an ascent of forty steps, and there are four ways of going up the walls at equal distances. The barracks for the soldiers will contain at least two-thousand men; it is all surrounded with the sea, and lies about half a mile from the town; it is impossible to express the strength of it.

Next to the Rice-bank coming into the Peere, lies Fort Devett, which lies about a quarter of a mile from the Rice-bank; it has a communication with the walk on the Peere, by a long gallery which is railed all along, above breast-high, to keep one from falling into the water, supported with great piles drove into the sea; the form of it is triangular, and built with stone half-way up, the other half brick; the walls are wide enough for a coach. At first coming in is a draw-bridge, with two gates at a small distance one from the other; the ascent to the walls where the cannon are planted is twenty steps, and there are mounted ten pieces of iron cannon, and places for twelve more; there are against each cannon above twenty cannon-balls, besides great numbers upon piles. There are barracks for the soldiers; it lies between the citadel and the Rice-bank, on the right hand, and is all surrounded with the sea except at low water. At the entrance into the Peere, on the left hand next the sea, is a wooden fort, supported with mighty beams and piles drove into the sea; it lies opposite to the other fort. Here are mounted twenty-one pieces of cannon, whereof six are brass: there are also two very large mortars, and places for twenty pieces of cannon more: it has a communication with the walk on the Peere, by a gallery; there is a standard, and in the middle of the fort are the barracks for the soldiers; it is all boarded with prodigious beams of timber, and right against each cannon are placed about thirty or forty cannon-balls ready (as occasion may offer), besides great numbers upon piles, with great quantities of powder, and a great many carriages for cannon under the piazzas of the barracks: the fort is all railed round above breast-high, where the cannon is, with great pieces of timber; there are two gates, and one draw-bridge coming into the fort.

Next to the wooden fort last mentioned, coming into the Peere, lies *Chateau Gallicere;* it lies about half-way the Peere, having a communication with the walk on the Peere, by a short gallery. It is supported with mighty beams, and piles drove into the sea; it lies near opposite to the Rice-bank; here are mounted seven pieces of cannon, and there are places for four more; it is all boarded with prodigious beams of timber, and right against each cannon are placed about twenty or thirty cannon-balls; the fort is all railed round above breast-high, where the cannon are, with great pieces of timber; there is one gate coming into the fort, and at low water this fort is dry on the sands.

Fort *La Bleau* lies about half a mile from the wooden fort coming into the Peere, on the left hand, in the sea, and is likewise near half a mile from the town; at low water one may go to it on the sands; going into the fort are twenty-three steps to the first gate, where is a draw-bridge; then there are three gates, then an ascent of twenty-five steps where the cannon is planted, and there are mounted twelve prodigious large iron cannon, and places for seven more; there is a standard and barracks for the soldiers; there are placed about twenty cannon-balls to each cannon, besides great numbers upon piles, with great quantities of powder. The walls are wide enough for a coach; it is built with stone half-way up, the other half brick, the form of it is like a half-moon; at high water it lies near a mile into the sea; in tempestuous weather, notwithstanding the prodigious height of it, the waves beat into it; it is paved all with free-stone.

From the town to the end of the Peere's mouth, is full a mile long, which runs into the sea; there are two very fine walks all boarded, the whole length of the Peere on each side, and there are prodigious planks of timber and piles drove into the sea, with great iron pins and other iron work, fastened unto the wood, to keep out the sea; the walk is broad enough for two or three to go a-breast, and above half-way it is railed about breast-high, the other half about a quarter of a yard. It must be noted, the outermost walk next the Peere, where the ships come in, is railed about breast-high, and is most part of the way so much decayed, that there is no walking, but the other walk is in good repair: the mouth of the Peere is wide enough for four or five ships to come in a-breast, and the whole length of the Peere the same, and as straight as a line; the Peere wants very much repairing, especially the timber-work in many places is very much decayed, many great beams are wanting; there is a vast number of piles drove into the sea, to hinder ships from damaging the Peere, and there lie on both sides a great many large ships, and on the ground next the town by the walk lie one-hundred and fifty-four iron cannon, which are not mounted, besides a prodigious number of anchors and great quantities of timber.

The citadel lies on the right hand coming into the town from the Peere; at the entrance is a draw-bridge and one gate with a portcullis, or that gate pointed at the end with iron spikes, to drop down with iron chains to keep out the enemy; then there are three gates at a small distance one from the other. At first coming in are four prodigious large barracks for the soldiers two stories high, two of them a great length; and at the hither end of the two shortest barracks is the cloister, a very noble building. The place about the barracks is very large and spacious, and there is a very large well of extraordinary good water. In going up to the walls is a great ascent, where is planted next the town an English train of artillery of twenty-one pieces of cannon, besides a prodigious number of other cannon; amongst them is one of brass about twelve yards long, reckoned the longest and the largest in the world: all, where the cannon is planted, is undermined, where lie a great many barrels of powder. The citadel is all surrounded with a prodigious strong high brick wall, and is near two miles in circumference; there are on the walls several places for the centinels, and fine rows of trees where the cannon are planted, and one windmill. There are several magazines of powder, cannon-ball, and bomb-shells, so conveniently situated, that no bombs can any ways affect them; and it is incredible to relate the prodigious quantities of all sorts of warlike stores that are therein; there are likewise a great many tin boats upon carriages. The governor's house is a noble building, and has a fine garden, and the walls are broad enough for four coaches to go a-breast where the cannon are planted.

The Bason lies on one side of the Park near the citadel, where are the Protee and the

Augustus, two French men of war, and two English men of war, the Blackwall and the Grafton (taken this war) and eleven other ships, and three Turkish galleys. The Bason is big enough to contain at least twenty-four men of war, the most commodious place that possibly can be in the world; there are on each side the store-houses, which are lately finished, all built with brick, two stories high, very fine buildings. It is incredible to relate the prodigious quantities of warlike stores that are therein relating to shipping, besides a great many anchors of all sizes, which lie on the walk on each side; the bomb-shells and bullets which lie on the walks are incredible. There are next the harbour two great sluices which let in the water as much as they please; this is entirely in the hands of the King of France, where he has soldiers that keep guard, and very few are permitted to go into it.

The Park is a place near the Bason, where is the magazine of all sorts of provisions for the soldiers of the French king; where the commissary lives, and several other officers belonging to the King of France.

There are lying on the walk next the harbour, near the walls, one-hundred and five pieces of cannon belonging to the ships in the harbour, which are not mounted, but lie as occasion may serve, besides a great many anchors.

In the Harbour and Peere of Dunkirk are two-hundred and four ships and seven French galleys, most or all of them taken from the English and Dutch, generally large ships. The harbour is the most commodious in the world, being like a half-moon, placed between the town-wall and the citadel: the walls thereof are so prodigious high, that no winds or weather can any ways affect the ships; and the breadth of the harbour is large enough for four ships to enter a-breast, and depth proportionable at high water; at the end of the harbour lies the Bason, being parted by a wooden bridge or gallery, that goes to the citadel, which I have mentioned.

At coming from the Peere into the town is a gate with palisadoes; then, at a small distance is another gate with palisadoes, and at a small distance is a gate with a draw-bridge; and lastly a gate with palisadoes; and near the first gate is Fort-harbour, where may be planted several pieces of cannon: there is a standard prodigious high, and very strong, all built with brick; near it by the walls is the clock-tower, very high, opposite to the citadel; like the spire of a church, where is a clock and a dial. There are four gates next the harbour with a draw-bridge to each, with a portcullis, or great gate pointed at the end with iron spikes to drop down with iron chains; and there are in the walls of the town, next the harbour, several chimneys for making fires to tar the vessels and other occasions for shipping; and there is likewise the image of the Virgin Mary with Jesus in her arms; it has two folding-doors with small iron grates, and a piece of wood to keep off the rain; and there is a lanthorn, where there is a candle burning all night, that is lighted as soon as it is dark every evening.

By the walls of the town next the harbour, in two rows, are one-hundred and seven little shops or huts, for the galley-slaves, where they exercise their trades, most handicrafts whatsoever; likewise several shops that sell linen, woollen, second-hand clothes, stockings, gloves, and most millinery things: they have an iron clog about their leg, where is fastened an iron chain about five or six yards long, which is made fast to their shop or post; so they remain chained all day: when evening comes, their chains are knocked off, but there-remains an iron clog about their leg, and they are all put into seven French galleys, which lie in the harbour right over-against their shops, where they remain all night, and a good guard placed over them; in the morning their chains are put on, and there they remain fastened to their shop all day: when any of them are permitted to go into the town, they are chained two by two; the rattling of their chains along the streets, and their dismal condition, is very deplorable, to see men chained together like hounds; there goes always with them an officer to look after them; there are a great many of them that work in the French King's Bason on board the ship, and on board the ships in the harbour, and in carrying and cutting of timber, and many other servile labours; and, when they are at their work, they are generally chained together two by two, and when they come from thence, sometimes, twenty or thirty of them together is very dismal to behold; out of their trades

and labour the King of France has a share, likewise they pay the officers that attend them; there are a great many Turks among them, and most nations, that are put here for great crimes, and never released during life, notwithstanding some of them are worth considerable, and, if money could purchase freedom, it would not be wanting. Their habit is a red waiscoat and a red cap. In time of war these slaves serve on board the French King's galleys, in towing the men of war in a calm, and carrying men to and fro the men of war in a fight; these galleys are very serviceable, and in particular in galling the enemies with their cashee-pieces, which are very large, and at the head of the galley.

The town of Dunkirk is not very large, but contains several noble wide streets, lanes, and alleys; it is pitched with stone laid regular, like the middle of the Exchange in London; the houses are generally three stories high, built with brick, much like their buildings in Holland in all respects, only not so neat. Their churches and cloisters are very fine noble buildings, as is likewise the town-house; you ascend to it seven steps; at first coming in, is a large spacious hall, and there are several rooms for the public business of the city. There is consurgeries[1], a very noble building lately rebuilt; it is the greatest eating-house in the town; joining to it is the prison: these stand in the great street going to the great church; and fronting the town-house is a great guard-house, where the soldiers keep guard night and day, and before the town-house the merchants meet in the nature of an Exchange. There are in the town six churches, viz. the Great Church, the Capuchins, the Regulater, the Poire Cleres, the Beneme, and the Descrecks; and four cloisters, the Black Nuns' Cloister, the White Nuns, the Penitentia, and the English Nuns' cloister, which is the richest in the town. They are all very noble fine buildings, and fine gardens to many of them. To relate the particulars of every church and cloister would contain more than can be in this volume: however, I shall be very particular in describing what is worthy of observation in the great church, and also a hint in the others, of what is most remarkable.

The east port lies going to the camp; it has three gates with a portcullis, or great gate, pointed at the end with iron spikes, to drop down with iron chains, and four drawbridges, and two gates with palisadoes. There are several sluices, by which they can drown the country for several miles round, which with the addition of their prodigious outworks, which shoot out at least two miles from the town, render it impregnable by land as well as by sea: it is incredible to relate the strength of the outworks, which with the addition of canals, rivulets, and other work, renders it the wonder of all that see it. Upon the walls of the town are several windmills, and fine rows of trees; and the walls are wide enough for four or five coaches to go a-breast: it shoots out with several half moons, and other works. The walls of the town are prodigious high built with brick, all surrounded with four prodigious wide ditches at small distances one from the other.

The situation of the camp without the town of Dunkirk, which lies near the walls, incamped in a small plain, about four regiments, consisting of four-hundred and twenty-six tents, and fifty tents for arms (and in the town and citadel are four regiments more); the magazine of hay lies near the camp, consisting of ten prodigious large stacks of hay, encompassed with palisadoes; and near by are five fine walks, all with rows of trees, about half a mile in length; one of the walks pitched with stone, the other with gravel; boarded on each side above breast-high, the trees stand, and there are several benches placed here and there. On the left hand of the walks is a piece of ground for burials, and most of the graves have a high wooden cross placed at the end.

In the great church are fourteen places of devotion all round it, with the image of our Saviour upon the cross in full proportion, in three several places, and a great many images of saints in full proportion, against the walls with their names underneath: at each place of devotion is an altar, which is very finely adorned with fine linen, bordered with curious lace: there is the image of our blessed Saviour upon the cross always standing upon the altar, about a foot and an half high; and there is the Virgin Mary with Jesus in her

[1] [Probably apartments belonging to the jail-keeper: *Conciergerie* being *la prison d'un parlement.*]

arms. The altar is likewise adorned with flowers, and a great deal of very fine painting on the walls; there are several low forms for the people to kneel at their devotions, who are continually coming in from morning till night, the most zealous in their way of any people in the world. There are continually burning at the altar wax-candles, besides a great many wax-candles in other places. Their morning-prayers, called mattins, they perform with or without the priest; they kneel before the image of our Saviour, bow themselves several times to the altar, cross themselves with the sign of the cross, tell over their beads, and several other marks of devotion; their vespers or evening prayers are performed much in the same manner: in the middle of the church is the main place of their devotion, which is parted off, and there is an ascent of three steps with two folding-doors in the front, and on each side the same; at the upper end is the altar, which is very finely adorned with fine linen, and bordered with curious lace with purple velvet. There is the image of our Saviour upon the cross, always standing upon the altar, about two feet high; and there is the Virgin Mary with Jesus in her arms; the altar is likewise adorned with flowers; and there are three books, which lie on the altar, opened ready for the priest, of which I shall make mention hereafter. There are near the altar, on the ground, two prodigious high brass candlesticks, above a story high, with wax-candles, which are never lighted but on great festival days; it would be endless to relate the vast number of wax-candles that are continually burning in several places of the church. When mass is said, the priest, that officiates at the altar, is arrayed, sometimes, in a white surplice[2], with a rich mantle[3] over his shoulders; sometimes with a mantle of black velvet, with silver orris on the back, in the form of a cross; sometimes in another dress, not much unlike the last mentioned. At the first approach to the altar he ascends two or three steps, and bows himself with great reverence three times before the altar, where is the image of our Saviour upon the cross, and then crosses himself with the sign of the cross; then he proceeds in reading in the book[4] to himself, but at some small intervals he turns himself round to the people, with his hands prostrate, and says some words[5]; then he takes a large silver cup[6], which stands upon the altar, and a little boy, that stands by, gives him out of a phial[7] a small quantity of wine[8], which he pours into the cup, and he drinks it off[9] with great devotion; then he takes the cup and wipes it very clean with a linen cloth, and sets it on the altar; then he proceeds to his devotions. After a small pause, he turns himself to the people, and says some words; then he takes the host in his hands[10], and a little bell tinkles, and immediately they all fall upon their knees with great devotion, (their belief is, that the real body and blood of Christ, as it was born of the Virgin Mary, is in the host so exposed, in the hands of the priest, after the words of consecration[11],) after a short pause he puts it upon the altar, and proceeds in his devotions, which is not long after, and most of the time the organs are playing; and at going out and coming in, all cross themselves with holy water (so called) which stands in several places in the church. There are very fine organs, which stand about the middle of the church, and there are several escutcheons hung upon the walls, and several small bones, being relicks of saints. At going into the church, over the doors, are three images finely painted. On one side of the church next the street, going into the herb-market, is the image of the Virgin Mary with Jesus in her arms: there is a lanthorn and a candle, which is lighted every evening, and burns all night.

The English Nuns' Cloister is a very noble building, with a fine garden: at going in over the door, is the image of a nun; the place of worship is but small; at the upper end is the altar, with the image of our Saviour upon the cross; the altar is finely adorned

[2] Properly called the albe. [3] *al.* vestment. [4] Mass-book.
[5] viz. *Dominus vobiscum*, or, The Lord be with you. [6] *al.* the chalice.
[7] *al.* cruet. [8] And another cruet with water.
[9] After he has communicated in the kind of bread, and not before.
[10] And raiseth both it and the chalice at separate times above his head, which is called the Elevation.
[11] [See Bale's Chronicle of Sir John Oldcastle, ubi sup. p. 264.]

in the same manner as in the great church. Where the priest officiates is parted off by low palisadoes: here are no images, except the Virgin Mary with Jesus in her arms. The place is laid with marble, and here are no seats, except a bench next the wall, for all the time of their worship, generally speaking, they are upon their knees: there is parted off above stairs, by very fine iron work, a large place for the English nuns, who, during part of the time of their devotions, sing extremely fine, and the organs at the same time playing, make it a very agreeable harmony; there is no seeing them but through these iron works, where they may plainly be seen; and likewise they are sometimes some of them below stairs in a place by themselves. At first coming into the cloister where is a door, which is with wrought iron part of the way, there they may be seen very plain, and spoke with. If any person desires to speak to any nun, here they may, but no other ways than through these iron grates, and must be in the company of the lady abbess, or some other nun. If they are any relation or any acquaintance, they may be spoke with, otherwise not: at their first entrance into the cloister, they are there for a year[12]; if, in that time, they do not like a religious life, they may come out; otherwise[13] they are there during life, and never go abroad.

There are in the town six markets; the Green or Herb Market, the Wood and Corn Market, the Butter Market, the Chicken Market, the Fish Market, and Flesh Market; all spacious commodious places, especially the Herb Market, which lies near the great church, between the Main Guard and the Poor Cleres: it is a very spacious large place, about as big as Covent-Garden, with houses all around, which are noble buildings, especially the main guard, which has seven gates in front, and by it is placed a gibbet with a ladder ready placed for malefactors; likewise a wooden horse for the soldiers' punishment. There are several magazines of powder, near the walls of the town, and fine rows of trees on the walks; and near the walls are the barracks for the soldiers, and officers, which are built with brick two and three stories high, and are noble buildings, and there are other barracks for the soldiers in other places. There is the English Hospital and French Hospital, which are noble buildings. There is a very large house for the service of the Church of England, and there is a school-master, and several scholars. There are several conduits of fresh water with pumps: fronting the English cloisters is a very handsome square place all railed in with fine rows of trees. The town-wall is prodigious high, built all with brick, and several towers placed next the harbour, and there are four gates next the harbour: at first coming from the Peere is Newport Gate, the Key Gate, the Crown Gate, and the Citadel Gate; they have each two great gates with a portcullis, or great gate, pointed at the end with iron spikes to drop down with iron chains, to keep out the enemy, with a drawbridge to each gate, which is pulled up every night: there is Port Royal, which lies southerly; it has two gates with a porticullis or great gate pointed at the end with iron spikes, to drop down with iron chains; and three drawbridges, and two gates with palisadoes; and near by, is a magazine of powder, which lies near the water-mill of Port Royal; and just without the town lies Bereville, a small village with a church, and one gate with a drawbridge; there is a way pitched with stone, which goes to Berg.

The ceremony of burying their dead. First comes a person whichcarries a prodigious high silver cross, then three men with fine streamers, and twelve priests in white, bare-headed, and three priests in rich habits[14], in black velvet, bordered with silver orris over most part of it; one of them with the cross and silver orris on his back; then two Capuchins with the habit of their order (which I shall describe hereafter); then comes the corpse covered with black velvet, with the image of our Savour laid upon the coffin, covered with black crape; then at the head is a large piece of silver not unlike a crown, and one

[12] During which time they are called novices.

[13] They then take upon them the habit of a nun in that order, and take the vows of poverty, chastity, obedience, and perpetual inclosure.

[14] One in a priest's vestment, and the other two in dalmaticas, representing a deacon and subdeacon attending on the officiating priest.

at the feet not quite so large, and six bearers to hold up the pall; then come the relations: so they proceed into the church, the priests singing all the way, with a great many wax candles burning; the corpse is placed in the middle of the church, with eight very large wax candles burning about it; the relations are seated on each side, then three priests officiating at the altar; after some prayers said, one of the priests goes round the corpse, with a silver censer of holy water, and sprinkles round the corpse, all the time saying some prayers; then he takes another censer, which has perfumes burning in it, and goes round the corpse, saying some prayers and singing; then he takes a large brush and sprinkles the people with holy water; then all the men go up to the altar, each one with a wax-candle lighted in his hand, which he receives of a man that stands by for that purpose, and gives it to another man that is there, before he comes to the priest: then the priest holding in his hand a small gilded dish, and in the other a piece of linen; then each person goes up to the priest and kisses the bason; then the priest wipes it with the cloth, and then the women in like manner; then they proceed with the corpse to the grave, which is in the church; after saying some small prayers, the corpse is immediately put into the grave, and the first shovel-full of earth is put into the grave by the priest, his hand being assisted by the grave-digger; (the coffin is plain square at the head, and a wooden cross made fast upon the coffin;) then the priest takes the censer, and sprinkles holy water into the grave, and says some prayers, and holds the silver cross with our Saviour on it, over the grave, which is covered with a black crape hatband: then he takes a brush and sprinkles holy water likewise, and with the same upon the people, who are very eager to receive it on their faces, and so the ceremony ends. If any virgin dies, and is desirous to be carried to the grave by nuns, it is granted; but only the order of Black Nuns have the privilege of going abroad, and the ceremony is much the same as above mentioned; as one that I saw, who was carried by eight black nuns, who were all dressed in black, with black hoods over their faces.

When any person is dead, immediately there are laid before the door in the street small sheaves of straw in the form of a cross, which lie there night and day, till the person is buried.

The ceremony of exposing the host or wafer, to give the sacrament to the sick. First comes a person with a wax candle in a lanthorn; then several priests in white, bare-headed, and several wax candles burning, carried by several persons; then the priest that officiates under a canopy supported by four men; he carries the host exposed in his hands, which is held up; after this manner they proceed through several streets, to the house of the sick, and, at their coming back, they proceed, in the same manner, singing all the way; and as they go, a little bell tinkles, and all fall upon their knees with great devotion; this bell is to give them notice that the host is coming; immediately all fall upon their knees, men, women, and children, as the host goes by: but the Protestants have this privilege, that, if they meet the host in the street, they only put off their hats as the host goes by; all people, that are in their houses, and shops, or in the streets, must kneel as it passes by; the ceremony is performed with great reverence and devotion and it is incredible to believe the vast concourse of people that throng; and the people at their doors, and at their windows, with candles lighted (if it be in the evening) makes it a very agreeable prospect.

When any person is dead, the corpse is laid in the coffin, with several wax candles lighted, which burn night and day, and the image of our Saviour upon the cross by it; and night and day there are several persons with the corpse; there are friars of the order of St. Francis. The habit of a Capuchin is a coarse brown cloth, hanging down to their heels, with a short cloak of the same, and a coul or capouch joining to the cloak: they wear no shirts, nor any linen; no breeches, no stockings, nor shoes, having sandals or great wooden clogs on their feet, made fast to their feet with straps of leather, their feet and legs always bare; about their middle they are girded with a flaxen cord with knots, and there hang their beads, with the image of our Saviour upon the cross. They lie in no linen nor beds, but upon the ground with a mat; they never handle any money,

and there are amongst them that take no manner of care for the things of this life, but all their time is taken up in devotions, and a religious life; alleging what is mentioned in the Scripture, by our Saviour, when, speaking to the Apostles, he says, 'Take no 'thought for to-morrow, what ye shall eat, or what he shall drink,' *viz.* they have each day two or three that go about the town with a basket a begging for victuals for them.

The Jesuits founded by Ignatius Loyola, of Biscay; their habit is black, with their uppermost garments down to their heels; they were hats, shoes, and stockings. They are, as is well known, very learned and judicious men, insinuating themselves into the courts and secrets of all the Roman Catholic princes of Europe.

The nuns' habit is black with white hoods and pinners, and a black veil hangs over their faces; their dress is very becoming, and very neat, and very fine. Women the most zealous in their devotions, that possibly any people can be; all the time of their worship (except when they are singing) they are always reading in a book, telling over their beads and other marks of devotion, kneeling all the time; and when they are singing, they stand close to the iron grates that their echo may be the better heard in the church, the most melodious musick in the world, with the organs at the same time playing, which renders it very agreeable.

There is at going into two of the cloisters a wooden cross in the streets, which always remains there, and is about twenty-four feet high from the ground; at certain holy days the image of our Saviour in full proportion is put upon the cross, where are two iron bars to fasten the image, and the people, as they pass along, pay their devotion.

The civil government of the town is in the hands of the French king, as is also the Bason and the Park (of which I have made mention); but the Citadel, Rice-Bank, Forts, Harbour, Peere, and in a word all the fortifications with all the outworks (which are two English miles in length from the town) are entirely in the possession of the Queen of Great Britain.

The place at present is very sickly, and many of the inhabitants die, as do likewise great numbers of the common soldiers, and the officers; they are taken with a shivering like an ague.

Provisions are generally very dear, except fish, which is very reasonable, particularly herrings, which are extreme cheap, by the coming in daily of French fishing-boats, from Graveling, Calais, and Dieppe; since the coming of the English, provisions are much dearer, and, since the taking of Fort Knock by the Dutch, faggots for firing are much advanced and scarce.

The inhabitants are most Flemings; there are several very eminent French merchants with some Irish inhabitants; they are generally courteous and civil to strangers, and are very industrious people, and all are of the Roman Catholic religion; no other is permitted there, except a church to the English. About two leagues from Dunkirk, lies old Mardyke, a small village, and likewise new Mardyke; Graveling lies about four leagues, and from thence four leagues to Calais in France, which completes the journal.

An Historical Discourse of the first Invention of Navigation, and the additional Improvements of it. With the probable Causes of the Variation of the Compass, and the Variation of the Variation. Likewise some Reflections upon the Name and Office of Admiral. To which is added a Catalogue of those Persons that have been, from the first Institution, dignified with that Office. By Thomas Philipott, M.A. formerly of Clare-Hall in Cambridge[1].

London, printed in 1661.

[Quarto, containing Thirty Pages, including the Dedication.]

To his noblest Friend, Sir Francis Prujean, Doctor of Physick.

SIR,

THE censures and suffrages of the world are like rocks and shelves, against which, books, like vessels, oftentimes dashing, find their won fate and shipwreck. Sir, your acceptance will dispense a nobler and more auspicious gale, than any which can be breathed from the looser or vainer air of popular applause, to transport this discourse to the publick; and it will be the happiness of this treatise, that in future times it shall entitle its safety to so successful a steerage. For, indeed, the tempest, with reason, is frequently more destructive and ruinous, than the storm without it. My own fear and caution can secure or rescue me from the danger of the last: but only your candour and approbation can redeem from the prejudices of the first,

Sir, your most devoted Servant,

THOMAS PHILIPOTT.

There having been much written concerning this subject, which lies dispersed in the pages of several authors, and finding that none have as yet attempted to compile and amass those scattered notions into one heap, I did believe it a task, not unworthy the expence of time, or my labour, to contract those divided discourses into some few sheets: and having brought them into shape and order, to offer them up to public view; which is the subject-matter of this ensuing treatise.

FIRST, it is indisputably true, from the authority of the sacred records, the structure of the ark owed and entitled its original contexture to the industrious precaution of Noah, who, by the immediate designation of God himself, brought that wooden island into shape and order, to rescue some part of mankind, from the angry baptism of a public deluge.

And it is probable, that the posterity of Noah, having plantations which were contiguous to Mount Ararat, where the ark rested, and their viewing its skeleton, might, according to that original, form and build such ships, and other vessels, (the art of navigation being not yet arrived to its solstice,) as might make rivers and more spacious waters ob-

[1] [And the author of a volume of miscellaneous poetry, published in 1646.]

vious to a passage, and maintain such a necessary intercourse, as might improve a commerce between nation and nation.

The heathen records, and monuments of pagan antiquity, which were ignorant of the structure of the ark, (according to the variety of tradition,) assign the invention of navigation to several persons. Diodorus Siculus attributes it to Neptune, who from thence contracted the appellation of God of the Sea; Strabo, to Minos king of Crete; and lastly, Tibullus consecrates it to the fame and memory of the city of Tyre.

Minos indeed expelled malefactors out of the islands, and in most of them planted colonies of his own; by which means, they who inhabited the sea-coasts, becoming more addicted to riches, grew more constant to their dwellings; of whom, some, grown now rich, circumscribed and encompassed their cities with walls; and others, by the influence of Minos, built a navy, and by an active and noble diligence so secured commerce, that they rendered navigation free.

But it is most probable, that, Tyre being, in elder times, a city as eminent for its wealth and traffick, as it was for its strength and magnificence; and enjoying with its bordering neighbours, the Phœnicians, a large extensive sea-coast, and many capacious havens, which had an aspect on the Mediterranean Sea; found out at first the institution of shipping. From the Phœnicians and Tyrians, it was conducted down to the Egyptians; by whose industry and ingenuity, much was annexed to the advantage and perfection of it. For whereas the first vessels were framed out of the trunk of some large tree, made hollow by art, or else of divers boards, compacted into the fashion of a boat, and covered with the skins of beasts; the Phœnicians moulded them into a more elegant and convenient form, and secured them with greater additions of strength, whilst the Egyptians added, to the former structure, the supplement of decks. From the Egyptians, this art was transported to the Grecians: for when Danaus, King of Egypt, to decline the fury of his brother Rameses, made his approaches to Greece, he first instructed its inhabitants to sail in covered vessels, called *naves*, who before perfected their voyages over those narrow seas, on beams and rafters fastened together, to whom they gave the appellation of *rates*. Amongst the Grecians, those of Crete had the highest repute for the manage of navigation, which causeth Strabo to ascribe the invention of ships to Minos. In times subsequent to these, the Carthaginians, extracted from Tyre, grew most considerable in shipping; by the supply of which, they often disordered and distressed the affairs of the Romans. But the fury of a tempest, having separated a *quinqueremis*, or galley of five banks of oars, from the residue of the Carthaginian navy, cast it on the coast of Italy; by a curious inspection into which, the Romans obtained the art of shipping; and, not long after, atchieved the dominion of the sea. That the Phœnicians and Greeks transmitted the knowledge of navigation to Spain and France, is without controversy; since Gades, in the first, was a colony of the Phœnicians, and Marseilles, in the last, a plantation of the Phocians. As for Belgium and Britain, they were, in ages of an elder inscription, very barren and indigent in shipping; for Cæsar, when he made his eruption on the last, found the circumambient seas so ill furnished, that he was forced, with the industrious assistance of his soldiery, to build and equip a navy of six-hundred and two and thirty vessels, to transport his army into Albion.

The Phœnicians having, as is above recited, invented open vessels, and the Egyptians ships with decks; the last of these inforced the art of navigation, by adding to it the invention of galleys, with two banks of oars upon a side; which sort of vessels, in process of time, did swell into that voluminous bulk, that Ptolemy Philopater is said to have framed a galley of fifty banks. Ships of burthen (styled *cirœra)* entitle their invention to the Cypriots; cock-boats or skifts *(scaphœ)* owe their first structure to the Illyrians or Liburnians; brigantines *(celoces)* confess theirs to have been the artifice of the Rhodians; frigates, or light barks (*lembi)* acknowledge their original unto the industry of the Cyrenians; the *phaselus* and *pamphyli*, ships constructed for war, were the invention of the Pamphylians, and the inhabitants of Phaselis, a town of Lycia in Asia Minor. Vessels for transporting of horse (styled *hippagines)* are indebted, for their first institution, to

the Salaminians: grappling-hooks, for theirs, to Anacharsis. Anchors confess their first knowledge to have been from the Tuscans. The rudder-helm, and art of steering, is ascribed to Typhis, principal pilot in Jason's eminent ship, called the Argoe; who, having observed that a kite, when she divided the air, steered her whole body and flight with her tail; perfected that in the designs of art, which he had discovered to have been effected by instinct in the works of nature. If we please to trace out the inventors of tackle, we shall discover, that the primitive institution of the oar is attributed to the Bœotians; and the original discovery and use of masts and sails ennoble the memory of Dædalus, and his son Icarus; the last of which, confiding too much in the dexterity of this invention, giving too large and spreading a sail to the bark he was engaged in, over-set the vessel, and perished, and adopted the sea, in which he miscarried, into his own name.

But, though the supplement and addition of decks of ships entitle itself to the original artifice of the Egyptians, as is before recited; yet had they others of a more narrow dimension, both for use and transportation; for the Egyptians, anciently, (says Pliny, lib. xiii. Nat. Hist.) used to make boats of reeds and bulrushes; which assertion he again justifies in another place; *Papyraceis navibus* (says he) *armamentisque Nili navigamus:* and to these vessels Lucan alludes, lib. iv. Phars.

——— *Sic cum tenet omnia Nilus,*
Conseritur bibula Memphitica cymba papyro.

Which fashion of boat Moses was engaged in, when Pharaoh's daughter rescued him from the danger of the river. The prophet Isaiah records such utensils, in that periphrasis of Egypt, 'Wo to the land shadowing with wings, that sends ambassadors by sea in bul-'rushes.' Strabo sailed to Egypt in a small vessel made of wicker, as his own relation discovers to us, in the seventeenth of his Geography. Juvenal also makes mention of earthen boats in Egypt, used and employed also there to sail with; for, recording the deadly feud and superstitious conflicts, commenced between Ombos and Tentyra, in relation to their gods, he speaks thus, Sat. xv.

Hac sævit rabie imbelle & inutile vulgus,
Parvula fictilibus solitum dare vela phaselis,
Et brevibus pictæ remis incumbere testæ.

The Britons had anciently their *naves vitiles* in Pliny's style; the natives of Ireland call them Corroghs, and some Corracles: they were little vessels covered with leather, in their dimensions scarce exceeding the bulk of a basket; and these kind of boats, or baskets, were used by Julius Cæsar, to transport his army over the river Sicoris against Petreius, and other rivers elsewhere; and he had learned the making of them, it seems, from the Britons, when he was in this Island, as himself attests in his first book *de Bello Civili: Cujus generis* (says he) *cum superioribus usus Britanniæ docuerat.* And, in a subsequent discourse, he describes them thus: *Carinæ primum ac statumina ex levi materiâ fiebantur, reliquum corpus navium viminibus contextum integebatur.* They have the like vessels on the river Euphrates, to transport commodities to Babylon; and their proportion is so conformable to these British ones (according to the pattern discovered to us by Herodotus) that a man would judge, that either the Britons extracted the description of these vessels from the Babylonians, or the Babylonians from them. For Herodotus, in Clio (that is, the first book of his history,) affirms, that they had boats, made of osier or willows, of an orbicular form, and in the fashion of a buckler, without prow or poop, and covered over on the outside with the head of a bullock tanned. In these, besides their native commodities, they used to convey palm-wines in tuns, to be sold or vended at Babylon; two men, with an oar a-piece, in their hands, conducting and managing the vessel.

These vessels were so portable, that the owners were accustomed to transport them on their backs to and from the water; the master would carry his boat by land, and the boat would waft the master on the water; as the Arabian fisherman uses to do with his tortoise-shell, which is his shallop by sea, and his house on land; under which he sleeps, and in which he sails.

Proportionate in their dimension to these are those which the Egyptians use at this day upon the Nile; which they take upon their backs, when they approach the cataracts and steeper falls of that river.

Boterius calls them *naves plicatiles*, and which they employ in some places of the West-Indies. For, in the year 1509, we read, that there were brought to Roon seven Indians, confined to one small vessel or boat, which was so portable, that one man could raise it up with his hand; as the same Boterius, in his relations, seems to intimate.

In some places of the West-Indies they fish with faggots composed of bulrushes, in their dialect styled Balsas. Having sustained them upon their shoulders to the sea, they there cast them in; then leap upon them, and after row into the main, with small reeds on either side, themselves standing upright, like Tritons or Neptunes; and in these balsas they are accustomed to carry those cords and nets they employ in fishing. The Indians likewise have long boats, called Canoos, made hollow, and artificially framed out of one tree. In Greenland the fishermen's boats are composed into the shape of weavers' shuttles, covered outwardly with skins of beals[2], and inwardly fashioned and fortified with the bones of the same fishes; which being sewed together with many doubles and sutures, are so secure, that in foul and stormy weather, they will shut themselves up in the same; being rescued, by the aid of these, from the fury and imminent prejudices of rocks, winds, and tempests. These are about twenty feet in length, and two feet and an half in their breadth; and so swift, that no ship is able to outvie them in speed; and so light of portage, that one man may support many; and they are furnished but with one oar.

Before I wind up this discourse, I shall winnow and discuss that question, 'Whether or not antiquity had any discovery or notice of the compass, which, in this latter age, hath contributed so much to the improvement of navigation?' Those, who do assert, that it had some imperfect glimmering, or rather some gloomy cognisance of it, do establish their opinion on the authority of Plautus, where they find mention of the *versoria:* and, secondly, because the load-stone, which sways and manages the compass, was anciently, by the Greeks, styled, *Magnes*, and *Lapis Heraclius;* both which names remain instated upon it until this day. But to the first it is answered, That the *versoria* of Plautus is no other, than that piece of tackle, which, in the modern dialect of our mariners, falls under the appellation of a *Bolin;* by which they used to turn their sails, and proportion them to the changeable vicissitude of every wind. And so much is manifest from Plautus himself, in the comedy which he styles *Mercator*, saying *Hinc ventus nunc secundus est, cape modo versoriam;* so called from *verso*, to turn often; or else it may borrow its extraction and nativity from *versum*, the first supine of *verto*; whence *velum vertere* is a customary term amongst the Latins; used to express the shifting of the sail, as the wind does vary. As for the load-stone, it was, indeed, by the Greeks, called *Lapis Heraclius*, not because Hercules Tyrius, to whom the sea-faring Phœnicians, in storms and tempests, offered up their orisons for protection, first traced out the virtue and energetical effluviums of it, as some contend; but because it was discovered near Heraclea, a city of Lydia, called for the same reason, and upon the same account, *Lapis Lydius* also, and, by the ancients, known only under the notion of a touch-stone. Nor does the name of *Magnes*, used under that appellation promiscuously both by the Greeks and Latins, owe its original etymology to any other root or cradle, than that it was found near Magnesia, a city of Lydia, of which Heraclea, above-mentioned, was likewise a part; from whence it hath ever since purchased the constant denomination of *Lapis Magnes;* so Suidas asserts for the Greeks, and old Lucretius affirms the same for the Latins.

[2] [*Qu.* Seals?]

Having evinced, from these demonstrations, the ignorance of antiquity, both in the notional knowledge, and practical application of the compass; it now remains my task to unwind, to whom, in times of a more recent inscription, this excellent instrument entitled its first discovery. And, if we will traverse and peruse records of a modern aspect, we shall find, that the invention of the *pyxis nautica*, or compass, is generality ascribed to John Goia, (or Flavio Goia, as others style him,) of Amalphi in Campania, in the kingdom of Naples. But all rare and curious artifices are, in their first productions, like the designs of chymistry, much in projection, but little in perfection: for his discovery reached but to eight winds only, which made up his compass, that is, the four principal, and four collateral; and left the improvement of this invention to be attempted by posterity, which indeed did add shape and just perfection to this ingenious design. For, in some few ages subsequent to this, the people of Antwerp and Bruges completed this invention; by annexing to the compass twenty-four other subordinate winds, or points. Before this invention, pilots were directed in their right voyages by certain stars they took notice of, especially the Pleiades, or Charles's Wain, and the two stars in the tail of the Bear, called Helice and Cynosura, which are therefore called Load-stars, or Leading-stars. As travellers, in the Deserts of Arabia and those of Tartary, were always guided by some fixed stars, in the night-time, to steer their courses in those pathless, disordered, and inhospitable ways; so seamen were directed by the like heavenly guides, in the untractable wilderness of waters, before this excellent artifice was found out. But, if the sky happened to be sullied with mists, and the stars to be muffled with clouds; then the most experienced pilot was at a loss, and was obliged, by dropping an anchor, presently to take up his rest.

But the ingenious Amalphitan hath secured posterity, by a noble remedy against this grand inconvenience, and discovered a method, by which men might steer a certain and infallible course, in the most gloomy nights, and most tumultuous seas; and this by the guide and conduct of a little stone, styled, from its use and influence, the Load-stone. This load-stone is now our load-star, and the mariner's directory.

This stone treasures up two strange properties in its dusky entrails, the one of attraction, the other of direction. This property of direction (which chiefly hath an aspect on our present business) is, that being set in a dish, and left to float freely upon the water, it will, with one end, point directly to the north, and, with the other, to the south; and will dispense this faculty, or property, to a needle, that is rubbed, or touched with it.

The *pyxis nautica*, or mariner's card, which carries a needle, touched with the load-stone, in the middle of it, with two-and-thirty rhombs or lines drawn round about it, according to the number of the cardinal and collateral winds, is no less useful by land, than it is by sea: so that they, who are engaged to travel through deserts, as the caravans do to Mecca and Medina, and other places, do now make good use of this artifice; whereas, in former ages, a star was their best pilot by night.

Ludovicus Bartema relates, that they who travel over the Syrian and Arabian deserts, which are faced and covered with a film of light and shifting sand, so that no track can never be discovered, do frame certain boxes of wood, which they place on camels' backs; and, shutting themselves up in the said boxes, to rescue themselves from the sand, by the help of the load stone, like the mariner's compass, they steer their course over the vast, uncouth, and untractable deserts. Some do entitle the invention of the compass to the people of China. Doctor Gilbert, in his book *de Magnete*, asserts, that Paulus Venetus transported it first into Italy, in the year 1260, having learned it from the Chinese. And Ludovicus Vertomannus affirms, that when he was in the East-Indies, about the year 1500 (above an hundred and sixty years since) he saw the pilot of the ship direct his course by a compass, fashioned and framed according to the figure and proportion of those we use at this instant, when he was sailing towards Java. If you will consult Pliny, he will tell you, that the inhabitants of Taprobana (now called Sumatra) because they could not behold the pole-star to sail by, carried with them certain birds to sea, which they did often let fly; and, as these birds, by natural instinct, applied their flight always to the land; so the mariners directed their course after them. The mariner's compass is not arrived yet to that

perfection, but that it requires some improvement and amendment; for the magnetic needle does not exactly point to the north in all meridians, but varies and distorts itself (in some places more, in some less) from the direct posture, configuration, and aspect, of the north and south, which multiplies and inforces the seaman's distractions, and inwraps him oftentimes in difficult and dangerous errors. Van Helmont, an eminent Paracelsian of Flanders, professes an expedite way to regulate this grand inconvenience; namely, how to make a needle that should never vary or alter from the right point, which may be performed by a vigorous imagination, as he affirms, thus: If a man, in framing the needle, shall stand with his back placed to the north, and place one point of the needle (which he intends for the north) directly towards himself; the needle, so made, shall always point reguluarly and infallibly toward the north, without variation. I wish, that some person of an exalted imagination would compose some needles, for experiment, after Helmont's direction; since it is an affair of noble and active concernment, to the public interest of every nation, to have this invention of the compass either improved, or rectified.

But this artifice of Helmont is infirm and crazy in the whole frame and contexture of it, if the variation of the needle, from its meridional polarity, proceed from the attractive vigour and magnetical alliciency of the earth; which, by irrefragable demonstrations, may be evinced to be one continued magnet. Now a magnetical body is styled, not only that which hath a power attractive, but that which, being situated in a convenient medium by an intrinsic natural propension, disposes itself to one invariable and fixed residence; so that, if it were violently removed, yet would it not abandon its primitive points, nor fix in the east and west, but return unto its polary situation again. And such a magnetical virtue is diffused through the whole body of the earth; whereby as unto its natural points, and proper terms, it still makes its addresses unto the poles; being so constituted in its whole frame, order, and aspect, unto these points, that those parts, which are now at the poles, would not naturally reside under the equator, nor Nova Zembla continue in the place of Java or Borneo. Nor is the attractive vigour of this great body, the earth, cloistered up within its own inward cells and recesses, or circumscribed within the circumference of its own surface, but shed at indeterminate distances, through the air, water, and all other circumjacent bodies; exciting and transplanting its magnetical virtue into all bodies, either within its surface, or without it; and effecting that in an abstruse and indiscernible way, that we visibly behold performed by the load-stone. For these effluviums penetrate all bodies, and being ever ready in the medium, attack all objects proportionate, or capable of their vigorous and active excitation: and this is manifest from steel wires thrust thorough little spheres, or globes of cork floating on the water, or in naked needles gently dropped thereon; for so disposed, they will not rest, until they have traced out the meridian; and, as near as possibly they may, lie parallel to the axis of the earth. Now this direction does not originally result from themselves; but is derivative and contracted from the magnetical efflux of the earth. And these demonstrations may be improved by the observation of some subsequent experiments; as,

First, from a needle sphere of cork, equally contiguous unto the surface of the water: for, if the needle be not seated in an exact equilibration, that end which is too light, if touched, becomes even; that needle also, which will but just swim under water, if forcibly touched, will sink deeper, and sometimes unto the bottom; which proceeds from an union of those magnetical effluxions, which estreat from the earth, with those magnetic atoms which flow from the body of the load-stone, and make an impression on the needle.

Now those first, being of a congenerous nature with the last, but more numerous and powerful, (by this their mutual entwining and complication,) drag away the needle, as their captive, and sink it into the above-recited position.

Secondly, from a wire or needle, which being denuded and divested of that meridional projection, the magnetic impressions of the load-stone had formerly instated and imprinted upon it, by its great adversary the fire; by being some time entered in the earth, becomes new impregnated with the virtue of that great and vigorous magnet; and again contracts such a polarity, or meridional situation, as though it had never suffered under the persecu-

tion of its flaming enemy. Now whether these above-mentioned effluviums of the earth do fly by estreated atoms, or winding particles, as some assert; or glide by streams attracted from either pole or hemisphere of the earth, unto the equator, as others affirm; it signifies nothing to the diminution of the magnetic virtue of the earth, but rather more distinctly sets down the gests and progressive motion of its attractive alliciency and excitation.

Thirdly, if a load-stone be made red-hot, it loseth the magnetical vigour it had before in itself, and acquires another from the earth in its refrigeration; for that part, which cooleth towards the earth, will obtain the respect of the north, and attract the southern point or cuspis of the needle. And the reason hereof is, that though the attractive virtue of the load-stone be in this fiery agony much impaired, exhausted, and diminished, yet is it not totally extinguished; so that when its sickly and impoverished vigour is re-inforced and recruited, by a supply or accession of effluviums, from the earth, by an union or combination with this new stock of magnetical atoms; it does not only revive, but is improved to its former attraction and verticity.

Fourthly, it is observed, that both bricks and irons contract a verticity, by long and continued position; that is, not only being placed from north and south, and lying in the meridian, but respecting the zenith and perpendicular, unto the centre of the earth; as is evident in bars of windows, casements, hinges, and the like. The same condition also do bricks contract, by being long time placed in one continued situation in a wall: for, if the needle be presented unto their lower extremes, it wheeleth about, and turns its southern point unto them. And the reason of this is, that that film or scurf, in which they lay originally wrapped up, and which did obstruct the magnetical impressions of the earth, being worn off by decursion of time, and the perpetual assaults of the elements; the magnetical atoms of the earth do with more vigour invade them, and by frequent onsets, having implanted their virtue in them, engage them to that verticity.

Fifthly, iron in a particular sympathy moves to the load-stone, but yet, if it exceed a certain quantity, it abandons and quits those affections and interests; and like an affectionate citizen, or faithful patriot, moves to the earth, which is the region and country of its connaturals.

From what hath thus been remarkably discovered, it is easy to unfold, from a foundation not only of probability, but almost of necessity, whence proceeds the cause of the variation of the compass; that is, an arch of the horizon, intercepted between the true and magnetical meridian. The true meridian is a greater circle, passing through the poles of the world, and the zenith or vertex of any place, exactly dividing the east from the west. Now, on this line the needle exactly lieth not, but diverts and varies its point; that is, the north point on this side the equator, the south, on the other, sometimes unto the east, sometimes unto the west, and, in some places, varies not at all. Now the cause of this variation may be the inequality of the earth, variously disposed, and differently mixed with the sea; with all the different emissions of its strength and magnetical vigour, from the more eminent and gibbous or knobby parts thereof; for the needle naturally endeavours to conform unto the meridian, but, being distracted, is driven and distorted that way, where the greater and more powerful parts of the earth are situated.

Now whereas on this side the meridian, or the isles of Azores, where the first meridian is placed, the needle varies eastward; it may be occasioned by that vast tract of earth, that is, of Europe, Asia, and Africa, seated towards the east, and disposing the needle that way; on the other side some parts of the Azores, or islands of St. Michael, which have a middle situation between these continents, and that vast tract of America, almost proportionate and answerable to these in its spacious bulk and dimension, it seems equally distracted by both, and diverting unto neither, doth parallel and place itself upon the true meridian. But sailing farther, it veers its lilly[3] towards the west, and regards that quarter wherein the

[3] [Lilly, or flower-de-luce, seems here put for the point of the needle, but is commonly used to mark the north-point on the card of a compass.]

land is nearer or greater; and in the same latitude, as it approaches its shore, augments its variation. Now, because where the greater continents are united and combined, the action and efflux of magnetical atoms is also greater, therefore those needles do suffer the greatest variation, which are in countries, which do most feel that magnetic impression: and, therefore, hath Rome far less variation than London. For, on the west-side of Rome, are seated the great continents of France, Spain, and Germany, which seem to retrench the exuberant effluviums, and poise the vigour of the eastern parts. But unto England there is almost no earth west, for the whole extent of Asia and Europe lieth eastward, and therefore, at London, it varies eleven degrees, that is, almost one rhomb. Thus also, by reason of the great continent of Brasile, Peru, and Chisi, the needle declines towards the land twelve degrees: but at the Streights of Magellan, where the land is contracted into a narrow volume, and the sea on the other side of a vast diffusion and extent, it varies but five or six. And so likewise because the Cape de las Aguellas hath sea on both sides near it, and other land remote, and as it were of an equal distance from it; therefore at that point the needle conforms unto the true meridian, being not distracted with the attraction resulting from the vicinity of an adjacent continent. To this may be added, that this variation proceedeth not only from some eminent terrestrial knobs or excrescencies, which appear like so many wens upon the face of the world; as, also many magnetical veins of the earth, collaterally respecting the needle; but the different accumulation of the earth, disposed unto the poles, lying under the sea and waters; which affect the needle with greater or lesser variation, according to the vigour or impotency of these subterraneous lines, or the entire or broken body of the magnetical fabrick under it: as it is observable, from several load-stones, placed at the bottom of any water; for a load-stone or needle, upon the surface, will variously conform itself, according to the vigour or imbecility of the load-stones under it.

Lastly, from what hath been premised, a reason may be alledged for the variation of the variation; and why, according to observation, the variation of the needle hath after some years been found to vary, either more, where it was discovered to vary but little before, or but little, where formerly it had a greater deflexion or variation. For this may proceed from the mutation of the earth, as it is dislocated or supplanted by earth-quakes, wasted and impaired by sulphureous, or other subterraneous fires; or else, as its magnetic virtue is arrested in its emanation, by being astonished and stupefied by mineral spirits, or those fumes and exhalations that have any mercurial or arsenical atoms implanted in them; all which, by a reiterated impression, may so alter the constitution of the magnetical parts of the earth, either by subtraction or addition, that in decursion of time, they may vary the variation over the place.

Having thus discovered those, to whom not only ships, but likewise the art of managing them, did entitle its original invention, I shall add something by way of supplement, touching the derivation of the name of that eminent officer, to whom, both in elder and more modern times, the care of public navies hath been committed, vulgarly styled 'the Admiral:' and, if we shall disjoint or dissect the name, we shall find it confess itself to be both of Arabian and Greek extraction; for *emir*, or *amir*, in Arabian, imports as much as *lord*, and ἅλος, in Greek, is *of the sea;* so that both these words cemented together, into the appellation of *admiral*, signify *a lord of the sea.* Now the word *emir*, or *amir*, (for they are coincident,) was a denomination anciently used by the Arabian Caliphs, as a term of dignity and eminence; so many of them had the additional appellation of Amir Elmumunin, and Emir Omimelin: the first may be rendered *rex orthodoxorum*, or 'the king of persons orthodox;' and the last may be translated *rex credentium*, 'prince, or king, of the believers:' and, at this day, he that in Turky, by the command and designation of the Grand Signior, delivers the banners to the Sanzacks and Beglerbegs, by which they receive their investiture, is styled *Emir Halem*, 'lord of the banner;' or, if you will receive it in a more pompous epithet, 'the Turks' chief standard-bearer; and this accords with what Leunclavius delivers in his Turkish pandects: *Emir Halem* (says he) *significat dominum vexillorum et flammeolorum, qui scilicet supremus est Sultani vexillifer, ac om-*

nibus Beglerbegis ac Sanzacbegis, quum creantur, vexilla sua porrigit. And hence we read in the history of the Holy War, that Robert, Duke of Normandy, slew an eminent Saracenical Amir, whose standard had *in summitate argenteæ hastæ pomum aureum*, which he offered at the sepulchre of our Saviour, having purchased it at twenty marks, of one who had taken it by right of war. Now this word *amir*, or *emir*, is deduced from the Arabick verb, *amara*, which, rendered into Latin, is *dixit*, or *edixit;* or else extracted from the Hebrew verb, *amar*; which, melted into Latin, signifies *præcepit seu imperavit;* and it is possible the Spanish word, *almirante*, is contracted from *el amirante;* and that again, by Moorish and Arabick channels from *alamir*, which imports as much as 'the chief captain.' Now, although vulgar use and custom, by apposition of this word Ἅλος, have restrained this great officer, only to the command of the sea; yet, in times of an elder aspect, it was of a more confused, or promiscuous signification; and was not alone confined to maritime authority, but was likewise attributed to those eminent Saracenical soldiers and governors, who were engaged in a command by land, which was proportionate, and answerable in its latitude and extent, to that which was exercised by the ancient tribunes of the Roman militia; and this I can easily collect, from the authority and testimony of very ancient authors. And, first, Sigebert, the Monk, in his Chronicle, relates, that Mahomet, or Muhammed, (so he calls him,) about the year 630, constituted four governors in the Saracenical kingdom, which were called *Admirals.* And Theophanes, (in his Chronicle, cited by Meursius,) tells us, that Muhammed, being about to die, designed four admirals, who were to subdue those, who, being of Arabick extraction, did yet assert the Christian religion. And a nameless author, quoted by Bedwell, seconds this relation, by informing us, that a certain Caliph constituted four tribunes of his soldiery, vulgarly called *Admirals, (Admirantes* they are called in his style, though in the phrase of Theophanes, above cited, they are styled *Amiræi)* to every one of which, he gave the command of many subordinate officers and captains, and which commanders he called, 'The sharp Swords of God.' And Junius, out of the notes of Cedrenus upon Curopalates, discovers to us, that Mahomet, upon his decease, appointed four admirals, whom he enjoined to crush and extirpate all those Arabians who had embraced the Christian religion. And farther relates, that they, to perfect his commands, advanced against Theodorus, Chamberlain and General to the Greek Emperor, between whom and themselves, a fatal field was commenced; in which, three of these admirals and a numerous heap of other soldiers perished.

The tyrant of Babylon, in the style of Henry of Huntington, is named the 'Admiral of Babylon;' and the same author, in his Chronicle, asserts twelve admirals of the Pagans to have been slain at the siege of Antioch. And Rupert the Monk, in the fourth book of his Saracenical History, affirms, that the son of Cassian, the great King of Antioch, and twelve admirals, which the Caliph of Babylon (King he calls him) had employed with succours to the king above mentioned, all perished at the siege of Antioch; and these twelve which had the appellation of *admiral*, annexed to them, he makes to be rulers of twelve distinct territories or provinces. And the same author, in the beginning of his fifth book, relates, that the ambassadors of the Caliph of Babylon, in their addresses to the French chieftains, style that monarch, the 'Admiral of Babylon.' *Dominus noster, Admirallus Babyloniæ, mandat vobis Francorum principibus salutem;* so in his phrase runs their appellation. Montrelet, an author of good estimate, mentions *arcubalistarum admirallum*, 'an admiral of the arcubalists,' or of those persons who were armed with cross-bows: and lastly, Matthew Paris, in his Life of William Rufus, tells us, of one Corbaran, who, after he had marshalled his army, and brought his squadrons into form and order, put those troops under the command of twenty-nine kings and admirals.

But as this eminent maritime officer, in these latter times, hath by prescription constantly assumed the name of Admiral; so, in the times of an elder inscription, he was not always styled *Admirallus*, but very frequently *magnus Drungarius classis*, or, 'the great Drungar of the navy,' an office of eminency and high estimate under the Greek emperors: yet this title was not so confined to the sea, but that it was attributed likewise to those noble persons, who managed the command of the land militia; and therefore the learned

Meursius notes, that there was *magnus Drungarius Biglæ*, that is, *vigiliæ seu excubiarum præfectus*, ' the chief commander, or prefect, to whose inspection, the care of the watch was solely intrusted;' the ensign or monument of whose authority, as the same Meursius intimates, with a scepter or truncheon of a purple colour, richly gilded and adorned at the bottom. Now the etymology of this word drungarius, as Leunclavius asserts, is derived from the modern Greek δρουγὸς, and signifies the same with them, as *agla* does with the Turks, and may be interpreted to be that scepter or truncheon, which is the symbol of their office and authority; hence the *drungarii* amongst the Greeks, and the *aglarii* amongst the Turks, are equivalent to our *colonels* in Christendom. But the more proper and genuine etymology of the word, as it is used by Vopiscus and Vegetius, is extracted from *drungus* or *druncus*, which in their sense imports as much as *globus militum;* and may, without distorting the phrase, be interpreted ' a squadron of soldiers.' Vegetius, in his discourse *de Re Militari*, lib. iii. cap. 16. observes, that *scire dux debet contra quos drungos, hoc est, globos hostium, quos equites oporteat poni:* and Vopiscus, in the year 280, relating the victories of Probus the emperor, over the Blemii and the Germans, tell us, that he, to enhance the pomp and magnificence of his conquests, *omnium gentium drungos duxit*, ' he carried squadrons or heaps, of all those nations he had subdued, before his triumphant chariot.'

I should now wind up this discourse; but finding so many eminent persons of the English nation, to have been invested and dignified with the title of *Admiral*, I thought it a labour not unworthy consideration, to represent to the public view a just scale or series of those worthy heroes, who have been in their several generations, (by the favour of the prince,) advanced to this office, whose catalogue is exactly registered in the learned and elaborate pages of Sir Henry Spelman's Glossary.

Marthusius the arch-pirate in old Latin records, styled *archi-pirata*, and *nautarum princeps*, was admiral under King Edgar, and had several subordinate commanders under his jurisdiction, *(præfecti* they are called in the record,) who had the command under this Marthusius of almost a thousand ships,; a report, if we consider the bulk and dimensions of those maritime vessels, which were employed in those times, not altogether improbable; where note, that although, in these modern ages, the name of Pirate is still applied to one, who supports himself by pillage and depredation at sea, yet, in times of an elder inscription, the word *pirata*, or pirate, was sometimes attributed to those persons to whose care the mole or peer of any haven (called in Latin *pyra*) was intrusted; and by whose inspection it was provided, that those places should receive no prejudice, which were the occasion of so much advantage to the public interest.

After the mention of Marthusius, there is a gap or interval in the register of the admirals, and none recorded until the eighth year of Henry the Third; and then Richard de-Lucy, of Newington Lucies in Kent, begins the catalogue, from whom Richard Lucy of Charlecot in Warwickshire, Esq. is in a collateral or younger line originally descended. After whom the ensuing roll of Admirals is without any intermission or interruption, in an even clew or series, conducted down to our times.

Tho. de Moleton had the custody of the narrow seas *(custos maris* the record styles him) in the forty-eighth year of Henry the Third.

Will. de Leybourne, of Leybourne Castle, was in a convention held at Bruges, in the fifteenth year of Edward the First, styled *admiral.* After his exit, the office of admiral being held of too vast concernment to be managed and wielded by one person, there were three admirals created, in the twenty-second of Edward the Second. One had the care of the parts towards the north, which was committed to John de Botetort; a second had the charge of the sea-coast southward, which was committed to William de Leybourne; and a third had the custody of the western shore, which was delegated to the inspection of an Irish knight. Afterwards this office was invested in two; the first whereof had the custody of the English shore, from the Thames mouth northwards: the second of whom had the charge of the western shore, from the mouth of the Thames south-west; a register of which here follows:

	Admirals of the North.	Admirals of the West.	
34 Edw. I.	Edward Charles	Gervase Allard	
8 Edw. II.	Joseph Botetort	Nicholas Crioll	10 Edw. II.
10 Edw. II.	Joseph Perbrun, alias Perburne	Sir Robert Leybourne	
15 Edw. II.	John Perbrun	John Athey	12 Edw. II.
16 Edw. II.	John Perbrun	Sir Robert Leybourne	
18 Edw. II.	John Sturmie	Robert Battaile, alias Battel	
		Robert Bendon	

But I know not, upon what exigency or emergent occasion, this office in the year 1325, that is, in the nineteenth year of Edward the Second, was again intrusted to the custody of three; which were John Otervin, Nicholas Crioll, and John de Felton; which are styled, in the record, 'Admirals of Yarmouth, Portsmouth, and of the West.' But, about the latter part of this very year, this office was again reduced to the care and charge of, a catalogue of whom offers itself up to our present consideration:

	Admirals of the North.	Admirals of the West.	
	John Sturmy		
	John Sturmy	Nicholas Crioll	19 Edw. II.
	Joseph de Leybourne	Nicholas Crioll	20 Edw. II.

Admirals of the North and West, in the Time of Edward the Third.

1 Edw. III.	John Perbrun	Waretius de Valoigns
8 Edw. III.	John de Norwich	William de Clinton
10 Edw. III.	Thomas Oughtred	Robert de Hegham, alias Higham
10 Edw. III.	John de Norwich	Geffrey de Say
10 Edw. III.	Robert de Ufford, and John de Roos	William de Manston, alias Manton
11 Edw. III.	Sir Walter Manney	Bartholomew Burgherst
12 Edw. III.	Thomas de Drayton	Peter Dard, alias Bard
13 Edw. III.	Robert de Morley, Baron of Hengham	Robert Trussell
14 Edw. III.	Robert de Morley	Richard Fitz-Allen, Earl of Arundell
16 Edw. III.	William Trussell	William Clinton, Earl of Huntington
17 Edw. III.	William Trussell	Robert Beaupell
18 Edw. III.	Robert Ufford	John de Montgomery
20 Edw. III.	Robert Ufford	Reginald de Cobham
21 Edw. III.	Sir John Howard	Richard Fitz-Allan, Earl of Arundell
22 Edw. III.	Walter, Lord Manney	Richard Fitz-Allan
22 Edw. III.	Sir Robert de Morley	Sir John de Montgomery
24 Edw. III.	Robert de Causton	Sir Reginald de Cobham
25 Edw. III.	Robert de Morley	John de Beauchampe, Earl of Warwick
25 Edw. III.	William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton	Henry, Duke of Lancaster
26 Edw. III.	William de Bohun	Thomas de Beauchampe, Earl of Warwick

Robert de Morley, Baron of Hengham	John de Beauchampe	29 Edw. III.
Robert de Morley	Guy de Brian	30 Edw. III.
Robert de Morley	Guy de Brian	33 & 34 Edward III.
	Guy de Brian	
	John de Beauchampe	34 Edw. III.
	Robert Herle	35 Edw. III.
	Ralph Spigurnell	38 Edw. III.

These three managed the office of admiral alone. But, in the forty-third year of Edward the Third, the custody of the narrow seas, extending north and west, was again intrusted to two, whose names are thus registered:

Admirals of the North.	Admirals of the West.	
Nicholas Tamworth	Robert Aston	43 Edw. III.
John Nevill	Guy de Brian	44 Edw. III.
Ralph de Ferrars	Robert Aston	45 Edw. III.
William Nevill	Sir Philip Courtney	46,47,48 Ed. III.
William de Ufford, Earl of Suffolk	William de Montacute	50 Edw. III.
Sir Michael de la Pole, Lord of Wingfield	Richard Fitz-Allan, Earl of Arundell	50 & 51 Edward III.

Admirals under Richard the Second.

Admirals of the North.	Admirals of the West.	
Thomas de Beauchampe, Earl of Warwick	Richard Fitz-Allan, Earl of Arundell	1 Rich. I.
Sir Thomas Percy	Sir Hugh Calveley	2 Rich. II.
William de Elmham	Sir Philip Courtney	
	Walter de Hauley	3, 4, & 5 Rich. II.
Walter Fitz-Walter, Baron of Woodham	John de Roches	6 Rich. II.
Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland	Edward Courtney, Earl of Devon	7 Rich. II.
Thomas Percy, his Brother	Edward Radington, Prior of St. John's of Jerusalem	8 Rich. II.
Philip, Lord Darcy	Sir Thomas Trivet	9 Rich. II.
Richard Fitz-Allan, Earl of Arundell and Surrey, was sole Admiral of England; after whom the office returned to be managed by two.		10 Rich. II.

Admirals of the North.	Admirals of the West.	
John de Beaumont, Baron of Folkingham	John Holland, Earl of Huntington	12 Rich. II.
Sir John Roches	John Holland	12 Rich. II.
Edward, Earl of Rutland	John Holland abovesaid again	14 Rich. II.
Edward, Earl of Rutland and Cork, was sole Admiral both of the Eastern and Western shores.		15 Rich. II.
John Beaufort, son of John of Gaunt, Marquis of Dorset, and Earl of Somerset, was sole Admiral of England.		21 Rich. II.
Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, was sole Admiral of England.		22 Rich. II.

Admirals under Henry the Fourth.

	Admirals of the North.	Admirals of the West.
2 Henry IV.	Richard Grey, Baron of Codnar	
5 Henry IV.	Thomas Beaufort, Brother to the Marquis	Sir Thomas Reniston.
		Thomas, Lord Barkley
6 Henry IV.	Thomas of Lancaster, Vice-Roy of Ireland, Lord High-Steward of England, Duke of Clarence, managed the office of admiral alone.	

	Admirals of the North.	Admirals of the West.
7 Henry IV.	Nicholas Blackbourne, Esq.	Richard Cliderow, Esq.

After these two were dislodged, I find the office of admiral no more assigned to two, but for the future circumscribed and concentered in one; a roll of whom ensues:

Admirals of England.

8 Henry IV.	John Beaufort, Marquis of Dorset, abovesaid, Brother to Henry the Fourth, was sole Admiral of England.
8 Henry IV.	Edmond Holland, Earl of Kent, was sole Admiral.
9 Henry IV.	Thomas Beaufort, Brother to the Marquis aforesaid, was sole Admiral of England

Admirals of England under Henry the Sixth.

4 Henry VI.	John of Lancaster, Duke of Bedford, and Earl of Richmond, was Lord High-Admiral of England.
14 Henry VI.	John Holland, Duke of Exeter, and Earl of Huntington, was constituted Admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitain, and his son Henry had the grant of this office in reversion.
25 Henry VI.	William de la Pole, Marquis and Earl of Suffolk, was constituted Admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitain, during the non-age of Henry, Duke of Exeter.
28 Henry V.	Henry Holland, abovesaid Duke of Exeter, was Admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitain.

Admirals under Edward the Fourth.

1 Edw. IV.	Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, was Admiral of England.
2 Edw. IV.	William Nevill, Earl of Kent, and Baron Falconbridge.
— Edw. IV.	Richard, Duke of Gloucester
9 Edw. IV.	Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick.
11 Edw. IV.	Richard, Duke of Gloucester, Admiral again.

Admirals under Richard the Third

1 Rich. III.	John Howard, Duke of Norfolk.

Admirals of England under Henry the Seventh.

1 Henry VII.	John Vere, Earl of Oxford, Lord High Chamberlain of England.

Admirals under Henry the Eighth.

Sir Edward Howard, Knight.	4 Henry VIII.
Thomas Howard, Lord High-Admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitain.	5 Henry VIII.
Henry Fitz-Roy, Duke of Richmond and Somerset.	17 Henry VIII.
William Fitz-William, Earl of Southampton.	28 Henry VIII.
John, Lord Russel, Knight.	32 Henry VIII.
John Dudley, Knight, Viscount Lisle, and Baron Malpas.	34 Henry VIII.

Admirals under Edward the Sixth.

Thomas Seymour, Knight, Baron Sudeley, Lord High Admiral of England, Ireland, Wales, Calais, and Bologne.	1 Edw. VI.
John Dudley, Knight of the Garter, Earl of Warwick, Viscount Lisle, Master of the King's household, Admiral of England, Ireland, Wales, Calais, Bologne, and their marches, as also of Normandy, Gascoigne, Aquitain.	3 Edw. VI.
Edward Clinton, Knight, Baron Say and Seal.	4 Edw. VI.

Admirals created under Queen Mary.

William Howard, Knight, Baron of Effingham.	1 Mariæ.
Edward Clinton, Knight, Baron Say and Seal.	3 Mariæ.

Admirals created under Queen Elizabeth.

Charles Howard, Baron of Effingham, after created Earl of Nottingham, and Knight of the Garter, Lord High-Admiral of England, Ireland, Wales, Calais, and the adjacent marches, as likewise of Normandy, Gascoigne, and Aquitain.	27 Elisabeth.

Admirals created under King James.

George Villiers, then only Marquis of Buckingham, Viscount Villiers, and Baron of Whaddon, was constituted Lord High-Admiral of England.	16 Jacob.

Admirals created under King Charles the First.

Robert Bartue, Early of Lindsey, Lord High-Chamberlain of England.	4 Carol. I.
Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland, Knight of the Garter.	

Admirals under King Charles the Second.

James, Duke of York and Albany, at this instant, Lord High-Admiral of England.

The Character of an honest and worthy Parliament-Man.

[A Folio Half-sheet; no Date.]

I HOPE the reader will not be so unwise, as to expect, that I should here entertain him with a pompous enumeration of all those imaginary virtues, wherewith the romantic modellers of a Platonic, or Utopian commonwealth, adorn their paper senators; when the character, even of a real Cato, would be altogether as useless in our times, as it is rarely found to be practised; and, consequently, as little regarded now, as he himself was, by the corrupt age wherein he lived. Not, but that our nation has, of late, produced as great heroes, as any antiquity can boast of; yet it cannot be imagined, that they are to be found in every little town or borough.

As for my honest and worthy parliament-man, all the qualifications, that I desire to find in him, are only such as it would be the greatest affront imaginable to any English gentleman, to think him destitute of: that is, that he should be a man of sense, integrity, and honour. Let him but follow their dictates, and then all the duties which we may reckon, or think of, to be incumbent on him, will be as easily performed by him, as they are demonstrable to be the obvious and natural consequents of such principles.

As for his religion, he is a sincere, as well as open professor of that which by our laws is now become essential to his office, I mean, that of the church of England. Nor is he of it, because it is established by law, or that he was bred in it; but, before he settled his opinion, he maturely examined its first principles, and found them agreeable to the Divine will, and right reason; he discovered the folly and errors of those who oppose any points of its doctrine: and, being thoroughly satisfied in the fundamentals; for its discipline, he entirely submits himself to the judgment and authority of those, to whose conduct and discretion, the government of the church has been in all ages committed.

But, though he be a zealous churchman himself, yet he is so far from persecuting those who dissent from the established religion, purely for conscience-sake, that he is ready to pity their weakness, have compassion on their infirmities, and express the greatest tenderness imaginable for their persons, whenever that time shall come, when it will be his chance to meet with those, whose scruples arise rather from a real defect of their understandings, than some worldly interest or desire of filthy lucre; an obstinate, peevish, or self-conceited humour, or the vain-glorious spirit of contradiction.

As for his sentiments in state-affairs, in which, next to his religion, his greatest desire is to be orthodox: before they fix, he always tries them with the touch-stone of reason; and, consequently, thinks it lawful for him to be a Latitudinarian in judgment, in relation to civil matters; I mean, so far as not to expect to find an infallible judge, amongst either Tories, Whigs, or Trimmers. He takes up opinions upon trust from no party, nor condemns any, because they are of it, who differ from him in other things: and, therefore, he could not but smile, to see, in our late times of dissension, so many, in all outward appearance, honest and thinking men, continually jog on, like a gang of pack-horses, after the leaders of their several parties; and though they wander after these blazing, but deceitful lights, into never so many crooked and bye paths, yet, with an implicit and blind faith, still believe themselves to be in the right way.

For his own part, his only aim is at the honour, safety, and interest of his country. On this mark, he keeps his eye constantly fixed; nor can the dreadful frowns of an enraged prince, or the horrid clamours of a possessed multitude, ever be able to remove him from his point. He finds that his beloved virtue brings such solid, though invisible rewards along with her, that he is equally insensible of the promising smiles of fawning great ones that would tempt, and the terrible menaces of the fiercest demagogues, that would force him to forsake her. He can securely, without any fear of infection, deride the folly, and pity the madness of those who forfeit their honesty, to found their happiness upon the unstable basis of court favours, or popular applause.

He truly enjoys all that freedom in his actions, which he thinks his duty to procure for, and defend his countrymen in. He is wholly a stranger to the servile ambition of gaining the favourable opinion of others; nor can he tell what it is to fear the censures of any. He is directed, influenced, or biassed by none; and, whilst he is engaged in his country's service, he thinks the most glorious epithets, the world can fix upon him, are those of a rigid, inflexible, ill-natured, honest man.

When he discovers that any have designs contrary to the public good, let their authority and power be never so great, he opposes their opinions, with all the courage and zeal his generous principles can furnish him with, without any respect to their persons. But when the time comes, wherein the right side shall turn uppermost, as after all revolutions it ever will at last, he is then so far from trampling upon his fallen adversaries, that he becomes (I mean, as a private man) most tender of their persons, without any respect to their opinions.

He is altogether unacquainted with that base and degenerate passion, called hatred. Yet, there is one sort of men, whom he thinks worthy of the utmost degree of his contempt and scorn; I mean, those false and treacherous friends, who have formerly gone along with, nay, much before him, in the same cause; those pretended zealots for their country and religion, who, for their own paltry interest, or some by-ends, made it their business to set us together by the ears, with their noisy clamours against popery and slavery: but, when the danger was become real, and just hanging over our heads; when our church and state were designed for immediate ruin; with the same mercenary breath, servilely offered themselves to be employed as tools, in the destruction of them both. These, he conceives, ought to have a mark put upon them, as the worst of traitors; he takes them to be the vilest of men, or rather (to use the expression of one, who, perhaps, may think himself concerned here) to carry 'nothing of men, that is, Englishmen, but the shape.'

But I now find myself necessitated, to take my hand from off the tablet, lest instead of completing the portraiture of an honest parliament-man, I should insensibly touch upon them, who deserve another character. My intention then being (like my honest patriot's) willingly to offend no man, I shall take my leave of him at present, with this remark only, That a nation, where such as he preside at the helm, will, without doubt, be altogether as happy, as if it were steered by Plato's philosophizing governors, or governing philosophers.

The Character of a Sneaker.

London, printed in the Year 1705.

[Quarto, containing Five Pages, and the Picture of a Janus in the Title-page.]

A SNEAKER is something so very like nothing, that it requires a metaphysical brain to define him. He is a mere reptile, that should have had the serpent for his father, by his creeping upon his belly, and Eve for his mother, by his readiness to comply with temptations. He was born with a tongue, but his eye-sight took away the use of it; for he no sooner saw the golden apple of preferment, but he laid hold of it, and was silent.

He might be a chameleon for his different appearances, but he knows not how to live upon air. He is a mere weathercock, though not a high-church-man, and always faces-about, and turns his backside upon every wind but what blows from the court. He is for sending over for the pretended prince of Wales, and breeding him up in the doctrines of the church of England one session of parliament; and for letting in John Calvin into St. Stephen's chapel another. He is for saying King William made a felonious treaty in the last reign, but is for a more dangerous agreement in this; since the partition only affected us in our concerns abroad, but a comprehension would ruin us at home. In short, he is good for nothing, for *H non est littera*, is a standing rule in *prosodia*.

He was poet-laureat to Monsieur Poussin, and lodged in the same house with him, when he sneaked out from his company the last time they met together, at the Blue-posts: but now his St. Maw's muse has given the French troops a Cornish hug, and flung them all upon their backs, as may be seen in his excellent metre, inscribed to the Duke of Marlborough, as it is inserted in that valuable paper, called, 'The Diverting Post.'

He has been a member of parliament for one of our universities, yet shrinks back from the defence of the doctrines of that church which is acknowledged by his electors for the only true one. He is a man of great reach and abilities, in distinguishing metals; and, if he did but know the difference of the mizzen-mast from the main, as well as that of a louis-d'or from a guinea, he might make an admirable commander of the navy.

He is a gentleman that has slept away the remembrance of what recommended him to be knight of the shire for ——, and dreamt himself into a place in the exchequer; which has dazzled his eyes so, and confounded his understanding, that he sits down, as if at his journey's end, with a pension of fifteen-hundred pounds per annum, and thinks he has done enough for his country, who sent him up to town to do their business, not his own, in making provision for himself.

He is one that was to play the devil with the Observator, for writing against the church, before his trial, but had not a word to say for it after: Some-body had lived so merrily, as to forget the day of the month on which he was found guilty. His hand is always open, though his mouth is shut. His heart is as good as any man's in England, for the church established; but charity begins at home, and let the national religion sink or swim, as long as one is taken care of.

He is against tacking the occasional Conformist's bill to the land-tax; not for the sake of his country, but himself. He is tacked to an office, which he is loth to be disjoined from; and, for that cause, hinders the other's conjunction. He is cap in hand to his electors, before they return him for their member; but when once got upon their shoulders[1], he will ride[2] them to some purpose. It matters not what instructions they give him; great men are allowed to have treacherous memories, and he will not part with that title to greatness.

[1] At country elections, it is customary to carry the members chosen, in triumph on men's shoulders about the town.

[2] Hector and spunge upon those he represents.

He is an Aristotelian, though he loves the mammon of unrighteousness too much to be a philosopher; and his actions are sufficient arguments to shew, that the corruption of one thing is the generation of another[3], i. e. he makes appear, that the defection of a good man to a bad party is the accession of an ill one: and, if he did not know himself to have made a wrong and unjustifiable choice, he would never be ashamed of declaring his mind in favour of it; which shews modesty has not forsaken him, though honesty seems to have bidden him adieu.

Though he is not qualified to be one of his Grace of Canterbury's chaplains, because he is not a churchman good enough, he may serve for one of his water-men; for to look one way, and row another, is their business. He was put into a post, under pretence of being a churchman, but imagines, the ready way, to keep in it, is not to be against the Dissenters; for some-body has said, 'They are too great a body to be disobliged;' and he knows he stands but upon slippery ground, while he gives not implicit obedience to some-body's orders.

He is one that has been deputed by the people to make new laws, and thinks it of no consequence what becomes of the old. He is of a modern cut; and the very reason, that should be of force with him to stand up for the church, slackens his resolutions to defend her. She has been a church from the beginning, and King Solomon's mistress[4] is too antiquated, and out of date, for a courtier's embraces.

He is a pretended stickler for the Queen's authority, just so long as he receives the Queen's money; while to shew, how undeserving he is of her royal favour, he confederates himself for the downfall of the Queen's religion. He is an Englishman with a Scotch heart, an Irish pair of heels, and a Spanish countenance. His policy consists in a demure look, his courage in withdrawing himself when there is an occasion; his constancy is variation; and his honesty is what you think fit to call it, for I know not where to find it.

He is for a single ministry[5], that he may play the Tom-double under it, and had rather the management of affairs should be in one great lord's or court-lady's hands, than in several; because the fewer the super-intendants, the more may be the miscarriages of those that are subordinate to them, without being discerned. Not that he is of this temper for any other account; since, notwithstanding his pretended affections for her Majesty's person and government, he leans more towards a commonwealth than a monarchy, and had rather the executive power was to be intrusted with a committee of safety[6], and he to be the Obadiah of the party, than to be lodged where it is.

He was for resuming of grants the last reign, for fear there would be none left to be given away in this; and always for having commissioners to state the public accompts; till, by getting into a post himself, he was rendered obnoxious to their censures. He is against flinging out of the house all members of parliament possessed of offices erected since the year 84, because a sneaker[7] was in employ before that time of the day; and under-hand makes an interest against the Occasional Bill, because he is a sort of an occasionalist himself.

He goes to church, because the Queen does, and is ready to give his vote for as many millions as shall be desired; because he knows how to make double the account, his quota comes to, out of them. He is a state hermaphrodite, an ambidexter: Jacob T——n[8] with his two left-legs makes not such an awkward figure as he does. He is like the satyr in the fable, that blows hot and cold with the same breath; and never does any thing praiseworthy, but when he blushes for shame of his playing at hide and seek, with his old principles, at the sight of an old ———

[3] This is the Aristotelian principle in *naturals*; but the Sneaker adapts it to *politicks*.
[4] The church of God. [5] A prime-minister.
[6] The government was so styled, when the parliament rebelled against King Charles the First.
[7] *Viz.* the particular person hereby intended.
[8] [Tonson, the bookseller, was coarsely portrayed by the pen of Dryden, with 'two left legs.' See Mr. Scott's Life of that poet, p. 390.]

Dr. D'——nt[9] is a saint to him, and played the man, for he no sooner changed sides, but his peace abroad and war at home told the world so. But he plays the child's part; and, because he shuts his own eyes, thinks no creature in the world sees him. The one cares not who knows what he is, and the other would be taken for what he is not. Of the two sinners the first is the more commendable; for that devil can less do mischief, that appears in his own shape, than the form of an angel of light.

He never looks upon her Majesty's arms, but *Semper eadem*[10] gives him the gripes; for he knows he had not been what he is, had he continued what he was. He is *Regis ad exemplum*[11] only in his clothes, not in his principles; and pays a greater deference to her Majesty's way of dress than her worship. He is a figure of nought or cypher, that is of use only when you come to tell noses; and rather weakens than strengthens a party, but when the yea's and no's set the clerks in parliament at work, and make them fall to numeration.

He is the very reverse of one of the members of the Rump-Parliament, even while he sides with them that justify their proceedings. They set aside the House of Lords as useless; he is for pulling down the authority of the House of Commons, even while he has the honour to sit in it; and making a surrendry of their right in one point, that he may be taken for a man of peaceable dispositions in all others. Moderation is his pretence, but getting of money immoderately is his practice; and *Unde habeat quærat nemo, sed oportet habere*[12], is a lecture that takes up his whole consideration.

He forwards the dispatch of the public business, that he may be the sooner a fingering the public funds; and, having railed himself into an office, is under dreadful apprehensions of being railed out of it again. To conclude, he is neither fish, flesh, nor good red-herring; he is the *punctum saliens* of all parties, yet never serviceable to any. He is always in motion, yet might as well sit still for the good he does in being so: and, if any city, town, or country, wants such a representative for the ensuing parliament; he will give him as lusty promises as the best shall, and is ready to be returned to the clerk of the crown, when his electors shall think fit; if not, let them look out for one that will come up to his word, and their expectations, for I shall not pretend to direct them, when they have such an ample field to choose in. For I am an enemy to black lists, and am for leaving the people of England to the freedom of elections.

[9] [Charles D'Avenant, LL.D. was the eldest son of Sir William, the dramatic poet, and became a distinguished political writer, though not a very consistent one. His 'Essays upon Peace at home and War abroad,' were published in 1704, and drew upon him much party resentment.]

[10] *i. e.* 'Always the same;' the Queen's motto. [11] 'Conformable to his Sovereign's example.'

[12] 'Nobody enquires where he may get it; but it must be had.'

An Historical Account of the Rise and Growth of the West-India Colonies; and of the great Advantages they are to England, in respect to Trade. Licensed according to Order.

London, printed 1690.

[Quarto, containing Fifty-three Pages, beside the Title and Dedication.]

The DEDICATION.

To my much honoured Friend, Sir Robert Davers, Baronet, and to the rest of the Gentlemen interested and concerned in the West-Indies

Gentlemen,

THE following treatise was occasioned by the great and just complaints made by you, of the additional duty that was laid upon your product, and fell upon your labour and industry, though designed by the parliament to have been paid by the consumptioner: at that time, the inventions of most men were at work (especially those that had any dealing with you, and a sense of your sufferings) to contrive a method, whereby relief might have been given you, that are the best employed hands for the enriching and supporting this nation.

After much time had been spent, in endeavouring the taking off the duty, and it was found that no arguments were prevalent, and almost all people despairing of relief; then Col. Waldrond, myself, and others, with no small pains, nor little charge, contrived (as we thought) a method, that might not only have laid the duty on the consumptioner, but also might have relieved you from the complaints of those that do charge you with being great debtors; and to have enabled every planter to make the best advantage of their plantations, by supplying them with monies, at the common interest of the colonies, by preventing numerous sellers, necessitous and ignorant sales.

And that this might run through the most strict examination, before it should have been allowed of; we proposed, that his late Majesty, and privy-council, might have the first view of it, that they might be satisfied it did not lessen his Majesty's revenue, and that we might have his Majesty's leave to propose it to the assemblies of every individual colony; and, if they did approve of it, and petitioned his Majesty for the incorporating such societies; that then we, and our friends, might be interested in it.

But this, meeting with opposition, occasioned a hearing before his Majesty, and the lords of his privy-council; and after they were satisfied it did not lessen his Majesty's revenue, our great debate with the opposers, was about his Majesty's giving leave for the sending of it to the colonies for them to try and examine it: his Majesty was pleased to declare, that he could not understand any reason could be given why they might not have a sight of it, for he thought Barbadoes best knew what Barbadoes wanted. I believe none will deny, but that it met with a general approbation of all the lords of the council, except my Lord-Chancellor[1], of whom I was informed by a friend (but at that time an opposer of this design) that he was our enemy; and accordingly we found him.

Soon after this hearing, the government began to be uneasy, and holding it not proper for a matter of this nature, to be further proceeded on, under an unsettled government, I rather chose to be silent, and bear such reflections as were made by those that were totally ignorant of the method of our undertaking, though prejudicial to my particular in-

[1] [Lord Jefferies held this high office from 1685 till 1690, when Commissioners or Keepers were appointed. See Beatson's Political Index.]

terest, than to expose it to view, before I saw the government in a temper to consider of trade, and the great benefit you are to this nation.

Therefore, I have now exposed it for your view, that you may be judges whether it might have been, or may be serviceable to you, and whether our request of sending it to you was unreasonable.

You will find, by this treatise (as I humbly conceive) that our design would, at least, have raised the value of your goods to the price it bore, before the additional duty was laid; and it was allowed at that hearing by the opposers, that it would raise, at least, twenty per cent. Our method was, to have had all your goods, that came to England, brought to one body of men, which we called a common factory: and they constantly to be chosen by you in your assemblies, and they to have been accountable to every consigner for the net proceed of every parcel of goods sold, for which your charge was not to exceed what you now pay. The other part of our design was, to erect a company, separate from the common factory, which should have sufficient funds in each colony, to lend what monies you had occasion of; you giving security on lands or goods: and, if they did not lend it, on demand, they were to forfeit to the borrower considerable for every hundred pound demanded, the lands or goods being valued by sworn appraisers. What was lent, was to be continued during your pleasure; you paying your interest, when due, (and you had power to pay it in, when you pleased,) and they obliged to lend too, at least, one half value of land, or goods; and you not to have been confined to have borrowed it of them, but where else you pleased: so that this Company might have been serviceable, but could not have been hurtful; for they were bound to obey, and had no power to command.

To make it next to impossibility, that the Government should ever be imposed on, to permit any laws or designs of any persons whatsoever, let their pretences be ever so specious, to take effect, until the colonies, by their assembly, were consulted with: I have, to the best of my knowledge, giving a true and just account of what import you are to this nation, by increasing of navigation, consuming the woollen-manufactory, of all sorts of apparel, household-goods, &c. that are made in England; and that which was formerly foreign commodities, and cost us considerable yearly, by your industry, is become native; the nation freed from that charge, and the consumptioner saves, at least, one half of his expence, for the like quantity; besides the great advantage this nation receives by your goods exported, being over and above our consumption; and, lastly, all the riches you get in the Indies, by your great care, labour and industry, is brought to England, and here it centers.

If you will be pleased to rectify my errors, that I through ignorance may have committed, that our legislators may be more fully satisfied, that you are, and ever must be Englishmen, and that you are much more beneficially employed there, for the benefit of this nation, than any the like number in England; that every hardship that is put upon you, that makes your goods dearer in foreign markets, or lessens the consumption in England, is a lessening to the trade of England, and, consequently, prejudicial to every subject in England: and, if this small treatise meets with your kiud acceptance, I shall think myself very happy, and shall always be ready to demonstrate, that I am your well-wisher, and, Gentlemen,

Your most humble and faithful Servant,

DALBY THOMAS.

CHAP. I.

THERE is nothing more frequent amongst the generality of mankind, than is the drawing wrong conclusions from right premisses, whereby the most concise and truest maxims and sayings, that wise men upon solid thinking have contrived to guide us, (like landmarks, in the search of truth,) are preverted by wrong applications, to drown our understandings in the gulph of error.

Thus, because truth itself is not truer, than that people are the wealth of a nation; those who have not time, experience, and skill, to examine the fund of that undeniable verity, (though, in other things, men of excellent understandings,) are apt to infer, that all, who set foot out of the kingdom, are in some degree a diminution of its wealth; and thence take for granted, that the American colonies occasion the decay both of the people and riches of the nation; when, upon a thorough examination, nothing can appear more erroneous, as I doubt not to make plain to every man; though my principal design is to convince the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, who, being the contrivers of our statutes and most concerned for the preservation of its grandeur, ought rightly to be informed; for fear our laws in time take a contrary bias to our trade and navigation, which are undeniably our glory and strength, as well as the only fountain of our riches.

To make this point clear, it is necessary to consider and examine four things.

1. What is real wealth:
2. What is imaginary wealth:
3. How these are acquired:
4. How they may be lost.

To distinguish rightly in these points, we must consider money, as the least part of the wealth of any nation, and think of it only as a scale to weigh one thing against another, or as counters to reckon riches by, or as a pawn of intrinsic value, to deposit in lieu of any necessary whatsoever.

True, solid, and real wealth, therefore, in respect to the nation, is the land, and what is upon, or under its surface, as useful buildings, trees, quarries, mines, &c.

Thus by a good computation, made by Sir William Petty, (which we will take for granted till there appears a better,) we may reckon the present rent of land and houses to be ten millions of pounds, per annum; which at twenty years purchase amounts to two-hundred millions of pounds.

The people of this nation consume annually, in necessary meat, drink, and clothes, (computed from their numbers, manner of living, and usual price current of things,) about fifty millions of pounds, annually; which is about six pounds ten shillings a head.

The imaginary wealth therefore of the nation, which consists in labour, trade, and negotiation, is four times as much as the real, and, preserved in its natural channels, is to be reduced to the same value in purchase as land; whereby we may allow, that the intrinsic worth of the people and kingdom, as they now stand together, is a thousand millions of pounds.

The money in species of the nation (though the scale by which the whole is valued and weighed) amounts not to six millions.

Now such as do account the lands and buildings of the nation more valuable, because real; and the negotiation, because accidental and imaginary; will find themselves mistaken: since lands and houses, without people, are of no value at all; and to a naked and unindustrious nation very little more; so that labour, invention, trade, and negotiation are the only causes of, as well as supports to, that we call riches.

This is so self-evident, that it will be superfluous to illustrate it by many examples or comparisons between civil and barbarous countries.

Therefore we must consider, that when it is said, 'People are the wealth of a nation,' it is only meant, laborious and industrious people; and not such as are wholly unemployed, as gentry, clergy, lawyers, serving-men, and beggars, &c. or, which is worse, employed only in disturbing the industrious and laborious; as pettifoggers, informers, catchpoles, and thieves; and, though the first sorts may be necessary, as harmless spurs to consumption, learning, or virtue; or as objects of the good will, mutual love, pity and compassion of human nature, as well as increasers of the numbers of children; yet the fewer such the better: whereas the last should by all imaginary ways be discouraged, tamed, or destroyed, as the worst of vermin in a well-governed commonwealth.

We must likewise consider, that the value of every thing useful to the necessities, luxuries, or vanities of this life, is measured by the industry and labour either of body or mind, which is necessary to their acquirement; whereby, things of little or no price in one country, by the time spent, labour and hazard of those which carry them to another, become dear.

From all which it is plain, that only industrious and laborious people are the riches of any nation; and it will as naturally follow, these laborious or industrious, who employ their talents to most advantage, are of most value to such nation.

And though a man whose skill amounts to no more than to earn three pence a day by his continual labour, can no ways add to the wealth of a kingdom like ours, because it will not supply his necessary consumption; yet such a man is a less burthen to it, than one totally idle, and may increase the number by children.

So again, one that constantly by his labour can earn sixpence a day only, and consumes just so much; as he is not advantageous to the nation's wealth, so he is no burthen neither, and occasions its increase.

But that man, who, by industry and labour, not only maintains himself and family, but makes himself rich; is, to the proportion of his wealth, just so much addition to the intrinsic value of the kingdom.

I have the more enlarged upon this head, that I might lead the mind of the reader, by a natural chain of consequences, rightly to understand the true original and everlasting support of wealth, which is nothing else but *labour*.

As for such persons who by the faculties of the mind only acquire riches to themselves, as soldiers, lawyers, divines, bankers, retailers, victuallers, &c. They, though necessary callings, are no increasers of the nation's wealth, nor is the kingdom more rich by the fluctuating and circulation of money among such, than one of them would be by putting his money out of one chest into another, or shifting it from one pocket to another.

But where soldiery becomes the trade of a people, as among the Switzers and Scots it is, who serve abroad for money, and bring it home to purchase lands there; it is of equal benefit to any other labour, by increasing the rates and value of the real wealth of those countries, which, as amongst all other civil nations, is land and houses.

I doubt not but the reader by this time will perceive, that in what way soever a man employs his labour and industry, either at home or abroad, so that at last he increases the value of the real wealth of the nation, he is, in the proportion of such increase, a benefit thereunto.

And, on the contrary, he that labours not at all, or so much as not to increase the intrinsic value of his country, is just good for nothing.

To leave this truth plain beyond dispute, I beg the doubter but to consider, that if all the laborious people of the kingdom left working, and were to live upon the natural produce of it, to be distributed to them in equal proportions by way of charity, as parish-poor and beggars are now supported; how long it would be before the nation became necessitous, naked, and starving, and consequently the land and houses worth nothing.

A short reflection would make him sensible that a very few years of idleness would complete the matter; whence he can no longer doubt, but that labour and industry, rightly applied, is the sole cause of the wealth of a nation; that money is only the scales or touchstone to weigh or value things by: and that land itself would yield no rent, but as labour employed for the support of luxuries, as well as necessities, did find a due encouragement and increase.

In short, it is plain hereby,

1. That real wealth is land and houses;
2. That imaginary wealth is the laborious people.
3. That the real and imaginary wealth both increase only, as industry is rightly applied by great numbers of laborious people: and not by increase of people only.
4. And the increase of people, wilfully or accidentally idle, is so far from being national riches, that it is the surest and speediest way to inevitable poverty, famine, and nakedness;

and must decay the value as well of the real as imaginary wealth of the nation, proportionably to the decay of industry.

Thus civil wars, disorders, and changes in the government of nations, by the many which become soldiers, and others that cease labouring in their trades and industry, for want of security, insensibly impoverish countries, much more than those slain in such changes do; by reason that those that die, as they add nothing, do consume nothing in the commonwealth; whereas the idle living add nothing, and consume much to its destruction.

I shall say no more therefore on this subject; but hasten to the consideration of which hands are best employed to the advantage of the wealth of this Kingdom, as our trade and negotiation now stand.

First then, the premisses considered, we may lay down as an undeniable verity, that those men who add most by their labour to the increase of the intrinsic wealth of the nation, either real or imaginary, and consume least, are best employed.

Again, on the contrary, those that consume most, and add least, are worst employed.

Now it will be impossible, in the short method I design, to enumerate and clearly distinguish between every sort of employment: wherefore, I shall content myself only to hint at some few ways wherein men seem to do little, and yet are well employed; and others wherein they are very busy and laborious to little or no purpose.

To begin then, as nature did, in the cultivators of land, and conductors of cattle.

The husbandman's life not only seems, but is, extremely careful, laborious, and painful. The grazier's and shepherd's, on the contrary, both seems, and is, a very careless, quiet, and easy way of spending time.

Yet, though the first sort are usually paid most wages, and consequently can afford and do consume most upon themselves, the last notwithstanding are of much more value to the commonwealth.

For two-hundred sheep, or twenty cows, require but forty acres of good land, and one man's easy care for a year's pasture, the profit of which by the increase of lambs, calves, wool, butter, cheese, &c. and the meliorating the wool by manufacture, is of four times at least more advantage to the commonwealth, than the same number of acres employed in tillage, which requires the constant drudgery of two men and four horses at least: besides, that the greatest part of what is produced by tillage, is consumed in the nation; whereas manufactured wool from sheep, tallow, leather, shoes, butter, cheese, salt, beef, and many other things, arising from pasture, are staple commodities for transportation; which fetch us back silver, gold, and foreign goods, useful to the ornament and pleasure, if not necessities of life. I must affirm, the commodity which is transported, is the only true increase of national strength and wealth; and that sort of reformers who would have nothing made, used, or consumed, but what nature absolutely requires, are but short-sighted and narrow thinkers, as well in politicks as religion: and though they may adorn their opinions and argument, with the names of Lycurgus, Cato, and other sour reasoners, yet all their discourses tend to no more but to reduce mankind back to be sheepskin-weavers, acorn-eaters, and water-drinkers; again, the bountiful God of nature supplying every country of the world, with what is fully sufficient to sustain life.

Therefore to say, as many are apt to do, that England can live of itself, without the assistance of any foreign nation, is to give it not the least commendation beyond any other country; but to say, and that truly, that England, by the industry of its inhabitants employed in shipping, plantations, mines, manufactures, pastures and tillage, doth not only abound in all sorts of commodities, as, native meat, drink, clothes, houses and coaches, fit for the necessities, ease, and ornaments of life; but can outvie most nations of the world, for the vast plenty in varieties of wines, spices, drugs, fruits, silks, pictures, musick, silver, gold, precious stones, and all other the supports of grandeur and delight, that is to speak it, a truly civilized and glorious nation indeed.

And though some men through false and envious opticks look upon these things as baits to vice, and occasions of effeminacy, if they would but impartially examine the truth of

matters, they would discern them to be the true spurs to virtue, valour, and the elevation of the mind, as well as the just rewards of industry. For, it is certain, upon a right scrutiny, a man shall find more profaneness, dishonesty, drunkenness, and debauchery, practised in nasty rags, bare walls, and ale-houses, than in rich habits, palaces, or taverns; and as plenty, splendour, and grandeur, can have no other fountain but wisdom, industry, and good conduct; so shabbiness, indigence, and contempt, rarely spring from any thing but folly, idleness, and vice: and where it happens otherwise by unexpected frauds, shipwrecks, fires, inundations or maims, the shame of suffering it becomes the nation's reproach; since the rarity of these accidents would make the burthen which crushes a particular scarce felt, when laid by a right method on the commonwealth, as I shall endeavour to make appear hereafter.

But, before I return again to the consideration, which part of the people are best employed for the public good; I must, from what is premised, conclude, that as all who are not mischievously employed or totally idle, are of some benefit to the commonwealth, and should find due encouragement, so those ought to be most protected and least discouraged, by the laws, who are most usefully busy, for the increasing the value of the real and imaginary wealth of the nation. Thus, as I said before, the shepherd and grazier is to be preferred before the plough-man and thrasher.

So the miner is to be preferred to the shepherd and grazier; because all he produces, for transportation, is clear gains to the publick, whereas, but part of the others doth so. The mariner is to be preferred to the miner, and the like to such who contribute most to foreign trade; but in England the merchant-adventurer is to be encouraged and preferred before the mariner, or any other artist, trade, or calling whatsoever. For though his labour seems a recreation rather than a toil, and consists chiefly in a regular methodizing of a punctual rotation of credit, and change of commodities from one place to another; yet considering that the whole produce of nature and art would be but dead matter without a proper motion to convey it to its true end, which is consumption. All other callings receive their vigour, life, strength, and increase from the merchant, commodities rising in esteem or value, as they are rightly distributed from place to place, and losing their very nature as well as worth, when by overstocking the market they become contemptible, or perish for want of use or consumption: wherefore our laws should be so contrived, as never in the least to discourage or check any conception or endeavour of the venturing merchant, to whose extravagant and hazardous, as well as prudent and cautious undertaking, this nation chiefly owes all its wealth and glory. And it is a mighty pity that all laws for custom and duties, as well as for regulating navigation, erecting companies, judging maritime controversies, granting letters of mart and reprisal, and for encouraging manufactures and societies of handicrafts, should not first be debated, prepared, and begun in a great council of trade; to consist of members elected and deputed by every plantation, maritime city, company, constitution, and trade, which would desire to send members to it: and from thence after a free and full examination be represented to both houses of parliament for their approbation or dislike.

For trade is of that nature, that it requires frequent pruning, lopping, and restraining, as well as cultivating and cherishing; and thrives much better under proper and rightly applied restraints, duties, taxes, and excises, than in a general looseness: which being so, is it possible that a positive tonnage and poundage, like ours, should hit all accidents; attend the changes and mutations it receives, both at home by the plenty and scarcity of our native commodities, or abroad by the like ebbs and floods as well as the laws in foreign nations made or changed concerning it?

Or how indeed can the divines, lawyers, nobility, and great gentry of the kingdom be nice judges, and right distinguishers between the clashing and tangling interests of so great a mystery as universal trade; when few or none of them have ever had the least occasion to inspect or experiment any part of it?

The defect therefore of a free and able council of trade in this nation, though it cannot destroy, yet wonderfully retards and hinders the natural and genuine increase of navigation and merchandise, and consequently of rents.

But, for want of that, I will presume to go on in explaining the right and wrong application of men's industry, as they respect in general the wealth and grandeur of the nation, or in particular the interest of our American colonies, in many of which I doubt not to demonstrate; one labouring man is of more advantage to England, though out of it, than any thirty of the like kind can be within it.

To explain which, I will take a short view of our sugar-plantations, and the nature of that trade, to whose particular advantage and interest, after the kingdom's, I principally sacrifice my present pains.

I therefore, with all submissiveness imaginable, desire our legislators to consider,

1. That the greatest consumption of sugar is made by themselves, and the rest of the rich and opulent people of the nation, though useful to all degrees of men.

2. That the quantity of it, yearly produced within those sugar-colonies, is not less than forty-five thousand tons, English tonnage, each comprehending twenty pounds to the ton.

3. That about the moiety of that is consumed in England.

4. That the medium of the value of consumed sugar, at the present price current, is four pence a pound.

5. That the quantity consumed in the nation, at that price, amounts to eight-hundred thousand pounds sterling, and upwards.

6. That the other moiety sent to foreign markets, after it has employed seamen, and earned freight, is sold for as much; and consequently brings back to the nation in money or useful goods annually eight-hundred thousand pounds; which is more than any one other commodity doth.

7. Consider too, that, before sugars were produced in our own colonies, it bore three times the price it doth now; so that, by the same consumption, at the same price, except we made it ourselves, we should be forced to give in money, or money's worth, (as native commodities and labour,) two millions four-hundred thousand pounds for the sugar we spend, or be without it to such a degree of disadvantage of well-living, as that retrenchment would amount to. We must consider too, that the spirits arising from molosses which is sent from the sugar-colonies to the other colonies, and to England; which, if all were sold in England, and turned into spirits, it would amount annually to above five-hundred thousand pounds, at half the price the like quantity of brandy from France would cost; and will yearly increase, as brandies are discouraged: and by most are held wholesomer for the body, which is observed by the long living of those in the colonies that are great drinkers of rum, which is the spirits we make of molosses, and the short living of those that are great drinkers of brandy in those parts.

The indico coming thence, amounts to fifty-thousand pounds per anunm.

The logwood, for which we paid formerly the Spaniards an hundred pounds per ton, now comes under fifteen pounds, and amounts to a thousand ton annually.

The cotton, for which we paid formerly above twelve pence per pound, now comes at five-pence half-penny per pound, and amounts to a thousand ton per annum, besides the hands it employs in manufacturing it.

The ginger amounts to four-thousand ton per annum, and is not the sixth part in price of what the nation paid formerly for that commodity, or for pepper instead of it.

Not to speak of the many drugs, woods, cocoa, piemonto, and spices, besides raw hides, &c. which come from those parts, nor of the great quantity of the gold and silver we have of the Spaniards for Negroes, and the English manufactory carried by our sloops from our colonies to them.

So that it is demonstration, the nation saves and gains by the people employed in those colonies, four-hundred millions sterling per ann.

Now if it be considered, that in all those sugar-colonies there are not six-hundred thousand white men, women, and children; it necessarily must follow, that one with another, above what they consume, each of them earns for the publick above sixty pounds per annum.

Whereas, if the rent be ten millions,

And the consumption fifty millions,

Then by reducing labour and consumption to a proper balance with the produce of rents, and supposing the imaginary wealth of the whole kingdom to increase in time of peace, the tenth part annually, that will be but four millions; which does not amount to twelve shillings a head clear increase of wealth, one with another, above necessary and constant expences; from which it follows beyond controversy, that hands, employed in the sugar-plantations are, one with another, of one-hundred and thirty times more value to the commonwealth than those which stay at home.

To this I easily foresee will be readily objected, for want of consideration, that those there consume nothing of native commodities, which if they did as these do which stay at home, their consumption would amount to three-hundred and ninety-thousand pounds annually, at six pounds ten shillings per head, as aforesaid, and would consequently increase the rents at least a fourth of that.

But to this I must remind the reader, that I have demonstrated, that whatever is consumed by idle men, can never increase either the real or imaginary wealth of the nation; and that nothing but the overplus or consumption can be reckoned additional wealth; which, according to our reasonable computation, cannot be above two shillings a head, one with another: so that, if we would grant that those in the colonies did consume nothing of our home produce, the loss by want of them here could amount only to one million two-hundred thousand shillings annually, which is sixty-thousand pounds.

But, on the contrary, this is so far from being true; that, one with another, each white man, woman, and child, residing in the sugar-plantations, occasions the consumption of more of our native commodities, and manufactures, than ten at home do.

This cannot be doubted by those that will consider the great quantity of beef, pork, salt, fish, butter, cheese, corn, and flour, as well as beer, English mum, cyder, and coals, constantly sent thither; of which commodities for the use of themselves or Blacks, they have little or none of their own produce. Consider too, that all their powder, cannon, swords, guns, pikes, and other weapons; their clothes, shoes, stockings, saddles, bridles, coaches, beds, chairs, stools, pictures, clocks, and watches; their pewter, brass, copper, and iron vessels and instruments; their sail-cloth and cordage; of which, in their building, shipping, mills, boiling and distilling houses, field-labour, and domestic uses, they consume infinite quantities, all which are made in and sent from England: not to speak of the great number of drudging and saddle-horses they take off, as well as of that sort of people who would in their youth be consumed in idleness, or worse, at home; but there become useful to increase the nations, numbers, and wealth both.

Besides, it must be remembered, that there are in those colonies at least five Blacks for one White; so that, allowing the Whites to be sixty-thousand, the Blacks must be three-hundred thousand; all whose clothes and European provisions, coming from England, increases the consumption of our native commodities and manufactures in a large proportion. But the axes, houghs, saws, rollers, shovels, knives, nails, and other iron instruments and tools, as well as the boilers, stills, and other useful vessels of copper, lead, and pewter, which are wasted, consumed, and destroyed by the industry and profitable labour of that mighty number of slaves, are not easily to be computed; but must plainly and beyond all contradiction be of great advantage to the nation, as well as to those industrious people employed at home in making them.

If these things, with the vast quantity of shipping that those colonies employ, be in the least reflected on; it will open the eyes of the most unexperienced person in the trade, to discern the mighty advantage the nation receives from those people which go to those colonies, and the great obligation there lies upon our legislators to study their due improvement, safety, and increase.

For, besides all the benefits demonstrably coming to the nation as aforesaid, they are in some kind maritime-armies, ever ready not only to defend themselves but to punish the exorbitances, incroachments, piracies, and depredations of any insulting neighbouring nation; nor is it to be imagined in what awe those colonies, rightly managed, might keep our French, Spanish, Dutch, Danish, Brandenburgh, and Hamburgh rivals, for wealth and

maritime power, from entering into any treaties, alliances, or undertakings, to our disadvantage.

What has been said, shall serve for an introduction in general to the more particular parts of the nation's interest in the American trade, and the due encouragement it ought to receive from the laws; which may naturally make us the most rich and flourishing part, as well as the undoubted arbitrators of Europe, if not of all the maritime nations of the world. And, in the next place, I will shew what discouragements those colonies lie under at present.

CHAP. II.

THE better to explain this to every capacity, it will be necessary to make a short history of *Sugar;* that, the invention, planting, and divers uses of it being known, the reader may thereby make a more perfect judgment of the national interest therein.

To which purpose it is first to be considered, that the Europeans, five-hundred years since, were perfect strangers to the use of it, and scarcely knew its name; but the Venetians, about that time, being the great traders in East-India spices, gums, and drugs, did, amongst other rarities, introduce sugar, which the physicians soon found to answer all the ends of honey, without many of its ill effects; so that it quickly became a commodity in mighty esteem: and, though the price was ten times more than now, yet it prevailed so fast, and the consumption of it became so great, that an ill way of making, planting, and curing of it was, about three-hundred years since, found out and practised in Greece, and some other neighbour nations, where the heat of the sun could in any degree ripen the cane.

But no nation made so considerable a progress therein as the Portuguese, who having with some success, improved the art of planting it in their African colonies and Islands, did, at last, make it their main business in Brasil; becoming thereby the only nation that set the price upon it to all the parts of the world, until the Hollanders grew their rivals for power and profit in that part of America.

But about fifty years since, during the war between those two nations in Brasil, a Hollander happened to arrive from thence upon our island of Barbadoes, where, though there were good sugar-canes, the English knew no other use of them than to make refreshing drink for that hot climate, intending, by planting tobacco there, to have equalled those of the Verina's, on which, ginger, cotton, and indico they meant to rely: but this Hollander, understanding sugar, was by one Mr. Drax and some other inhabitants there, drawn in to make discovery of the art he had to make it: since which time, by the many ingenious men the last civil war necessitated to seek their fortunes in that new world, there have been found out so many several sorts of mills, coppers, boilers, stoves, pots, and other tools and engines, for planting and pressing the canes, boiling-up, separating, cleansing, and purifying the juice and sugar, as well as for drawing spirits of admirable use from the molosses; that we at present exceed all the nations in the world, in the true improvement of that noble juice of the cane, which, next to that of the vine, exceeds all the liquors in the world. And, as our nation has been ever famous for meliorating inventions of all kinds, so in this we have gone so far, that notwithstanding the many discouragements those planters do at present, and have heretofore lain under, yet they apparently set the price of it in all Europe, to the kingdom's pleasure, glory, and grandeur; which are all more advanced by that, than by any other commodity we deal in or produce, wool not excepted; as I doubt not but to demonstrate beyond all dispute, before I end these papers; which that I may the better do, as well as shew clearly the mighty interest the nation has in preserving our West-India colonies, I will give the reader a clear and short account of a sugar, a cotton, a ginger, and indico plantation, as they are now managed in Barbadoes; and then set down a short scheme of their raising and producing tobacco; which though in itself, perhaps, not absolutely, if at all necessary to well-living; yet, having prevailed so far upon the vitiated humours of men, as we see it

has, is of great concern to us, as well for bringing in wealth, as employing multitudes of men in manufacture and navigation, which no man can dispute but to be a true national interest.

One-hundred acres of land, employed in a sugar-plantation, will require fifty black slaves and seven white servants to manage it.

There must be six horses, and eight oxen for two teams.

There must be an overseer at twenty pounds per an. a doctor and farrier at twenty pounds per an. and a carter at twelve pounds per an.

Twenty of the hundred acres must be set a-part for pasture, provisions, and a nursery for canes to plant with.

Forty of the remaining acres return a crop one year, and forty the next, and so alternatively, being constantly now to be replanted after every cutting; whereas when the ground was first broke up, the same canes would yield two, three, or more cuttings before they were replanted; to the wonderful ease and advantage of the first planters.

There must be a wind-mill which turns great iron rollers, between which the cane is pressed.

There must be a boiling-house, and in it boilers, coolers, receivers, and cisterns, to which belong ladles, scummers, lamps, &c.

A still-house with cisterns, stills, worms, worm-tubs, &c.

A curing-house, with earthen sugar-pots, drips, and cisterns for molosses.

A drying-house with necessaries.

A house for the necessary fuel, employed in boiling and stilling.

A house for knocking out, packing, and storing of sugar.

A dwelling-house, with houses for servants and Negroes.

A house for cattle, besides carts, hooks, houghs, and other planting utensils; the first cost whereof will, with the utmost husbandry, mount to five-thousand six-hundred and twenty-five pounds; the wear and tear whereof will not be less, annually, than sixty pounds.

A plantation of a hundred acres well stocked and provided as aforesaid, and managed to its full height, without those accidental casualties which often happen, may probably produce annually eighty hogsheads of sugar of a thousand pounds weight each hogshead; that is, two-thousand pounds weight of Muscovado sugar, from each acre, and of molosses, twenty hogsheads of seven-hundred pounds weight each hogshead.

This sugar in the island may be valued at ten shillings per hundred, as it may be at home at twenty shillings; that being as the price has gone since the additional duty was laid, the medium of what Muscovado sugars have yielded; all which with the prime cost, as well as the molosses, rum, &c. shall be brought to a rational and equal balance, after a little more has been said of the manner of planting, making, and refining sugars.

The first thing done to that ground designed for planting, is with houghs by the labour of Negroes to open and loosen the surface of the earth, to prepare it for the plants.

There are commonly two seasons, rainy and dry: the rainy begins in May or June, and ends in December or January, all which is spent in houghing, dunging, and planting the canes.

The dry season is spent in cutting the canes, grinding them at the mills, boiling up the liquor and making thereof Muscovado sugar; all which must of necessity go hand in hand together: for the cane must be pressed as it is cut, or the juice dries in it; the juice must be boiled up to its proper consistency for graining as soon as pressed, or it will sour and perish; the grain must be separated speedily, whilst hot, for the molosses, or they will cling together, ferment and grow sour in time again, or be at best but fit for the still.

But as for refining and stilling, that any season is fit for.

Thus it is to be observed, that the Blacks are always employed either in houghing, dunging, and planting in the wet; or in cutting, carrying, grinding, boiling, &c. in the dry seasons.

There are divers ways of producing new plants; as, by cutting the root of an old plant, by laying a cane in the ground, by planting the top of a cane cut off, or by taking a shoot from a knot of a cane; many of which will have five or six, that, put in the ground, will grow: but the general way is, from those that have been set in the nurseries; for, from one root, there will proceed divers shoots, all fit for planting, as, nine or ten, and sometimes twenty.

The ground being prepared, holes are made therein, and in every hole dung put, and then a plant, which, in eighteen months, or thereabouts, becomes fit for cutting; so that, half a year being spent in gradually planting forty acres, six or seven acres a month will be ready successively to be cut in the proper season. So that eighty acres is the just employment for the continual labour of fifty Blacks, and seven Whites, in the field; and for three others for overseeing, carting, and curing the plantations.

When the canes are pressed, by passing through the rollers of a wind-mill, there runs from thence a great quantity of pleasant juice, which being put into boilers, by the heat of the fire, having evaporated the flegm or watery matter, to such a time as it becomes of a proper consistency, then they throw it into a mixture, consisting of some material fit to cleanse it, and prepare it for graining; all the time it is boiling, with large copper scummers, they take of the scum, which constantly rises in great quantities, until it be fit to empty into coolers, from whence it is again shifted into earthen pots, with holes in their bottoms, and pots, they call drips, under them, for receiving the moisture called Molosses; which, in about a month's time, will be separated from that which is then called Muscovado sugar, being of a pale, yellow colour; this is then knocked out of the pots, and put into casks for transportation.

This sort of *Molosses* is either boiled up again, to extract from it a sort of a duskish pale, grey sugar, called panneels; or sent in cask for England, as the sugar is.

The scum that arises, with all the washings of the boilers, coolers, pots, and other instruments employed in that business, is preserved in great cisterns, where it will ferment, and become fit for stilling.

The spirits proceeding from molosses, and this effect of good husbandry, is called Rum, being a noble intoxicating liquor, which the Negroes, as well as English servants, but too much delight in; and the planters themselves prefer some sorts of it to any brandy, either for punch or other uses where spirits are needed.

And, with truth, this may be said of the sugar-cane, that it produces nothing but what is of great use to well-living; the virtues of molosses, formerly sold only in apothecaries' shops, by the name of treacle, being now so well known, both to the distiller and brewer, that a great part of their estates are owing to it. Nor can it be imagined, how many new ways are found daily for venting and consuming usefully the various products of a sugar-plantation: the several shapes, it appears in at christenings, banquets, and rich men's tables, being but the least of its good qualities, though of great delight, as well as ornament; and should the art of making it be so discouraged, as to take its next flight to the Dutch or French, (as it did from Portugal to us,) the loss would prove of the like consequence; which is no less than the decay of the greatest part of their shipping, and the fall of half their revenues; they being forced to abate ten per cent. duty lately, to get some to be exported, and that with little or no success. And yet, inevitably will this mischief happen, if great care be not taken to preserve those colonies.

But, to return to the further history of a plantation, and making and improving sugars, it is to be remembered, that to complete a sugar-work of an hundred acres, the necessary charges, as aforesaid, will be—In fifty Blacks, one-thousand two-hundred and fifty pounds.

Seven white servants, besides three artists, which are paid wages, one-hundred and fifty pounds.

Five horses, one-hundred and twenty-five pounds.

Eight bullocks, one-hundred pounds.

Land, houses, mills, vessels, &c. All other tools and implements, four-thousand pounds.

In all, five-thousand six-hundred and twenty-five pounds.

Which plantation ordinarily may produce, as aforesaid, annually, in Muscovado sugars, eighty hogsheads; in molosses twenty-eight hogsheads; both which, in the West-Indies, at the medium of the price now current, will yield five-hundred and forty pounds. So that ten white servants, employed as aforesaid, earn five-hundred and forty pounds, which is fifty-four pounds a head.

The English clothes and provisions, such as ten Whites and fifty Blacks consume, is, one with another, forty shillings a head: and amounts to an hundred and twenty pounds.

The wear and tear of the tools, and necessary supplies of a plantation from England, is at least sixty pounds.

In all, an hundred and eighty pounds.

So that, considering the ten white people in a plantation are the sole cause of that consumption, it is eighteen pounds each; which, as I said before, is a far greater consumption on the native commodities and manufactures of the nation, than labourers at home make. It ought to be considered too, that in this balance, I have not computed the first cost of the materials that set all these useful labourers at work, nor the profit that has arisen to navigation, nor the merchant-adventurer, in sending thither near a million of slaves, whose first cost, to the planter, has been eight millions of pounds, at least; and took off of our manufacture to buy them in Guinea, about forty shillings per head, which amounts to two millions: not to speak in this place neither of the rich clothes, household-stuff, and other necessaries, the masters of these numerous servants consume upon themselves; which, without an exact account or scrutiny into every particular, must satisfy the most prejudiced person, that the people there, both for addition of wealth, and consumption of commodities, are better employed than those which remain at home.

But to add to a plantation, as aforesaid, the advantage arising by the refining sugar; there must be laid out, in a refining-house, coppers, and all other necessary materials, at least three-hundred pounds. There must be ten Blacks, and no Whites, if the boilers can refine, which is easy to learn.

The manner thus: They take their Muscovado sugars, and put it into refining-coppers mixed with lime-water, where, as it boils over a gentle fire, much scum will arise, which is taken off constantly, till it becomes a sufficient consistency, for mixing it with the whites of eggs well beaten up; which being done, in order to clarify it, it is then boiled to a proper height, for refined sugar, and turned off into coolers, and thence put into such pots with their drips, as was said of Muscovadoes. When these pots have stood dripping eight or ten days, then clay, properly tempered, is put upon the pots, which is renewed as occasion requires: this forces down the molosses, so that in seven or eight weeks these sugars so improved will be fit for casking.

The molosses, thus issuing from refined sugar, is boiled up again; and, operated as before, produces a sugar called Bastard Whites, the last molosses being only fit for the still.

Note, That little or nothing of the quantity is wasted in the refining, but remains in the sugar molosses or liquor, from which spirit is produced.

But let it be observed too, that by the additional stock of ten Blacks, which cost two-hundred pounds; house and necessaries, three-hundred pounds; necessary provisions for ten Blacks, twenty pounds; wear and tear, thirty pounds; interest for the first cost at ten pounds per cent. fifty pounds: in all an hundred pounds per ann. a plantation is near doubled. So that it is plainly the interest of the nation, that all sugars should be meliorated before exportation; the profit whereof would be above fifty per cent. annually to the nation more than now it is, and is all gained by the Hollanders and Hamburghers, who

refine our Muscovado sugar in their countries cheaper by the draw-back upon Muscovadoes than we can; so that they undersell us in all foreign markets in our own commodity; most of the sugar spent in Germany, France, and other nations, being refined; the profit of which meliorating as well as the navigation being lost to the kingdom: and it is as reasonable to suffer wool to go out unmanufactured, as Muscovado sugar. But more of this, when I come to propose the method for preserving those colonies, and this shall likewise suffice to explain the nature and produce of a sugar-plantation.

Thus it appears by all that has been spoken, of a sugar-plantation, that the first cost, besides the labour, skill, care, and industry, amounts to five-thousand, six-hundred, twenty-five pounds; and that the produce thereof, at the present usual price current of sugar, amounts not to five-hundred and forty pounds; out of which deduct the constant charge, one-hundred and fifty pounds per annum, the yearly value is three-hundred and ninety pounds, which is not 7 per cent. for his money; and yet this neither is not certain to arise.

The making of sugars, and fitting them for market, being subject to many contingencies more than are set down in the history before-going; for the plants in the ground are very often subject to be devoured, wounded, and torn by ants, or undermined and destroyed at the roots by mugworms: too much rain, or too much drought, in either season, is a certain diminution of the crop, if not a total destruction of the plants; nay, if the rains come too late, which often happens, a whole year's planting is lost. When all these mischiefs are escaped, and the canes of a considerable height; then are they liable to be twisted, broke, and totally spoiled by the furious hurricanes, that once in three or four years, like a fit of an ague, shake the whole islands, not only do the crops an injury, but sometimes tumble down and level their mills, work-houses, and strongest buildings. But, escaping all these; as the canes ripen, they grow more and more combustible, and are thereby subject to the malice and drunken rages of angry and desperate run-away Negroes, as well as so many other accidents of fire; the fury whereof, when once got into a field of canes, is extremely quick, terrible, and scarcely to be resisted before it has destroyed the whole parcel; but when they are brought to full perfection for cutting, and the planter's expectation as ripe as they, if unseasonable rains happen, or that no winds blow, then do they all rot and perish in the ground: the slaves and servants all stand idle, looking upon their master's decaying fortune, and at last are only employed in clearing the ground again from that useless rubbish, in which all that year's hope is perished. Not to mention after all these mischiefs, under which most planters have many times smarted, all those accidents, or storms, and pirates in bringing their commodity to market; nor (which is worst of all) their loss by breaking customers, who not only run away with all their produce, but with the freight, factoridge, and customs, which have been paid for those sugars they were trusted with, thereby subjecting the industrious planter to new and unforeseen debts and interest for them, from whence he expected the reward of all his labour. Nay, besides all has been said, sometimes diseases amongst slaves and cattle will in a very short time sweep away a whole year's profit, besides the constant charge of recruiting the natural decay of all living creatures.

Cotton is a commodity of great value, and the planting of it, of mighty advantage to the common-wealth; because we have it thereby one-third price less than formerly, when we imported it from foreign parts. Its uses are too many to be enumerated in the short method I have proposed; let it suffice therefore to say, that the spinning, weaving, and working it into fustians, dimities, and many other useful stuffs, besides what is spent in candles, employs a multitude of hands, and gains the nation annually.

The manner of planting it is thus: A hundred acres of land cleared, and kept for a cotton-plantation, require fifty hands; whereof five must be white men-servants, for the benefit of the militia, otherwise all but two might be black slaves.

It is planted in rows, as our London gardeners set their damask roses, to make money

of them, and rises to much about the same height in one year; and some few months time after its seeds are put into the ground, which is to be done in the wet season, when sugar-canes are planting; but sometimes it begins sooner, or later, according to the judgment of the experienced overseer. But the same hands, employed in sugar, can never be employed in planting and gathering cotton; for, when it is ripe, and the little bags it is contained in are opening, it is a constant labour and attendance from morning to night for the servants to go, to and again, in the intervals between the rows it is planted in, to take them at a critical time; otherwise it immediately damages.

There are two sorts of it called Ravell or Vine, that is, yellow or white; the yellow is generally esteemed the largest staple.

An acre of ground planted therewith may produce from four-hundred to two-hundred pounds weight, according as it hits; so that a hundred acres, well looked after, may produce thirty-thousand pounds weight of cotton; which at six-pence a pound, as it may yield, amounts to one-hundred and fifty pounds.

Ginger is an useful spice, for many things, and in several cases so answers the end of pepper, that it is observed to rise and fall as that does.

It is planted by taking small pieces from the great races, and placing them orderly in trenches or holes, as our gardeners plant pease, and it is done in the same seasons that they plant sugar-canes.

An acre of right ground, well planted, will produce two thousand-pounds weight of ginger; which, by its bulk in English tonnage, is accounted two tons at least.

A hundred acres require seventy-five hands, be they black or white servants; but there must, by the laws, always be a sufficient number of white men-servants, in proportion to the black slaves; otherwise all Blacks would serve, which is much cheaper than the other.

I have not set down all the casualties cotton and ginger plantations are subject to, for fear of swelling my treatise beyond its designed bulk; therefore let it suffice to say they are subject to many, though not the same casualties, both from the alteration of seasons and other matters, as sugars are.

Indico is more produced in Jamaica, than in any other colony, by reason of the great quantity of savanna lands there; for it thrives best in light sandy ground, such as those savannas or great plains be. The seed of it, from whence it is raised, is yellow, and round; something less than a fitch or tare: the ground being made light by houghing, trenches are made therein, like those our gardeners prepare for pease, in which the seed is put about March, which grows ripe in eight weeks time, and in fresh broken ground will spire up about three feet high, but in others not more than eighteen inches; the stalk is full of leaves of a deep green colour, and will, from its first sowing, yield nine crops in one year: when it is ripe, they cut it, and in proportionable fats steep it twenty-four hours; then they clear it from the first water, and put it into proper cisterns, where it is carefully beaten, and then is permitted to settle about eighteen hours. In these cisterns are several taps which let the clear water run out, and the thick is put into linen bags of about three feet long, and half a foot wide, made commonly of Ozenbrig cloth, which being hanged up, all the liquid part drips away. When it will drip no longer, it is put into wooden boxes, about three feet long, and fourteen inches wide, and an inch and a half deep. These boxes they place in the sun till it grows too hot, and then take them in till the extreme heat is over; continuing thus to do till it is sufficiently dry. In land that proves proper for indico, the labour of one hand in a year's time may produce between eighty and a hundred pounds weight, which may amount from twelve to fifteen pounds per annum to the planter, if no accident happens: for indico, as well as all other commodities of those parts, is subject to many; those most common to it are blasting and worms, to which it is very subject.

Cocoa is now no longer a commodity to be regarded in our colonies, though at first it was the principal invitation to the peopling Jamaica: for those walks the Spaniards left behind them there, when we conquered it, produced such prodigious profit with little trouble, that Sir Thomas Muddiford and several others set up their rests to grow wealthy therein, and fell to planting much of it, which the Spanish slaves, who remained in the island, always foretold would never thrive, and so it happened; for though it promised fair, and throve finely for five or six years, yet still, at that age, when so long hopes and care had been wasted about it, withered, and died away, by some unaccountable cause; though they impute it to a black worm, or grub, which they find clinging to its root. The manner of planting it is, in order like our cherry-gardens; which tree, when grown up, it much resembles. It delights in shade, so that, by every tree, they place one of plantain, which produces a fruit nourishing and wholesome for their Negroes. They, by houghing and weeding, keep their cocoa-walks clear from grass continually; and it begins to bear at three, four, or five years old; and, did it not almost constantly die before, would come to perfection in fifteen years growth, and last till thirty, thereby becoming the most profitable tree in the world; there having been above two-hundred pounds sterling made in one year of an acre of it. But, the old trees planted by the Spaniards being gone by age, and few new thriving, (as the Spanish Negroes foretold,) little or none now is produced worthy the care and pains in planting and expecting it. Those slaves give a superstitious reason for its not thriving; many religious rites being performed at its planting by the Spaniards, which their slaves were not permitted to see. But it is probable, that wary nation, as they removed the art of making cochineal, and curing venelloes, into their inland provinces, which were the commodities of those islands in the Indians' time; and forbad the opening of any mines in them, for fear some maritime nation might thereby be invited to the conquering them; so they might likewise, in their transplanting cocoa from the Caracus and Guatemala, conceal wilfully some secret in its planting from their slaves, lest it might teach them to set up for themselves, by being able to produce a commodity of such excellent use for the support of man's life; with which alone and water, some persons have been necessitated to live ten weeks together, without finding the least diminution of either health or strength. But, though much more might be said, yet this shall suffice for the history of cocoa, with this addition only, that it grows on the trees in bags or cods of greenish, red, or yellow colours; every cod having in it three, four, or five kernels, about the bigness and shape of small chesnuts; which are separated from each other by a very pleasant refreshing white substance, about the consistence of the pulp of a roasted apple, moderately sharp and sweet; from which, when ripe, its nuts are separated, and, by drying, cured.

Piemento is another natural production of those islands, but principally in Jamaica; from whence many call it Jamaica pepper, from the place and figure of it: the trees that bear it are generally very tall and spreading, so that the trouble of climbing them, to gather it, would make it incredibly dear, and those, that be left generally growing in the island, mountains and woods, which are not taken up for planting, but remain in the king's hands. Their way is to go with their slaves into the woods, where it is plenty, and, cutting down the trees, pick it off from the branches; so that no piemento comes into Europe twice from one tree; and, it happening often to miss for two or three years together, what it produces at present must be accounted an accidental benefit to the planters, rather than any thing to be relied on as a national advantage, or constant encouragement.

The like may be said of Lignum Vitæ, or Guaiacum; of red wood, and several sorts of other trees, which come thence; for, the more comes, the less remains, and the time required for the growing of those hard woods, in the room of those cut down, is, in human reason, so many hundreds of years, that the proposing to plant them would be rather a proof of madness, than foresight; it being observable, that in those spreading woods,

where never axe was handled for cutting them down, nor carriage came to remove them, nor fire to burn them; there cannot be found one dotard or perishing tree of any useful kind, if of any at all.

To make and manage a Virginia or Maryland plantation for *Tobacco*, every hand employed therein must be furnished with an axe, a saw, and other instruments for felling timber, and grubbing up its roots.

When the ground is cleared of trees, and rubbish, then it is broke up with houghs, and afterwards with those, and spades, brought into little hillocks, like those moles turn up; into every one of which is placed one plant, so that they grow about three, four, and five feet asunder.

The tobacco-plants are raised from its seed sowed in nurseries of hot-beds, skilfully prepared for that purpose in the months of January, February, March, and April, and are drawn thence and planted in the prepared little hills in the months of May and June; and will be ready for cutting in July or August following. But, all the while from its planting, it is carefully to be watched; and every plant, that is perceived to be dying, must be taken away, and a fresh one set in the hill, from whence the dead or dying plant was removed.

Tobacco-plants are very subject to be undermined, eaten, and destroyed by a grub, or worm, that breeds about its root; which sometimes, in spite of all the care and skill of the most ingenious planter, will destroy its whole crop, nor do they escape some mischief from it; so that a tobacco-plantation from January, that they sow the seed, till August, that they cut it, is a continual care and field labour, in sowing, planting, houghing, weeding, worming, succouring, and renewing: it has several accidents attending it, till it be cut and carried into the curing-house, where it is hanged plant by plant at an equal distance till it become powder dry; at which time of the year that country is subject to great fogs and mists, which makes it become waxy, and if it rises again, then it is fully cured, and becomes fit to be casked; all sweet-scented requires about three weeks time, and Oroonoko about six weeks time; and, in about three weeks more after its casking, it shews itself whether it be well cured or no. For, though the experienced planter knows certainly whether his tobacco be well or ill cured, the purchaser cannot, and may be wronged, if he buys it in less than three weeks time after its casking; for, if it had not been perfectly dried, it will certainly rot, perish, and become good for nothing: so that not only the prime cost, but the frieght home may be lost. And this the necessities of the planter sometimes only occasion; for, by making too much haste not to lose his market, many times the whole year's labour and expectation is totally lost; and the care therein is very great, for there is not a leaf of tobacco put on board the ship that is well cured, but has passed at least six and thirty times through the hand of the planter or labourer. They ship it out from the month of October till April following; the annual exportation, from all the tobacco-colonies, being an hundred and forty thousand hogsheads, at four-hundred and fifty pounds weight to a hogshead.

The plantations are generally made into small parcels, not above eight or ten hands at a place, being the most beneficial and true way, both for making the tobacco, and raising provisions for them: and the curing-house must not be at a distance from the grounds where the tobacco grows.

The price of every pound weight of tobacco, imported into the nation before we planted it, was from about four shillings to sixteen shillings a pound; and now the best Virginia is not above seven-pence to the merchant, of which the king has five-pence.

Two-thirds of the tobacco brought from those colonies is exported to foreign markets, which at about three pounds the hogshead (which is the least this nation gets by it) amounts to above two-hundred thousand pounds; besides the great quantity of shipping it employs.

It is not so little as a million the kingdom saves yearly by our planting tobacco; so

that, reckoning the white people in our tobacco-colonies to be a hundred-thousand men, women, and children; they, one with another, are each of them twelve pounds a year profit to the nation.

There are, in those colonies, by a probable computation, about six-hundred thousand Negroes and Indians, men, women, and children; and would be more, could they readily get Negroes from Guinea; every one of which consumes yearly two hilling-houghs, two weeding-houghs, two grubbing-houghs, besides axes, saws, wimbles, nails, and other iron tools and materials, consumed in building and other uses, to the value of, at least, a hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling, in only iron-work.

The clothes, guns, cordage, anchors, sails, and materials for shipping, besides beds, and other household-goods consumed and used by them, are infinite; nor is the benefit of them to the kingdom sufficiently to be explained. Therefore let it suffice, in one word, to say, that the produce and consumption, with the shipping they give employment to, is of an infinite deal more benefit to the wealth, honour, and strength of the nation, than four times the same number of hands the best employed at home can be.

And thus much more I shall say for the colonies. As they are, to the nation, the most useful and profitable hands employed, and the best trade we have, both to the consuming the woollen-manufactory of England, and the encouraging of navigation; so those, that go thither as servants, if they are industrious, and just to their masters, they live much easier than in England, and much more likely to get estates: of which there are many precedents: and also they have been a great relief to many men (whose misfortunes have forced them to leave their own country) who, by their carrying thither the remains of their shipwrecked fortunes, have recovered their lost estate, and very much conduced to that increase of wealth to this nation, as well as to the increase of shipping, which are the only true bulwarks of this nation.

That the courteous reader may readily see the benefit to England, the hands employed in the colonies are, I have here made, in the nature of a table, what fifty Negroes, with some few white hands (which are rather for security, than otherwise) can make; what tonnage; what value it produces in England; what custom it pays to his Majesty. It is to be understood, that all they produce is clear gains to England (except some linen, wines, and brandy, which are brought from foreign markets:) the rest is either freight, custom, charges of merchandise, apparel, and necessaries for the plantations, or in cash; which either serves to support the planters, when in England, or is laid out in purchasing lands: besides this, the employing of such a vast number of shipping and seamen, the benefit of which is well known to every Englishman. And, since the plantations have been brought to this perfection, the consumption of England saves at least two-thirds, by the abatement of the price those commodities bore before they made them; for which they never draw from England gold, or silver; but, on the contrary, by exportation of what is there made, over and above our consumption, does either occasion the enriching of England, by monies brought from foreign parts for the sales of their goods; or by bartering for other goods, which must have been purchased by monies, or we must have been without them. By the hands employed in those colonies, foreign commodities became native, to the great enriching of England, as aforesaid; and to the lessening the riches and strength of all other European nations, that produce the like commodities.

An Account of what Advantage Hands, employed in the Colonies, are to this Nation per Annum.

	White Men.	Blacks.	Will make.	Which is in English Tonnage.	Value in England.	Pay Custom.	
			C.		£		£ s. d.
Of Sugar —	10	50	800	40	at 20*s.* per C. is 800	at 4*s.* 10*d.* per C. is	193 06 8
Of Molosses	—	—	280	14	at 8*s.* per C. is 112	at 9*d.* per C. is —	10 10 0
The Excise of Molosses, when made into Spirits.	—	—	—	—	—	at 6*d.* per gall. is	56 00 0
Total —	10	50	1080	54	912		259 16 8
			£				
Cotton —	5	50	33000	41¼	at 6*d.* per lb. is 785		
Ginger —	5	50	15000	7½	at 2*s.* per C. is 134	at 1*s.* per C. is —	6 14 0
Indico —	5	50	5500	23	at 4*s.* per lb. is 1100	at 5*s.* per C. is —	13 15 0
Total —	15	150	53500	71¾	2019		20 09 0
			C.		£		
Tobacco:							
Sweet-scented	21	50	1430	143	at 7*d.* per lb. is 4689	at 5*d.* per lb. is	3340 05 0
Oroonoko —	21	50	1712	214	at 5*d.* per lb. is 3954	at ½*d.* per lb. is	395 07 0
Total —	42	100	3142	357	8643		3735 12 0

CHAP. III.

FROM what has been said of the nature and manner of managing plantations, is demonstrated, beyond all scruple, that those hands employed in our colonies are, for their number, the most profitable subjects of these dominions, as well to the ends of consumption and delight, as for increasing the wealth, power, and glory of the nation.

These apparent truths being once known to, and generally allowed of by our nobility and gentry, it is senseless to imagine there could be one man amongst all our legislators, that should be so malicious to the kingdom, as to desire, or endeavour, the discouragement, much less ruin of such useful subjects, as the planters are. But, for want of experience in, or intelligence of their manner of living, and employing themselves in plantations, the best-meaning and most upright patriots and lovers of their country, by wrong application of that right maxim, 'People are the riches of a nation,' may be most apt to study restraints, impositions, and severities on their trade and negotiation, to their present discouragement, and future ruin: which having, in some degree, happened already, is the only cause I have used my endeavours for clearing those general mistakes, and for laying

down some few useful rules for the support and encouragement of them all; but especially the sugar-plantations, in whose happiness I (being most at present concerned) think myself most obliged to be serviceable to my power, as well as to clear my reputation; which, amongst other well-meaning gentlemen, is reflected on, for designing a common factory for keeping up the price of their product, and a joint stock of monies to supply, at common interest, every industrious planter's wants, till his goods could be sold; which, when rightly understood, must force forgiveness, if not applause, from the most partial opposer of the design.

The better to clear which points, it is necessary to obviate, That the discouragements, the sugar-plantations lie under, have for three years last past, furnished matter of complaint to all persons concerned in that commodity, as well planter as merchant; as it is evident by the solemn addresses, which were made to the court on that subject, since the passing the act which lays an additional duty upon sugar.

The decay of those colonies being granted by all parties concerned in that advantageous negotiation, it will be necessary to be certain of the cause, before proper remedies can be found out, much less applied to that increasing distemper.

For, though, in gross, it may be concluded, that the additional duty occasioned the mischief; yet those, who contrived that revenue for the crown, did not intend the burthen thereof should have fallen on the planter or merchant, but on the consumptioner; which then had not been the least inconvenience or discouragement, either to planting or trade, and, consequently, a more equal and less mischievous tax could not have been laid upon the nation.

But the price of sugar before the act, compared with that since, and the general fall of plantations, demonstrates (beyond contradiction or dispute) that the whole burthen falls on the most industrious, most useful, and best employed people, for their numbers, that can be found in all his Majesty's dominions, which are those of the sugar-colonies; besides, the inequality of the thing, that sixty-thousand industrious people, which the parliament intended, should pay nothing, are, by accident, made to bear an imposition designed to be laid on the voluntary consumption of eight millions.

That the matter of fact is this, it cannot be denied by the most partial and interested, against what has been proposed for the common factory; though the natural aversion, most men have to new invention, joined with the private interest of some few men who are factors at home, laziness of thought in some, and weakness of understanding in others, will, I am sensible, make it difficult, if not impossible, to establish the most compendious and proper remedy for that lingering distemper.

But this I dare boldly affirm, that what was then prescribed, carried along with itself evident proofs of its innocency and well-meaning; since nothing therein could possibly take effect, until every several sugar-colony in America had, in their general assemblies, considered and approved every part of it.

For, without the sanction and laws of every several and individual colony, by their acts of assembly, the whole and every part of the proposal was utterly inconsistent and unpracticable; as those, who will give themselves leave to examine it, will undeniably find.

So that, if it may be supposed, that the colonies themselves are proper judges of what they suffer, want, and would have; it cannot be denied, but that their minds must best appear in general assemblies.

From whence it consequently follows, that though the proposition might not be practicable, by reason of the many different interests it was to unite; yet that the proposers were innocent, and sacrificed their labour, expences, and time, with a laudable intention.

To leave, therefore, that matter in the state it is, I will proceed to obviate the true and genuine causes of the present discouragements those colonies lie under; which may be reduced to three general heads.

1. That, which is necessary to the beginning, increase, and support of a plantation, comes to them much dearer than it might.

2. That what they produce by planting, is forced to be sold at market much cheaper than can be afforded; to the nation's loss, as well as theirs.

3. That what they produce is carried to foreign markets at a much greater charge, than they might carry it for.

To make it evident, that what they want to begin, increase, and support a plantation, comes to them much dearer than it might, I must desire the reader to consider (from what has been said concerning a sugar-plantation) that the main support of that, as well as all other wealth, is labourers: that these labourers, in plantations, are either white servants, or black slaves: that the white servants are either such as are hired for wages, or assigned for a term of years. Now, if it appears, that in the present method, all these several sorts of labourers come to the planter one-third dearer than they need, then it must follow, that there is a burthen on that employment as heavy, as if above thirty per cent. were laid, by way of tax, upon their whole industry.

That the case of most planters is this, as well in white servants as slaves, and also in most of the tools and necessaries for managing a plantation, is too much felt, to be doubted by all that are concerned in that trade, or are experienced in planting. But, to make it clear to others, I must beg them to consider, that few men leave their native country willingly, who have enough conveniently to support themselves in it; except carried away by ambition, or immoderate avarice; two passions little known, or practised in America.

That therefore those who generally go thither, comply with some urgent pressure in their fortunes or circumstances at home; so that, let them carry with them as good understandings, or strong genius's and inclinations to planting, as is possible, yet they must not hope to reap, unless they sow; and wheat, or any other sort of grain, is not a more necessary seed for its own species, than wealth is seed to wealth. The Spaniards have a proverb to that purpose, which says, 'He that will bring the Indies home, must carry the Indies thither.' It will not be unnecessary to explain the general causes of their first thriving, that the unexperienced reader may have a just idea of the conveniences, and inconveniences, have attended those places, by the many changes have happened in the government and laws of this kingdom, since the beginning of the late civil wars.

To do which, we will make a short reflection on the unaccountable negligence, or rather stupidity of this nation, during the reigns of Henry the Seventh, Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixth, and Queen Mary, who could contentedly sit still and see the Spaniards rifle, plunder, and bring home undisturbed, all the wealth of that golden world; and to suffer them with forts and castles to shut up the doors and entrances into all the rich provinces of America, having not the least title, or pretence of right, beyond any other nation; except that of being, by accident, the first discoverers of some parts of it; where the unprecedented cruelties, exorbitances, and barbarities, their own histories witness, they practised on a poor, naked, and innocent people, which inhabited the islands; as well as upon those truly civilized and mighty empires of Peru and Mexico, called to all mankind for succour and relief against their outrageous avarice and horrid massacres. Therefore, for a nation situated like ours for trade and navigation, (being, by the kingdom of Ireland, the nearest eastern neighbour to that western world,) to sit still, and look upon all this without either envy or pity; must, I say, remain a lasting mark of the insensibility of those times, and the little knowledge our forefathers had of the true interest of mankind in general, or of their own country in particular.

Nor did we awake from this lethargy, and wonderful dozing, by any prudent foresight or formed counsel and design, but slept on, until the ambitious Spaniard, by that inexhaustible spring of treasure, had corrupted most of the courts and senates of Europe, and had set on fire, by civil broils and discords, all our neighbour nations, or had subdued them to his yoke; contriving too, to make us wear his chains, and bear a share in the triumph of universal monarchy, not only projected, but near accomplished, when Queen Elizabeth came to the crown, (as all historians of those times do plainly make appear:) and to the divided interests of Philip the Second, and Queen Elizabeth, in personal more than national con-

cerns, we do owe that start of her's in letting loose upon him, and encouraging those daring adventurers, Drake, Hawkins, Rawleigh, the Lord Clifford, and many other braves that age produced; who, by their privateering, and bold undertaking, (like those the Buccaneers practise,) now opened the way to our discoveries, and succeeding settlements in America; which since, as it were by chance, occasioned only by the necessities of many, wrought upon by the example, wisdom, and success of some few particulars, without any formed design, help, or assistance from our state-councils, or legislators; in less than one century, hath throve so well, that they are become the example and envy, and might be the terror of all our neighbour maritime nations; and do undoubtedly maintain above half that vast quantity of shipping we employ in foreign trade: so that it can be from no other cause, but want of information, that many of our laws, as well as court-maxims and practices, run opposite to their encouragement, protection, and increase.

The beginning of our American settlements was made in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, by the encouragement of Sir Walter Rawleigh, who undertook the planting of Virginia, and first brought the use of tobacco into England; but that, nor any other colony of ours in the West-Indies, did promise much success, either to the nation or undertakers, until the reign of King James the First, whose peace with the crown of Spain restrained those bold privateers, who before, by harassing the Spanish colonies and mastering their rich ships of plate, had become very wealthy, as well as numerous. But much against the will of most of them, (but principally of such who had not sufficiently made their fortunes,) this peace obliged them to change the prospect of their future conduct from rapine and spoil, to trade and planting; so that, in a very short time, a considerable settlement was made in the northern parts of America, to the great increase of good shipping in the kingdom. By this means a general notion of having enough profitable lands in those parts of the world for nothing, so infected the whole kingdom; that not only the necessitous and loose part of the nation flocked thither, but many nonconformists did solicit his Majesty for leave to make a settlement together, under privileges and liberties, both in civil and church matters, by a constitution of their own. This combination King James prudently consented to, and confirmed by his letters-patent, wisely foreseeing, that though a species of a common-wealth was thereby introduced into his dominions, yet the dependence thereof must be upon the crown for protection; and consequently that part of his subjects, then called Puritans, would not be totally lost to the nation, as they must be, if driven for ever to remain in foreign countries. Thus began that numerous colony in New-England, where, under frugal laws, customs, and constitutions, they live without applying themselves to planting any tobacco, or other American commodities, except for their own private use. But, by tillage, pasture, fishing, manufactures and trade, they, to all intents and purposes imitate Old England, and did formerly much, and in some degree do now, supply the other colonies with provisions in exchange for their commodities, as, tobacco, sugar, &c. which they carried to foreign markets, how conveniently for the nation's interest I shall not determine, being no enemy to any kind of honest industry. But this cannot chuse but be allowed, that if any hands in the Indies be wrong employed for domestic interest, it must be theirs, and those other colonies, which settle with no other prospect than the like way of living. Therefore, if any, such only should be neglected, and discouraged, who pursue a method, that rivals our native kingdom, and threatens, in time, a total independency thereupon.

But, as this cannot be said of our tobacco-colonies, much less is it to be feared from our sugar-plantations; except, by gross mistakes at home, we at last force them to part with their black slaves to the Spaniards, and betake themselves to the sole planting of provisions, and living upon their estates; which, should it happen, would be the greatest blow to our navigation, and consequently to the rents, that the kingdom ever received, since it was a trading nation.

This digression, I hope, may be pardoned; since it explains a little the difference of our national interest in the several sorts of American colonies.

Nor would I be supposed to be so ignorant, to think, that no kind of colonies can

empty, and consequently ruin, the nation. No; there is a natural boundary to all worldly matters; and it becomes the wisdom of legislators truly to distinguish the depending and profitable, from the detached and undermining colonies, and rightly apply lenitives and corrosives accordingly.

To return therefore to those within the tropicks which are principally supported by making sugar: the beginning of their settlement was without the least prospect of succeeding in that commodity, the art of making which, as I said before, being, by mere accident, gained in Barbadoes by a Hollander, something more than half a century since. And, as it was the happiness of those islands to learn it from a Dutchman, so the first and main supporters of them in their progress, to that perfection they are arrived to, exceeding all the nations in the world, is principally owing to that nation; who, being eternal prowlers about, and searchers for moderate gains by trade, did give credit to those islanders, as well as they did the Portuguese in Brasil, for black slaves, and all other necessaries for planting, taking, as their crops throve, the sugar they made. Thus with light, but sure gains to themselves, they nourished the industrious, and consequently improving planters, both before, and during the civil wars in these islands; the fame of whose good fortune being spread at home, many ingenious gentlemen, who had unfortunately followed the royal interest, conveyed the remains of their shipwrecked fortunes thither; amongst which Colonel Henry Walldrond's father, with himself, and others his relations of that family, were not inconsiderable, either for quality, industry, or parts; so that, by them, and many undone cavaliers who followed their example, new improvements and experiments were daily added to the art of planting, making, and refining sugar, which were taken from them by the Dutch, till Sir George Askew, with a squadron of ships, removed the Lord Willoughby of Parham from governing there, for his exiled Majesty Charles the Second, and reduced the island to the State's obedience. Soon after which, the Dutch war happening, all further trade with that nation ceased, by whose help, they being then strong enough to subsist of themselves, their future dealing returned to its proper center, which was trading with their native country; since which time that island, which contains but [106,470[2]] acres, and not more than five and twenty thousand white inhabitants, has produced, in commodities, above thirty millions sterling, and paid in duties to support the government, at a modest computation, above three-fourths of a million; which will seem incredible to those that have not employed thoughts on it.

I have rather mentioned Colonel Henry Walldrond for one instance of such as our civil war drove abroad, because, in his particular case and sufferings, great inferences may be made for explaining the many inconveniencies those colonies are now subject to, as well as because he has been one who did endeavour to obviate the mischief attended the act for additional duty upon sugar, and was most zealous in his applications at court for relief to his fellow-planters, even whilst he struggled under such severe oppressions of power as might have reduced to despair the greatest courage; and to him, and his continual endeavours for their benefit, all the planters in the Indies owe their thanks at least; for he not only made the court sensible of the great mistake they lay under, both by the laying, and unjust manner of collecting, that additional duty, (which, at least, will prove a caution to future councils, for their conduct in a like case,) but was at great labour and charge, in conjunction with myself, and other gentlemen, intelligent persons in that affair, to invent, if possible, a proper remedy for their languishing condition; which can never be but by some such way, as may furnish them with sufficient money and credit, on their industry and commodities, as may enable them to buy their necessaries at reasonable rates, and sell their produce at a saving price; neither of which it is possible for them to do at present.

For though, to do right to the African Company, they have been wonderfully kind in the credit they have given the plantations, and that, rightly managed, a company is able

[2] [The number of acres has been supplied from Edwards's History of the West-Indies. If the number of inhabitants was added from the same work, it would much exceed the calculation presented in the text.]

to supply them with Negroes cheaper than a loose trade could; yet, the complaints the company continually make of the colonies bad pay, and the complaints of the colonies for being ill supplied with Negroes, (allowing both true,) it will be necessary to enquire into the real cause of both inconveniencies before proper remedies can be proposed.

To state the case truly; it is to be considered, that when the company was first erected, with exclusions to all others for trading in Guiney, the consequence thereof was never foreseen by the planters; for, if it had, they could not have failed complaining against its establishment upon the foundation of such privileges they now pretend to; nor could any invention in the world have appeared a more pernicious monopoly, than that would have been judged to be upon a free examination, before custom and necessity had reduced the colonies to a servile dependence thereupon.

For, let it be granted there was a kind of a prudent necessity in the government here, to unite a company for securing the gold and teeth trade in Guiney, and that it was in the power of the crown to prohibit all others, but such company, to trade within the limits assigned them by their charter; yet this did not at all reach the plantations, at first, nor did seem to prohibit them from buying slaves at the best market, as since it has been interpreted. For, with submission to better judgments, the consequence of that interpretation seems to me, to be an inlet to all manner of monopolies.

For why should not the crown, by the same rule, make a company, who should have only power to trade thither in iron-ware, and another for wine; the like for mum, or any other commodity they want, as to prohibit bringing thither slaves but for the company's account; for the case, to all intents and purposes, is the same: for it is beyond all dispute known, that the colonies, under a free, open, and loose trade for Negroes, did flourish and increase before the company was erected.

It is certain, that they could still be supplied plentifully at two-thirds the price the company makes them pay.

It is as undeniable, that the company doth not supply them with the full numbers they want, and could have; did not the company shut all doors to their supply.

And it cannot be denied, but in these few heads are included all the several inconveniencies so complained of in a monopoly.

I. For hereby a loose trade is turned into a restrained, which lessens the numbers of shipping that would trade to Guiney.

II. That comes dear to the subject, that might be cheap.

III. And a useful commodity to the increase of wealth is not to be had in a sufficient quantity.

It is alleged, that some part of the trade of Guiney, considering who are our rivals in it, cannot be preserved without force; and that the castle must be maintained, or that part of the trade is lost; and that the castle, &c. cannot be supported but with great cost; and that that charge falls extremely heavy upon so small a stock, as that of the African company.

The consequence of which premisses is, they will always be necessitated to keep up the price of Negroes one-third more than otherwise we need; (though the castles are not supported, or little or no ways useful to the Negroe-trade, they keeping no forts, and seldom factors, at those places where the Negroes are most bought at.) I confess, a strong argument for the company, but a sour one for the colonies, which seem hereby deprived of their birth-right, the liberty of the subject, and their possession, which consisted in a loose trade.

The premisses considered, the planters may therefore justly desire that the national interest in the Guiney-trade, the forts, &c. may be equally supported by all the nation, as our navy's necessary forts and garrisons at home are; and not fall solely on their labour and industry. For the necessary supply of Negroes to the colonies, annually, should not be less than twenty thousand pounds.

Therefore upon a fair representation of the charge of the castle, &c. it cannot be ques-

tioned but the parliament will provide for their support, if it appear a national interest, to preserve the colonies, and that trade; as no doubt it is.

But, as I hinted before, another cause of their selling dear, is the bad pay they complain of in the colonies; and it may not be without cause that the company complain; not that the colonies give occasion for it, as matters now stand. For, the country, not being able to get Negroes, but at one-third too dear, and Negroes being the main prop of a plantation; it necessarily follows, the planter must be necessitous, and thereby forced to sell his produce cheap; not being able, through poverty, to keep his commodity by him, until it will yield a saving price.

Thus the true cause of his selling cheap, is his buying dear; and both together keep the industrious planter, who is not got aforehand in his affairs, always indigent, and in debt to the company. This debt being, as they allege, near three-hundred thousand pounds; keeps the company's stock, which at first was not more than a hundred and ten thousand, always out of their hands; the interest of which, with the charge of the castle, falling upon so narrow a stock as four-hundred thousand pounds; this, rising at last upon the plantations, makes their burthen grievous at present, and must, at last, prove insupportable, as the debt increases; for that, and their necessities, will keep pace together, except some speedy remedy be found for them both.

All this taken a-part, and duly considered, it will appear probable to all thinking men, that the plantations must speedily be ruined, and the commodities, so profitable to the nation, fluctuate into the hands of some neighbour colonies, who do not struggle under the like inconveniencies for which time the French, Dutch, and Danes, and many other nations are at watch, and do at present increase, proportionably to our discouragements. In this dismal prospect we must let them stand; until we come to consider of proper remedies for these and the following inconveniencies.

Another inconveniency attending them, proceeds from the wrong notion which has infected our judges, as well as the less intelligent gentry, that the people which go thither are a loss to the nation.

This, with some other more malicious, but as weak suggestions, has occasioned severe and terrible sentences about exporting white servants, on pretence of spiriting; so that many have been forced to send for those who have been transported thither, to produce again before the judges, to acknowledge their voluntary transportation.

This occasions new offices, new fees, and new methods for sending servants thither; all which increases their price in the Indies very considerably, and falls, as bad as a tax, on the industry of the planter; besides, makes servants so scarce, that an universal languishing of such plantations as are growing happens thereby; and that want of white servants, for a term of years, occasions the increase of wages to those they are forced to hire at great rates, to supply that defect. This increase of wages is not only a new burthen upon the present planters, but lessens their numbers; many choosing rather to sell their industry and labour, to support themselves under others, than begin planting themselves under such visible incumbrances, as daily increase upon employment.

Thus one inconveniency begets another, to the ruin of the present and discouragement of future planting; which, before I have done, must more and more appear as national a concern as any our council can be busied about.

It is true, many of the first comers, especially in Barbadoes, are got above the danger of ruin, by these, and other following mischiefs, that daily must, if not prevented, increase upon all who are not in the like circumstance for wealth; and, peradventure, to such, the prospect of this general decay promises a good return and recompence, for all the inconveniencies they at present feel in the abatement of the value of their plantations.

For some of them may, perhaps, consider, that as the debts of the colonies increase to the African Company, the ruin of necessitous planters must follow; as they tumble, the quantity of sugar produced, must diminish; and, as that happens, the price must rise: so that their own plantations, being sure to stand, must likewise improve at last, proportionably to the general and national loss besides. That they are sure, as plantations, Negroes, and stock

come to be seized for debt, they will be sold for less than their half value, and can be no men's money, but theirs who have it to spare; that this hath, and doth daily happen, and must more and more, if no remedy be found out, is so certain; that none intelligent, among the American merchants and factors, but know many sad examples of that kind; so that, if the price should rise by abatement of quantity, though convenient for some overgrown planters, and wealthy merchants; it tends to nothing less than the decay of shipping, lessening the numbers of white people, and driving them to the Dutch plantations.

Another great discouragement, those colonies lie under, is the arbitrary power and practices of the governors there, and the court at home; which some have, to their undoing felt, and all are liable to.

I will instance, in the case of some few, that the reader may the better judge of the condition of them all.

In the year 1669, Colonel, since Sir Henry Morgan, commonly called Panama Morgan, for his glorious undertaking and conquest of the Spaniards of that place, by fewer than twelve-hundred men, without either horse or pikemen, to oppose, in fair fight, above six-thousand foot, and five-hundred horse, which he did, and afterwards took and ransacked a town, that had baffled, when not half so strong, the famous Sir Francis Drake, who attacked it with four-thousand. This man, (as great an honour to our nation, and terror to the Spaniards, as ever was born in it,) notwithstanding he had done nothing but by commission of the governor and council of Jamaica, and had received their former and public thanks for the action; was, upon a letter from the secretary of state, sent into England a prisoner; and without being charged with any crime, or ever brought to a hearing, he was kept here, at his own great expence, above three years; not only to the wasting of some thousands he was then worth, and bringing him into great debts, but to the hinderance of his planting, and improvement of his fortune by his industry; towards which, none in that place, was in a fairer way: so that under those difficulties, and the perpetual malice of a prevailing court-faction, he wasted the remaining part of his life; oppressed, not only by those, but by a lingering consumption, the coldness of this climate and his vexations had brought him into, when he was forced to stay here.

Another remarkable example of the like inconveniencies they have been, and are liable to, is that of the beforementioned Colonel Walldrond, who, upon a bare suggestion against him, made by a man fairly tried before a court of oyer and terminer, (wherein he was but one, though the first in commission,) was commanded from Barbadoes hither, where he has been detained above three years; and, at last, upon a full trial, at an assizes in the country, where his adversary was powerful, and himself utterly a stranger, there was given against him but thirty pounds damage; and that, for no other reason, but that the court-judge was pleased to over-rule this plea:—Whereby such a disorder, ruin, and distraction of his wife, children, family, plantation, and estate, has happened to him, that, as the calamity is not to be expressed, and, for some respects, is not fit to be related, so it could never have been supported by any man, but one of an extraordinary fortitude and understanding; which he has demonstrated by his constant endeavours, under his unjust oppressions, to serve the public interest of those colonies, and rightly to represent their sad condition at court, especially that of Barbadoes; who was so kind and just to him, at his coming thence, as by the representative body of that island, together with his majesty's governor and council, to make a present unto him of five hundred pounds sterling; in acknowledgment of his good service he had done that country, together with a public declaration of his just proceedings in that court of oyer and terminer, and especially in this case, he was brought over upon: and this I must further observe to the reader, that it was not the least crime of state was so much as alleged against him, for banishing him from Barbadoes into England, but merely private malice, supported by the partial tyranny of some great men, occasioned all his sufferings.

I shall not mention the numerous examples of men, that have been thus sent from their habitation and industry in those parts; but shall content myself with these two notorious instances of the hard case those well-employed members of the nation are in: for any

man who would think it destructive to liberty and property, to be banished into Barbadoes, Jamiaca, or any other colony from England, must believe it is as great an oppression to be kept from thence, against his will; when all his fortune and estate not only lies there, but, for want of his own management, is liable to infinite more casualties and loss, than any estate in England can be.

Another inconveniency, attending the colony, is their being forced to bring their commodities first into England, before they can carry them to any foreign market; which would appear, upon a true examination, not the least advantage to the nation, but a great loss; as I shall demonstrate, when I come to propose proper remedies for these and many other inconveniencies the colonies at present struggle under, which might be removed with greater profit, both to the crown and kingdom, than to them.

Thus, in short, it appears, that buying the necessary matters for beginning and supporting a plantation one-third dearer, than might in a right method be afforded them, is one great discouraging to planting.

A second is, that some of them being necessitous, they are all forced to sell their produce much cheaper, than they can, under that burthen, afford them.

A third, for want of a sufficient stock or credit, they are not able to meliorate their sugars to a degree fit for consumption; whereby so beneficial an art is thrown away upon our Hamburgh and Holland neighbours, to the mighty increase of their wealth and navigation, by our neglect, as well as inconvenient customs and laws.

A fourth, by being subject to the inconveniency of complaints, suits, and removals into England, for matters sufficiently cognisable in those parts; to all which, I shall only add to this section two more.

The first, a want of a true method for preserving the estates and plantations of deceased persons, for the use of their relations or creditors in England.

And, lastly, by the great quantity of commodities that are sent out of the Leeward Carribee Islands, and sold to the Dutch at low prices, for private lucre: for those people, saving all the duty, as well as the four and half per cent. there, as the custom in England, and having goods in barter for them directly from Holland, can afford their sugar much cheaper than their neighbours; so that there go out of that back-door for Holland, under the name of St. Eustace sugar, above a thousand and five-hundred hogsheads of Muscovado sugar, which, refined with great advantage to that nation in Holland, keeps the markets low in all foreign parts; the proper remedies for all which inconveniencies I shall strive to propose, in my next chapter.

CHAP. IV.

BY what has been said before, I will take it for granted, that the reader discerns clearly how much to the advantage of the nation all those hands are employed which go to our American colonies; and principally such as transport themselves and servants to the sugar-plantations; as likewise how many inconvenient discouragements they at present struggle under.

The first remedy to which inconveniencies, that I shall presume to propose, is what we most certainly are very defective in, for the greatest concern of the nation, which is for all sorts of trade; I mean, an able, diligent, impartial, and constant sitting council of trade, where all sorts of provisions, concerning it, might freely be debated, and thoroughly examined, before they come into parliament or council. For such a constitution would be an infallible touch-stone, to try the intrinsic value of all notions and projects, that mankind can invent, either for the general good, or particular advantage: it being almost impossible for the privy-council, or committees of parliament, in the methods they proceed by, ever to inform themselves rightly of any one difficult matter that comes before them.

For, let but a thinking man, any ways versed in trade, but reflect how many interfering accidents there belong to that mystery, and how many various shapes every

branch of it has taken, before it arrived to perfection; and they will conclude it impossible, for noblemen and gentlemen, by short debates, partially managed, (as they are usually before them,) ever to arrive at a perfect understanding of the matters in question; for want of which, their judgments are abused by clamour, importunity, prejudice, partiality, or some other prevailing bias; and seldom or never, (if the matter be of importance enough to require debating,) ever come to a right decision, whereby, at last, the secretary or clerk to such a board, becomes the only oracle to it; and, as he feels the cause heavy or light, weakly or potently backed, can read its destiny before one argument is heard, concerning the matter in issue, be it of never so considerable consequence.

That this is true, all men who have ever been concerned to attend this kind of assemblies, can infallibly witness. But withal, one would wonder, that a nation so concerned for their interest as ours, wherein there are few men that will make a step in any considerable dealing, without the advice of some council learned in that point; that the government of it, which should consist of the wisest of them, should take upon them to alter and change the shape of the greatest concerns in the whole, without the impartial advice of some continually active and solicitous in the mystery of it. But, this being so, it is no wonder our laws and council-book orders are so often forced to be changed, for being in direct opposition to a national interest. Therefore, as the first great remedy to the grievances attending our colonies, I do propose, that a council of trade may, by act of parliament, be established; to consist of a president, vice-president, and some convenient number of members; who may continually be sitting to hear, debate, and examine all sorts of proposals and difficulties that arise about trade: and that they may have such salaries out of the public purse, as may make the business worth wise men's attendance; that no proposal whatever should there be refused to receive a debate, and two or three hearings, or more, as the matter imports; that nothing should be dismissed with a refusal, but with the reasons the council had for doing it, annexed to the proposal: that no judgment of theirs should be final or concluding, but subject to review either there, at the privy-council, or parliament, when answers were, in writing, made and exhibited against such reasons: and that nothing should be advanced either in parliament or privy-council, that concerned the plantations, foreign negotiation, manufactures, trade, or patents for new inventions, which had not been weighed and examined, if not approved of, in mature debates at that council, when established.

If such a board as this was erected under members of large genius's, and proper rules, it would save me, and every other man concerned for the publick, the pains I and they take in writing on this sort of themes; and the memoirs, debates, and resolutions of that so necessary assembly would be the undoubted rules for guiding all commerce, as well as laying on of proper impositions upon trade. But, for want of such a court to have recourse to, I am forced to appeal to all mankind, by a more troublesome and tedious as well as less significant method, that is, writing a book; which may, if not lead to a remedy for the plantations, at least shew I designed nothing else, when I entered into the undertaking I formerly mentioned.

To hasten therefore to my desired end, I would propose as one effectual way to help the plantations, that a sufficient fund of money might be lodged there, to which as to an infallible bank every planter might have recourse, for credit, proportionable to the real value of what he has to give in security, be it land, stock, or goods. Now, that the want of a stock of money in the plantations, is a great hinderance to their increase, is plain from the great debt due from them to the African Company; which, as it increases, does more and more make the company incapable of sending them sufficient numbers of Negroes, at an equal and moderate price; as it does them to pay for them when they arrive. But, was there a sufficient bank upon the place, to which every man, at the common interest of the place, might have recourse; the grievance would

naturally end, and a plantation, like all increasing things, would thrive by its proper nourishment, money.

But it is objected, that the legal interest of the colonies is so high, that it gives sufficient encouragement to monied men to lend their money there, without a joint stock or great fund to be provided, and sent thither only for that purpose. But experience as well as right reason evince the contrary; for we see, (and the African Company sufficiently find,) that money and credit are the things most wanted there, notwithstanding the height of interest. For though a man, that has three or four thousand pounds to put out, would be glad to have ten per cent. rather than five for it, if it were equally legal and secure; yet will he not think it worth while to leave his native country, friends, and customary relations, to follow extraordinary five per cent. to the Barbadoes; or, if he did, would there lend it at interest, but would (as others do) endeavour to employ it in more profitable ways. And then to send it thither, or to any other colony, without going himself, is too hazardous for any prudent man to venture. But, if a sufficient joint stock was united under proper rules and privileges, for the use of all the plantations; there is no doubt but the bare encouragement of that extraordinary interest would sufficiently invite monied men into the society; when, without the least personal care or possibility of hazard, their business must of necessity be rightly negotiated by those proper methods all companies constantly take for the common interest of the society. And, as nothing could be of more advantage to the colonies, than a sufficient credit for every man that had a stock to have recourse to; so nothing could be more necessary for the public to do for them, than to unite such a stock for their use; which was one and the main branch of the undertaking, and would have answered the end of their wants; which is to buy what they want for ready money, at reasonable rates, which now all men know the needy planter can no ways do.

To compass the second end, which is to enable the planter to sell his commodity at a full saving price, a common factory is absolutely necessary; for whilst there are both poor and rich men in the world, their interests, in divided dealing, must of necessity clash. The poor man must sell his commodity at the price his pressing occasions force him to comply with, and the rich man must at last come to the same price, or never sell at all; when, perhaps, the consumption of the commodity, dealt in, would not be a jot more or less for twenty per cent. difference in the price. That this is the case in sugar, tobacco, and some other plantation commodities, is certain; so that nothing places the duty, laid by parliament on those things to be borne by the planter, but the necessitous seller, who must take the first chapman's money; or the necessitous factor, which is all one. That this is plain, they will all confess, that opposed a common factory: so I shall expose all that mystery; aiming more to do the business, and justify my own candour, than to anger any man concerned either for his reputation or profit.

Wherefore let it suffice on this head to say, that a common factory, if practicable and made equal, would keep up a full saving price in any commodity whatever, as well as sugar; and also would place any duty the parliament could invent upon the consumptioner, and not on the maker or dealer in it. And, that the common factory intended, was practically and equally designed, will to every disinterested man appear, who will but examine the draughts prepared to be offered to the assemblies of the several colonies, to whose approbation or dislike they were absolutely to be submitted, before any joint stock could have been united for their service. Nay, I dare further affirm, that no able or considerable factor but must have found his account, by employment in the common factory, equal to his business in his particular dealing; since all the persons to be employed therein, were always to be nominated by the several colonies, and to have been accountable to the planters for their produce.

But, leaving that matter at present, I do affirm, that nothing can ever keep up the just price of sugars, and other West-India commodities, like an equal common factory; and

that, well settled, would secure the planter against all accidents of new impositions, let them be what they would; provided it is paid back upon exportation, and a proportionable advance were placed on the same commodities coming from foreign parts: by which, as an equal standard, the parliament too would secure the nation from being imposed upon by any excessive price.

Another mighty benefit, both to the king, planter, and merchant, would accrue by a common factory; if the customs and impositions on their commodities were reduced to a commutation of so much per cent. upon sales, as was proportionable to them: for hereby the importer would not be burthened with paying down and risking his duty in trusting his chapman; nor could the king lose the least part of what was due to him; which conveniencies were provided for by another branch of the said undertaking.

But to pass again from that, I say nothing can enable the planters to buy necessaries cheap, like a sufficient bank of credit; nor nothing keeps up the price of the commodity, as plantations increase, like a common factory.

In the next place, to remedy another inconveniency attending those plantations; which is, being forced to bring their produce first into England, before they can send it to foreign markets.

But, if they had the privilege to carry those commodities directly abroad, which were fully meliorated, free from paying any duty or custom, and superfluous to our own consumption; the crown, which is the great end of the constraint, could not in the least suffer; and we with profit might gain all foreign markets, and set the price of those commodities abroad; which we cannot now do, being liable to a greater charge by longer voyages, double risks, and the expence of time and labour, in loading and unloading such goods; which was also provided for in another branch of the said undertaking.

To prevent the encroachment and misrepresentations of governors and malicious men, against the industrious planter, merchant, and inhabitants of those colonies; itinerant judges might be sent annually, fully impowered to inspect, examine, and represent matters to the privy-council at their return; and finally to determine any appeals from the supreme courts and councils there: to constitute which jurisdiction, it might be necessary that three or more of the members of the council of trade, having not the least private interest or dealing in those colonies, might be sent out, attended by a register or clerk of that grand assize with a man of war; first to touch at Barbadoes, next at the Leeward Islands, next at Jamaica, then at Carolina; so on through Virginia, Maryland, Pensylvania, New-York, and New-England, and so from thence home. The major part of them to be paramount in all civil cases to all governors, wherever they resided: that, immediately on their arrival, the assemblies should meet and sit; by whom they might receive a full account of the wants, defects, and requests of each place; and also examine the several administrations of goods belonging to persons in England by the death of relations and other matters, and prevent injustice or the necessity of fetching persons thence from their families or business on any complaints in England; that they might be obliged to hold a sort of term, for three weeks before setting out, to receive oaths of witnesses to be used in evidences there; as also pretences to estates of persons deceased, and controversies about bills of exchange; or any other matters which occasion delay now, and discourage dealings in those parts: that none of those judges should go two years successively together, but that a rotation of that employment as near as may be, should be appointed amongst the members which composed the council of trade; that they should have sufficient salaries for their trouble, and not be suffered to receive any other fee, present, or reward, besides meat and drink; whatever infinite number of conveniencies might arise to those plantations by such a last resort. The manner as well as the full jurisdiction I will omit; being necessary to be more enlarged upon, than I am willing in the short method I have proposed to myself.

In the next place, I cannot choose but think that the judges, after such a court was established, might omit taking cognisance of those malicious and troublesome, rather than

necessary complaints, about carrying people to the Indies; any man concerned, being there upon the place, able to make his complaint, and receive full damages for any abuse put upon him for an unvoluntary transportation or non-performance of the contract made with them. This would open the gap to many people's going thither, than which I have proved nothing can be of more advantage to the common-wealth; so that, by saving many troublesome fees, and other dangers, in sending white servants, they might be had much cheaper by the planter to his great encouragement.

In the next place, (begging pardon of the African company, if I err,) I cannot see an honest reason, why the planters should not be at full liberty to buy Blacks at the best market they can: the act of navigation preserved: for is their patent alone a sufficient justification to so perfect and mischievous a monopoly, as that inhibition they pretend to seems to be? For, though they may give many reasons to warrant that united stock and sole trading in Guiney to them; yet I cannot see that can hinder black slaves to be brought to the plantations by an English ship from any other place. But this I am sure of, that, since they may be had by private merchants one third cheaper than the company will afford them, they ought to be at liberty to have them, since the nation is ten times more gainer by the labour of the Blacks, than the company is by their price; and one third more of Blacks employed in planting, which would follow, if they were one third cheaper, would also enable them to sell the produce of the colonies one third cheaper, by which means they would be able to ruin all other foreign colonies; and in time we may, by cheap selling, get the whole trade of sugar into our hands; which must be such a national profit by this, and our former computations, that no argument on the other side for the company's interest can in the least balance. Besides, if it should be allowed, that the company furnishes the sugar-colonies with more than they are well paid for, at the price they take; yet they do not bring them in all one third so many as they could employ, and do furnish the tobacco-plantations with none at all (except what are first agreed for in England, and then the merchant pays extravagantly, and the planter must advance for the merchant's encouragement, and so pay a double profit) who would, if they had them at a moderate price, quickly double their numbers to a mighty increase of shipping and national wealth. Thus the prohibition and total engrossing the trade of Blacks, by the company, does several ways infinitely prejudice the plantations and industrious planters in them, as well as prejudice the publick; but, if the preservation of the Guiney trade be of such advantage to the kingdom, that the castles must be maintained, it is but reasonable those public things should fall equally on the publick; and not be made so many ways inconvenient to the most useful part of it, which is the industrious planter of America.

If it should be found necessary to support the African company for the good of the Guiney trade; at the same time, no doubt but that such care will be taken of the colonies, that they shall be better and cheaper supplied than they have been yet: therefore, with submission to the better understandings of others, among the many ways that may be thought convenient, I do humbly propose, that any planters may have them delivered by lots at a moderate price in the colonies; or that any planter or merchant, giving good security for the payment of their money in England at a certain time, may have Negroes at a certain moderate profit to the African company, put on board their ship at Guiney; or may have goods of the African company at a reasonable profit to be paid in England at the return of the ship; or that they may have liberty to go and trade thither, paying a moderate sum per cent. for leave to carry their own goods: for it is to be understood, that whatsoever burthen is put upon the Negroe-trade, the planter pays it, and it will so much lessen the increase of the plantations.

And since by no discerning person it can be denied, but that the sugar and tobacco colonies are of very great advantage to England: it is not to be questioned, but that our legislators will think it worth their while to methodize that commerce to the best advantage, and to suffer no hardship to be put upon the planter, that they may be enabled

to sell their commodities in foreign markets; the benefit of which, to England, will quickly be seen, and in a few years (is easily to be demonstrated) that they will bear out all nations that pretend to produce the like commodities: and then a moderate duty may be laid on their product for the foreigners to pay, which will make foreigners help to support the charge of the nation, and no way hurtful to the planter. By what has been said, for the sugar and tobacco colonies, may be said for all colonies, that produce the commodities of foreign nations, as silk, wines, oils, &c. and any other number of men that will engage to plant and produce, in such a term of years, such a quantity of commodities that are foreign commodities, and not already produced in our colonies, ought to be encouraged by this nation: for no trade can be so advantageous to this nation, for the increasing of navigation, and the consuming of our woollen manufacture, (and indeed every thing that is made or used in England,) as colonies; for they, being English, and having all their commerce from England, will always be initiating the customs, and fashions of England, both as to apparel, household furniture, eating, and drinking, &c. For it is impossible for them to forget from whence they come, or ever be at rest (after they have arrived to a plentiful estate) until they settle their families in England; by which means their industry, time, and labour, are to be spent for the enriching the English nation. Further I shall not enlarge; but leave what I have said to the judgment of every judicious reader, to amend wherein I may be defective.

The Plague at Westminster: or, An Order for the Visitation of a sick Parliament, grievously troubled with a new Disease, called the 'Consumption of their Members.' The Persons visited are:

The Earl of Suffolk,
The Earl of Lincoln,
The Earl of Middlesex,
The Lord Hunsdon,
The Lord Barkly,
The Ld. Willoughby of Parham,
The Lord Maynard,
Sir John Maynard,
Master Glyn, Recorder of London.

With a Form of Prayer, and other Rites and Ceremonies to be used for their Recovery: strictly commanded to be used in all Cathedrals, Churches, Chapels, and Congregations, throughout his Majesty's three Kingdoms, of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

Printed for V. V. in the Year 1647.

[Quarto, containing Six Pages.]

Let all the long-abused People of this Kingdom speedily repair, for the Remedy of all their Grievances, to the High-Place at Westminster: and, so soon as entered in to the Lords-House, let them reverently kneel down upon their bare knees, and say this new Prayer and Exhortation following:

O ALL mighty and everlasting Lords, we acknowledge and confess from the bottom of our hearts, that you have most justly plagued us these full seven years for our manifold sins and iniquities. Forasmuch, as we have not rebelled against you, but against the King, (our most gracious lord and governor,) to the abundant sorrow of our relenting hearts; to whose empty chair we now bow in all reverence, in token of our duty and obedience. For we now too well (O Lords) understand that we have grievously sinned, which hath made your honours give us up a spoil unto robbers, viz. your committees, sequestrators, excisemen, and pursuivants; besides your several instruments of torments, distinguished by the various names of colonels, lieutenant-colonels, majors, captains, quartermasters; and a certain sort of putredinous vermin, that you use to line hedges withal, vulgarly called dragoons, troopers, and the like, O Lords! These, besides your continual taxes, collections, assessments, and the like, (a burthen that breaks our backs and very hearts;) which continually follow one on the neck of another; besides your excises on our very flesh and apparel, with every particular belonging to our trade and livelihoods; our

wives, our daughters, our sons, our houses, our beds, our apparel, our horses, our hay, our beeves, our muttons, our lambs, our pigs, our geese, our capons, and the rest of our goods are forced from us, upon 'free quarters,' as they call it: and we poor wretched and languishing wretches, amounting to the number of millions of millions, being sufficiently humbled by all these plagues and punishments, (cry to your honours for redress) besides the large portion of our bloods which from the earth cries unto your honours, even as Abel's did unto Heaven; so we to you, mighty Lords. We therefore humbly pray and beseech you, that your honours would be graciously pleased (in your omnipotent power) to raise to life again, but to half a dozen thousand poor widows, their dear husbands; and many fatherless children, now in a languishing condition, will for ever magnify your honours for the same: or else your honours must expect the cry of the widow to heaven against you, the curse of the fatherless, and the cry of the earth; which already begins to vomit up that blood in your faces, which so rebelliously and unchristianly you have stained her's withal. She hath yet been a place of pleasure unto you, yielding no contagious air to infect you with those consuming diseases, that now reign amongst your honours, besides so many sorrows, distractions, disorders or passions, that visit your honours' consciences: all earthly creatures have been obedient unto you, mighty Lords. Finally, she hath yielded all things to your contentment, and nothing to your annoyance. We beseech you therefore consider the present miseries of our bodies, as, hunger, thirst, nakedness, want of our limbs, deformities, sickness, and mortality; the troubles of our minds, as fancies, fears, perplexities, anguishes, and other imperfections; likewise the general scourges that are amongst us, as, plagues, wars, and a thousand other hazardous calamities. Look but into our hospitals, we beseech you, and see lazars, cancers, fistulas, ulcers, and rottings, with wolves, sores, and festered carbuncles, frenzies, palsies, lethargies, falling-sicknesses, and lunaries. On the other side, we beseech you to consider the infirmities of our minds; the furious rages, envies, rancours, and corrosives; the unplacable sorrows and desperate passions; the continual hell-torments, and remorse of conscience (for our late forced rebellion against our King); and infinite other spritish fits and agonies you have brought upon us. Consider how you have made us incur the heavy displeasure of the most just and Christian Prince[1], that ever reigned in this kingdom; the malice and enmity of our equals; the contempt, ignominy, and reproach of all nations; the continual mocks and scoffs we receive of our inferiors; the fraud and treachery of all sorts and degrees; our frequent molestations by plunderings, sequestrations, loss of goods, limbs, liberties, friends, wives, and children. Consider what intolerable usage hath been to divers people, since the beginning of these unnatural wars, persecuted by the rage and fury of you, who would be called Christians, but indeed the worst of tyrants: What spoiling of our goods, shedding of our bloods, oppressing of innocents, persecution of godly and orthodox ministers[2], 'that the world was not worthy of;' as reverend Armagh, Westfield, Featly, Shute, and divers other learned and holy men; in whose places, what a litter of foxes have you put into God's vineyard, who root up the tender vines thereof; a crew of such vipers, that are not worth so much as the naming? What deflowring of virgins, abusing of matrons, compulsion unto wickedness and rebellion, and terrifying from all virtue and christian obedience? What inconveniencies and miseries have ensued by these unnatural and bloody wars? What alteration of estates and religion, subversion of three flourishing kingdoms, slaughtering of his Majesty's subjects, destroying of cities, and confusion of all order? That it is almost incredible, that so many and so strange calamities could befall so happy a people, as we lately were, in so short a space[3]. We humbly beseech you to consider these our just plaints, and speedily let us enjoy our King, our religion, our laws, our just liberties and estates, lest the anger of the Lord take harness, and arm all the creatures to the revenge of his enemies: he shall put on justice

[1] King Charles I.

[2] See a list of these ministers so persecuted and ejected, which immediately follows this pamphlet.

[3] As seven years.

for his breast-place, and shall take for his helmet certain judgment: he shall take equity as an impregnable buckler; he shall sharpen his dreadful wrath into a spear, and the world shall fight with him against such senseless persons. His throws of thunderbolts shall go directly, and shall be driven, as it were, from a well-bended bow, and shall hit at a certain place. Against them shall the spirit of might stand, and, like a whirlwind, shall divide them; and shall bring all the land of their iniquity to a desart; and shall overthrow the seats of the mighty.

These are shrewd *items*, high and mighty Lords, and may cause you to peach one another still, and charge thorough and thorough, as well as round; yet the silly commons will hardly be gulled so: they hope to recover their wits again, and will now listen to his Majesty, as once they might have done and have preserved their now lost estates: the twentieth part, divided amongst so many sharers, comes but to a very little. Waller's might come to some twelve butter-firkins full of gold. John Pym, that lousy esquire, might have been a second Crœsus, had he lived; and Charles his son, a very Dives, in spite of Lincoln's-Inn pump: but he fears no peaching now, nor Hambden, nor Strowd, nor Stapleton neither; their charge will hardly be drawn up till Dooms-day in the afternoon, and then the city shall receive their debts on the public faith, and learn more wit: by which time plundering will be out of request, and sir Politick-would-be's, (those great statists, that draw all into their own coffers, and cry with the devil, 'All is mine,') will then find to their costs, that their accompts are already cast up, and their reckoning then upon the paying. In the mean time, 'whilst thieves fall out, true folks may come by their goods.' Therefore, as the Psalmist saith, *Gladius ipsorum intret in corda eorum*, i. e. 'Let their own swords enter into their own hearts,' and let their destruction arise from themselves; let them dig their own graves; let them (as they have already) cut off those anchors, that should preserve themselves from shipwreck; let them, like enraged dogs, break their teeth on that stone that is flung at them; not so much as looking at the hand that flings it: whilst we, miserable wretches, in this vassalage and servility, are daily oppressed with so many incessant afflictions, worse than an Egyptian bondage, we may cry out with the Israelites, *Ingemiscentes propter opera vociferari*, i. e. 'lamenting our intolerable slavery,' cry out unto God, from whom (and not from your Pharaoh-like honours) we must expect deliverance. Amen.

Then let the Parties, if they find no Redress, turn unto the House of Commons, and say, as followeth:

WE humbly beseech you, the knights and burgesses, chosen and put in trust by your several countries, to redress our grievances, (not to make us new grievances to cure our maladies; not, in a desperate madness, to kill us, instead of curing us,) to keep us from robbing, not to rob us yourselves. That you would, with the eye of compassion, look upon our manifold miseries, before recited, in supplication to the Lords. We must acknowledge and confess, that you have done the part of a body, without a head[4]; and taken great pains, though but to little purpose, in pulling down crosses off the churches, and steeples, and breaking glass-windows; whilst ye have erected greater crosses in our religion and estates, that makes (at this time) the glazed windows of our eyes to overflow. You have taken mickle pains in making votes, orders, and ordinances; yet we never the better, but rather worse and worse: whilst you are divided amongst yourselves, you have divided our inheritance; and divided the King from his royal spouse, children, and parliament, and would have divided him from his honour, and coronation-oath; divided the souls from our bodies as well as our shoes; divided religion into a thousand sects, schisms, heresies, and blasphemies, even against the Persons in the sacred Trinity. And now will you leave us in

[4] Forasmuch as the House of Commons represents the body of the nation, which are the people: over whom the King only is the head.

this mist of errors and calamities, and every one take shipping, as lately Waller, Stapleton, Nichols, and many others? Which increaseth our fears, that you will give but an ill account of so many of our lives, so much of our estates, &c. &c. &c. you may guess what I mean. You may give losers leave (through lamentable experience) to speak, though I believe to little purpose; therefore, *vale*, our trust is in the Lord, &c.

Here let all the People sing Psal. xliii. 'Judge and revenge,' &c. And then, (facing about to Henry the Seventh's Chapel,) let all the People rehearse the Articles of their new reformed Faith; and after say, as followeth:

MOST holy Fathers, whether universal, national, provincial, consistorial, classical synodians, whose learned consultations, pious debates, sacred conclusions, spiritual decrees, evangelical counsels, infallible divinity, hath cost us so many thousand pounds, for the space of almost these five years; to compose the two tables of the Law and the Gospel, the ordinance for tithes, and the directory: we magnify your sanctity, we adore your holy reformation, and highly commend your unerring spirits, for the great pains you have taken in your several sciences of equivocations, mental reservations, false glosses, comments, paraphrases, expositions, opinions, and judgments, that for a long time have cheated and deluded us: for your pious zeal and affection for the cause, in setting us on to kill one another, and freely to venture all, all but the tenths, tithes, offerings, and oblations: those are yours *jure divino;* besides all the fat benefices and goodly revenues that belong unto you, besides the four shillings a day, and the fees of your classical courts; and the ten groats for drinking a Sundays. We beseech ye, by all these, pray against the plaguy diseases your hypocrisy hath brought upon the two Houses of Parliament, and the whole kingdom; by heresy, poverty, impeachments, charges, banishments, and the like. Amen.

Then let the people sing the forty-first Psalm; and so depart.

A general Bill of the Mortality of the Clergy of London: or, A brief Martyrology and Catalogue of the learned, grave, religious, and painful Ministers of the City of London, who have been imprisoned, plundered, and barbarously used, and deprived of all Livelihood for themselves and their Families, in the late Rebellion; for their Constancy in the Protestant Religion, established in this Kingdom, and their Loyalty to their King, under that grand Persecution.

London, Printed against St. Bartholomew-Day, 1661.

[Quarto, containing Six Pages.]

THE Cathedral Church of St. Paul's, the Dean, Residentiaries, and other members of that church; sequestered, plundered, and turned out.

St. Allhallows, Wood-street, Dr. Watts; sequestered, plundered, his wife and children turned out of doors, and himself forced to fly.

St. Allhallows, Barking, Dr. Lafield; pursuivanted, imprisoned in Ely-house, and the ships; sequestered and plundered, afterwards forced to fly.

St. Allhallows, Lombard-street, Mr. Weston; sequestered.

St. Alphage's, Dr. Halsie; shamefully abused, his cap pulled off, to see if he were not a shaven priest, voted out, and dead with grief.

St. Andrew's, Hubbard, Dr. Chambers; sequestered.

St. Andrew's, Undershaft; 1. Mr. Mason; through vexation forced to resign. 2. Mr. Prichard; after that sequestered.

St. Andrew's, Wardrobe, Dr. Isaakson; sequestered.

St. Anne's, Aldersgate, Dr. Clewet; sequestered.

St. Austin's parish, Mr. Udall; sequestered, his bed-rid wife turned out of doors, and left in the streets.

St. Bartholomew's, Exchange, Dr. Grant; sequestered.

St. Bennet's, Finch, Mr. Warfield; sequestered.

St. Bennet's, Grace-church, Mr. Quelch; sequestered.

St. Bennet's, Paul's Wharf, Mr. Adams; sequestered.

St. Bennet's, Sherhog, Mr. Morgan; dead with grief.

St. Botolph's, Billingsgate, Mr. King; sequestered, and forced to fly.

Christ-Church, Mr. Finch; turned out and dead.

St. Christopher's, Mr. Hanslow; forced to resign.

St. Clement's, East-Cheap, Mr. Stone; shamefully abused, sequestered, sent prisoner to Plymouth, and plundered.

St. Dionis's, Back-church, Mr. Humes; sequestered and abused.

St. Dunstan's, East, Mr. Childerly; reviled, abused, and dead.

St. Edmond's, Lombard-street, Mr. Pagit; molested, silenced, and dead.

St. Ethelburga's, Mr. Clark; sequestered, and imprisoned.

St. Faith's, Dr. Browne; sequestered, and dead.

St. Vedast's, Foster-lane, Mr. Batty; sequestered, plundered, forced to fly, and dead

St. Gabriel's, Fen-church, Mr. Cook; sequestered.

St. George's, Botolph-lane } Dr. Styles; forced to resign.
St. Gregory's, by St. Paul's }

St. Hellen's, Mr. Milward; turned out, and dead.

St. James's, Duke's-place, Mr. ———; sequestered.

St. James's, Garlick-hith; 1. Mr. Freeman, plundered and sequestered. 2. Mr. Anthony, his curate, turned out.

St. John Baptist's, Mr. Weemsley; sequestered.

St. John Zachary's, Mr. Edlin; sequestered, forced to fly, and plundered.

St. Catharine's, Coleman-street; 1. Dr. Hill; forced to resign. 2. Mr. Kilbuts; sequestered.

St. Catharine's, Cree-church, Mr. Rush; turned out.

St. Laurence's, Jewry, Mr. Crane; sequestered.

St. Leonard's, East-cheap, Mr. Calf; forced to give up to Mr. Roborow, scribe to the assembly.

St. Leonard's, Foster-lane, Mr. Ward; forced to fly, plundered, sequestered, and dead for want of necessaries.

St. Margaret's, Lothbury, Mr. Tabor; plundered, imprisoned in the King's-Bench, his wife and children turned out of doors at midnight, and he sequestered.

St. Margaret's, New Fish-street, Mr. Porry; forced to fly, plundered, and sequestered.

St. Margaret's, Pattons, Mr. Meggs; plundered, imprisoned, in Ely-house, and sequestered.

St. Mary's, Abchurch, Mr. Stone; plundered, sent prisoner by sea to Plymouth, and sequestered.

St. Mary's, Aldermary, Mr. Brown; forced to forsake it.

St. Mary le Bow's, Mr. Leech; sequestered, and dead with grief.

St. Mary's Bothaw, Mr. Proctor; forced to fly, and sequestered.

St. Mary's Hill; 1. Dr. Baker, sequestered, pursuivanted, and imprisoned. 2. Mr. Woodcock, turned out, and forced to fly.

St. Mary's Mounthaw, Mr. Thrall; sequestered, and shamefully abused.

St. Mary's Somerset, Mr. Cook; sequestered.

St. Mary's Wool-church, Mr. Tireman; forced to forsake it.

St. Mary's Woolnoth, Mr. Shuite; molested and vexed to death, and denied a funeral sermon to be preached by Dr. Holdsworth, as he desired.

St. Martin's, Ironmonger-lane, Mr. Sparke; sequestered and plundered.

St. Martin's, Ludgate, Dr. Jermin; sequestered.

St. Martin's, Orgars, Dr. Walton; assaulted, sequestered, plundered, and forced to fly; Mr. Mosse, his curate, turned out.

St. Martin's, Outwich, Dr. Pierce; sequestered, and dead.

St. Martin's, Vintry, Dr. Ryves; sequestered, plundered, and forced to fly.

St. Matthew's, Friday-street, Mr. Chestlin; violently assaulted in his house; imprisoned in the Compter, thence sent to Colchester jail in Essex, sequestered and plundered.

St. Maudlin's, Milk-street, Mr. Jones; sequestered.

St. Maudlin's, Old Fish-street, Dr. Griffith; sequestered, plundered, and imprisoned in Newgate, whence being let out, he was forced to fly, and since imprisoned again in Peterhouse.

St. Michael's, Bassishaw, Dr. Gifford; sequestered.

St. Michael's, Cornhill; 1. Dr. Brough; sequestered, plundered, wife and children turned out of doors, his wife dead with grief. 2. Mr. Weld, his curate; assaulted, beaten in the church and turned out.

St. Michael's, Queen-hith, Mr. Hill; sequestered.

St. Michael's, Quern, Mr. Launce; sequestered.

St. Michael's Royal, Mr. Proctor; sequestered, and forced to fly.

St. Mildred's, Bread-street, Mr. Bradshaw; sequestered.

St. Mildred's, Poultry, Mr. Maden; sequestered, and gone beyond sea.

St. Nicholas Acons, Mr. Bennet; sequestered.

St. Nicholas's Cole-Abby, Mr. Chibald; sequestered.

St. Nicholas Olave's, Dr. Cheshire; molested, and forced to resign.

St. Olave's, Hart-street, Mr. Haines; sequestered.

St. Olave's, Jewry, Mr. Tuke; sequestered, plundered, and imprisoned.

St. Olave's, Silver-street, Dr. Boosie; abused, and dead with grief.

St. Pancrass's, Soper-lane, Mr. Eccop; sequestered, plundered, forced to fly, his wife and children turned out of doors.

St. Peter's, Cheap-side, Mr. Vocheir; sequestered, and dead with grief.

St. Peter's, Cornhill, Dr. Fairfax; sequestered, plundered, imprisoned in Ely-house and the ships, his wife and children turned out of doors.

St. Peter's, Paul's Wharf, Mr. Marbury; sequestered.

St. Peter's Poor, Dr. Holdsworth; sequestered, plundered, imprisoned in Ely-house, then in the Tower.

St. Stephen's, Walbrook, Dr. Howell; through vexation forced to fly.

St. Swithin's, Mr. Owen; sequestered.

St. Thomas Apostle's, Mr. Cooper; sequestered, plundered, sent prisoner to Leeds-Castle, in Kent, is dead with grief.

Trinity parish, Mr. Harrison; sequestered.

N. B. In the ninety-seven parishes within the Walls, besides St. Paul's, outed eighty-five, and dead sixteen.

Parishes without the Walls.

ST. ANDREW'S, Holborn, Dr. Hacket; sequestered.
St. Bartholomew's Great, Bishop Westfield; abused in the street, sequestered, forced to fly, and is dead.
St. Bartholomew's Less; 1. Mr. Henshaw. 2. Mr. Hall.
St. Bride's parish, Mr. Palmer; sequestered.
Bridewell Precinct, Mr. Browne; turned out.
St. Botolph's, Aldersgate, Mr. Booth; sequestered and plundered.
St. Botolph's, Aldgate, Dr. Swadlin; sequestered, plundered, imprisoned at Gresham College and Newgate, his wife and children turned out of doors.
St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, Mr. Rogers; sequestered.
St. Dunstan's West, Dr. Marsh; sequestered, and died in remote parts.
St. George's Southwark, Dr. Hobson; sequestered.
St. Giles's, Cripplegate; 1. Dr. Fuller sequestered, plundered, and imprisoned at Ely-house. 2. Mr. Hutton, his curate; assaulted in the church and imprisoned.
St. Olave's, Southwark, Dr. Turner; sequestered, plundered, fetched up prisoner with a troop of soldiers, and after forced to fly.
St. Sepulchre's parish, Mr. Pigot, the lecturer; turned out.
St. Thomas's, Southwark, Mr. Spencer; sequestered, and imprisoned.

N. B. In the sixteen parishes without the Walls, outed fourteen, dead two.

In the ten Out-Parishes.

ST. CLEMENT'S DANES, Dr. Dukson; sequestered, plundered, and forced to fly.
Covent-garden, Mr. Hall; sequestered, and forced to fly.
St. Giles's in the Fields, Dr. Heywood; sequestered, imprisoned in the Compter, Ely-house, and the ships, forced to fly, his wife and children turned out of doors.
St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, Mr. Squire; sequestered, imprisoned in Gresham College, Newgate, and the King's Bench, his wife and children plundered and turned out of doors.
St. Martin's in the Fields, Dr. Bray; sequestered, imprisoned, plundered, forced to fly, and dead in remote parts.
St. Mary's, White-chapel, Dr. Johnson; sequestered.
St. Magdalen's, Bermondsey, Dr. Paske; sequestered.
Savoy; 1. Dr. Balcanquell; sequestered, plundered, forced to fly, and dead in remote parts. 2. Mr. Fuller; forced to fly.

N. B. In the ten out-parishes, Outed nine, dead two.

In the adjacent Towns.

THE Dean and all the Prebends of the Abby-Church, Westminster, (but only Mr. Lambert Obaston) sequestered.
St. Margaret's, Westminster, Dr. Wimberly; sequestered.
Lambeth, Dr. Featly; sequestered, plundered, imprisoned, and dead a prisoner.
Newington, Mr. Heath; sequestered.
Hackney, Mr. Moore; sequestered.
Islington, divers ministers turned out.
Stepney, Dr. Stamp; sequestered, plundered, and forced to fly.

N. B. In the adjacent towns, besides those of the Abby-Church and Islington, outed five, dead one.

The total of the ministers of London, within the Bills of Mortality (besides St. Paul's and Westminster) turned out of their livings by sequestration and otherwise, one-hundred and fifteen.

Whereof were doctors in divinity, above forty.

And the most of them plundered of their goods, and their wives and children turned out of doors.

Imprisoned in London, and in the ships, and in the several jails and castles in the country, twenty.

Fled, to prevent imprisonment, twenty-five.

Dead in remote parts and in prisons, with grief, twenty-two.

About forty churches void, having no constant minister in them.

Usquequo, Domine[1] *!* Revel. vi. 10.

[1] 'How long, O Lord, holy and true ! dost thou not judge and avenge our blood,' &c.

A briefe and true Declaration of the Sicknesse, last Wordes, and Death of the King of Spaine, Philip, the Second of that Name; who died in his Abbey of S. Laurence at Escuriall, seven Miles from Madrill[1], the Thirteenth of September, 1598. Written from Madrill, in a Spanish Letter; and translated into English according to the true Copie.

Printed at London, by Edm. Bollifant, 1599.

[Quarto, containing a Sheet and an Half.]

This is the King of Spain, whose cruelties in the Indies and the Netherlands have recorded him among the most bloody tyrants; and his continual attempts to poison, assassinate, or dethrone Queen Elizabeth, and to invade and conquer England, have rendered his name odious to every true Englishman: and whose universal character is a compound of pride, ambition, injustice, oppression, treachery, and bloodshed. For all which, by the short account following, you will perceive, that God called him to judgment; and, by the plague of lice, declared his detestation of that sinful prince, before he departed this life. Yet, in this same account, it is remarkable, that he was arrived to that state of hypocritical insensibility and delusion, that he thought all his barbarities, treachery, and treasons, were doing God service, and that himself was ready to depart this life in the favour of God.

TO satisfie my promise, and to give answere to your letters, requiring my advertisement of these present occurrences, I pray you understand, that this yeere, 1598, the royal Majestie of our Lord, Don Philip the Third, being then but prince, was upon S. John's day, in the market-place at Madrill, to beholde the bullbaytings[2], and other pas-

[1] *al.* Madrid.

[2] Bull-feasts, which are a sport different from the English bull-baitings; in as much as these are performed by dogs; but the Spanish are the recreation of men on horseback, who, attended with running footmen to supply them with lances, attack a mad bull at full liberty, and never quit him till they have killed him.

tymes which were there; at which sports the King his father (which is now in Heaven) was not present by reason of the paine of the gout which sore troubled him. His Highnes, being returned from the foresaid place, discoursed unto his father all that he had seene; whereupon his Majestie answered: "I am right glad to see thee so pleasant, for thou shalt never, so long as I live, see me have any ease or comfort in this my painfull disease:" And therefore commaunded preparation to be made for his removing to Escuriall. Doctor Marcado, one of his ordinarie phisitions, tolde him, 'he ought not to stirre, least the extremitie of his paine should increase.' The King answered, 'Seeing I must be carried thither, when I am dead, I had rather be carried thither, being alive.' So that in the end, to satify his desire, his footmen took him upon their shoulders, and spent sixe daies in going those seaven miles; where, after that he came, he was better for some fewe daies, though he was not able to stand, but was forced either to sit or to lie. But presently the goute re-seasing him, accompanied with a fever, made him far sicker than before. His phisitions shewed all the skil they could to give him some ease; but the extremitie of paine so increased, that presently he entred into consideration of his soule, by shriving or confessing himselfe, and receiving the sacrament; at which instant he commaunded Garcin de Loyaza to be consecrated Archbishop of Toledo, which was performed by the Pope's nuncio, with all the solemnities and rites accustomed. There happened also to this good king, upon his right knee, a bile, so angrie and swellinge, that he could take no rest; his phisitions being amazed thereat, one Elias, phisition of Toledo, by whose advice and direction of others, one Vergara a licentiate surgeon, having applied all fit meanes to ripen the sore, opened it, and let foorth all the bad matter therein contained; soone after the which, there arose fower other biles upon his breast, which likewise were ripened, opened, and cleansed: this corrupt matter bred a great companie of lice, which were very hard to be killed; he remaining in this mean time so weake, that he was faine to be turned in sheetes, and lift up with fower men, whilest two other made all things plaine, soft, and cleane under him. Ten daies before he died, he fell into so great a traunce (lasting five howers) that it was easily perceived, that his life and vital powers began to faile; which caused divers lords in Madrill to provide mourning garments. Being returned to himselfe, he said to the Archbishop and to those of the chamber there present: "My friends and subjects, your sorrowes are of no force to recover my health; for no humane remedie can profit me. The chiefe matter of your care ought to be provide, in time, all necessaries for my funerals; and, in the meane time I commaunde you to call hither your prince, which shall be your future king; and fetch hither unto me my coffin that I shall be laide in, and place here, upon this little cupboord[3], a dead man's skull crowned with my imperial crowne." All which was forthwith done. The Prince and the Infanta, his sister, being in presence, the King called for John Ruyz de Valasco, putting him in minde of a cofer[4], which he had committed to his custodie, willing him to fetch it: the cofer was very little, yet, when it was brought, he caused it to be opened; and, taking foorth a pretious stone of an infinite value, caused it to be delivered to his daughter, speaking thus unto hir: "My daughter Izabella Eugenia Clara, receive this jewell, brought unto me by your mother, the which I bestowe upon you for my last farewell." And then, turning him to the Prince, said, "Are you contented with this, that I give unto your sister?" Who answered, "Yea, Sir; although you gave her all that I have." This answere lyking the King very wel, he willed them to looke in the cofer for another paper; and, giving it to the Prince, he told him, that therein he should see the forme how to govern his kingdome. Then they tooke out of the said cofer a whip with bloudie knots, which the King holding up, said, "This bloud is mine owne, and yet not mine, but my father's, who is in Heaven, who made use of this kind of exercise; and therefore to make known the value of it, and the trueth of it, I thought good to reveale it unto you." After this he commaunded a paper to be taken from under his pillow, which, being read by John Ruyz, contained these words: 'We, 'Philip, by the grace of God, King of Castile and Lion, &c. having governed this realme

[3] *al.* cabinet. [4] *al.* a small box or trunk.

'forty yeeres, in the seventy-first yeere of mine age, give over this kingdome unto my 'God, to whom it belongeth, and commend my soule into his blessed hands, to performe 'therewith whatsoever it shall please his Divine Majestie: commaunding that this my 'bodie, so soone as ever my soule shall be separated from the same, be embalmed; then 'apparelled with a royall robe, and so placed in this brazen shrine heere present; and that 'the howers[5] be kept, with all rites and ceremonies as the lawe requireth; and I com-'maund my funerall to be solemnized in this manner. Before shall be borne the Arch-'bishop's banner; then the crosse; the monkes and the clergie presentlie shall followe, 'all in mourning garments: the adelantado[6] shall beare the royall standard, trailing it 'upon the ground: the Duke of Nayara shall carrie the crowne under a canopie: the 'Marquesse of Aguillar shall carrie the sword. My body shall be borne by eight of my 'chiefest servants, all in mourning-weedes, with burning torches in their handes. The 'Archbishop shall follow the Nobles, and our universal Heir shall follow on the one side 'all in dewle[7]. When they come to the church, my body shall be placed in the herse 'there of purpose erected. All the praiers and devotions ended, the prelate shall place 'me in the vault, my last habitation, which shall be given to me for ever. All this per-'formed, your Prince[8], and third King of that name, shall go to S. Jerosmes[9] at Madrill; 'there to keep the holy ceremonies of the ninth daie yeerely; and my daughter, with my 'sister, her aunt, shall go to the Gray Nunnes barefoote.' Then, speaking to the Prince, he saide, "Besides all that which I have heertofore spoken to you, I pray you have a great care and regard to your sister; because shee was my looking-glasse and the light of mine eies. Keepe the commonwealth in peace; placing there good governors to rewarde the good, and punish the bad. Let the Marquesse of Mondeiar be delivered out of prison, on this condition, that he come not to the court. Let the wife of Antonio Perez also be set at libertie, so that from hencefoorth shee live in a monasterie, and let her daughters inherite the patrimonie which shee brought. Forgive those which are prisoners for hunting, with all such as are condemned to die (the King's pardon wanting); and so I give my last farewell to my children, commending them to all peace and safetie." Then the Prince asked Don Christofer de Mora, for the royall key, commaunding him to deliver it to him; who craved pardon of his Highness, because it was the key of all trust and confidence, which hee could in no wise deliver, without the leave of his Lord the King. "Well, (said the Prince,) it is ynough:" and so went into his chamber; whilst Don Christofer, returning to the King, whome he found a little cheered, said unto him, "Sir, his Highness asked of me the royall key, which I have denied him, as having no leave from your Majestie." But the King told him, he had done ill. Not long after he fell into another fit, whereupon he called for the extreme unction[10]; which was given unto him by the Archbishop. Then he called for a crucifixe which had beene kept safely in a chest, which was the very same his father held betweene his hands, when he died; with the which he desired likewise to die. Hereupon his Highness returned to his father; at whose comming, Don Christofer, upon his knees, presented to him the royall key, which the Prince received, and gave it to the Marquesse of Denia; whereupon the King said to him, "Remember, I commende unto you Don Christofer, for the most faithfull servant which I ever had; and so have care of all the rest, which I commende unto you." And so he took his leave of him againe, imbracing him; at which instant his speech failed; and in this sort he continued two daies, and died upon Sunday, the thirteenth of September, about three of the clocke in the morning. The body was buried upon Munday the fourteenth of that moneth, about nine of the clocke in the morning, the Archbishop saying the masse. The new King came from Escuriall, the sixteenth of that instant, leaving his sister at the Gray Nunnes, and so went to S. Jerosmes; the court remaining in great mourning and lamentation, making preparation for the great funerall.

[5] i. e. The office of the dead shall be performed. [6] Adelantado is the Admiral of the Galleys.
[7] i. e. Mourning. [8] Philip. [9] A convent of Jeronimite friars.
[10] A Sacrament of the Romish church: it is oil-olive consecrated by a bishop for the anointing such persons, of whose life there is no hope.

The Pacquet-Boat Advice: or, a Discourse concerning the War with France; between some English Gentlemen and a Frenchman, betwixt Calais and Dover.

Omnis fabula fundatur in veritate.

London, printed, MDCLXXVIII.

[Quarto, containing Twenty-one Pages.]

HAVING received advice from some of my friends in England, that there was a little cloud of discontent arising, by reason of the jealousies of the growing greatness of the French, their many great and unexpected conquests, which they seemed not only obstinately resolved to keep themselves possessed of, but, by the progress of their arms, to enlarge and extend; and guessing, that, in all probability, these storms would not be allayed without some showers of blood, I began to unfix myself from my residence at Mompellier, whither my curiosity, and the course of my studies, had carried me; and my intentions were to have spent some time, and then to have passed over the Alps to see Italy, the garden of the world.

But receiving letters of fresh date, giving an account of his Highness the Prince of Orange's marriage with the Lady Mary, and his Majesty's calling of the parliament sooner than the general expectation: I began then to think, that there was something at the bottom of the flying rumours. Being not willing to run the hazard of being ill treated in France, where I had not so perfectly made myself master of the language as to pass for a native; and considering, that I had no way to support myself, but by bills of exchange or begging, if there should be a war between the two nations; I began to reflect how difficult it would be for me to secure myself of constant supplies, and that, if I had them, possibly, I might run the risk of being suspected and seized for an intelligencer; and not daring to trust to the charity of a people who are so impoverished, as generally rather to expect it from strangers, than to afford it them; and where my very being an Englishman would deprive me of the charity of such as were able, since they would look upon me as an enemy; and in truth, fancying that I should make a very ill beggar, it being a trade I had no acquaintance with: Upon these considerations, I thought it more adviseable to take my leave of France, and to retire into my native country. Upon which resolution I departed, with the first conveniency that offered, for Paris; where, when I arrived, the rumour was hot amongst the English, that there would be a war, and that very speedily, though the French were very mute and hush about it.

These considerations made me think of staying less time than I intended at Paris; and therefore I made immediately for Calais, in order to my coming over in the pacquet-boat for Dover.

We went a-board with the morning-tide, the day proving exceeding fair, and the wind which we had scarce enough, and not directly for us; it made our passage something more tedious; but, however, the company were so civil to themselves, and one to another, as to endeavour to shorten the passage, by stealing some hours in entertaining themselves with variety of discourses upon sundry subjects.

Amongst the rest, there was one gentleman who started the discourse, concerning the present rumour of the war, and desired the opinion of the company about it, whether they did believe it would prove so in good earnest, or whether it was not only an overture and appearance? His concern and inquisitiveness made me guilty of the same humour; and rather because (amongst a great variety of entertainment) all the company had discovered themselves, as to their designs and professions, and some of them without any reserve,

even to their very names, and the places of their habitation; yet I found this person not so innocent and simply liberal; only he told us he was a merchant in Paris, who had some correspondents in England, and that the news of the war had persuaded him to cross over the seas, and so for London; to endeavour to secure his effects there, in case there should be a rupture in good earnest, and that he had considerable bills of exchange upon the account of several of the greatest French merchants in England. I gave him the patience of hearing; but, I confess, no great credit to his words: for methought his mien, his equipage, and his discourse, betrayed something more in him, than mere merchant; and I perceived he had been abroad upon other affairs than those of traffick, for he gave us a punctual account of the most considerable actions of the present war in Flanders and Germany. But that which gave me the greatest suspicion, was his frequent mention of something more than a bare knowledge of most of the great persons of the court of France; and particularly of Monsieur Lovois, and Monsieur Colbert[1], whom he called the great patron of merchants, trade, and industry, extolling him to Heaven, and protesting, that if his designs took effect, France would be the only emporium, or market of the world. This jealousy, that he did trade with these great persons only for diamonds, having once infected my imagination, I had a curiosity to drive it as far as I could, with all the studied ignorance and simplicity I was capable of; and pretended great kindness to this nation; a folly too common, and usually true with the English, who are wont, with a kind of witchcraft, to dote upon the French. So that we fell smartly upon the subject of the war; and, in regard I appeared most forward in my civility, and ready to entertain his discourse, he thought he had met with a right English spaniel; and therefore, making his application particularly to me, "Monsieur, (saith he,) you are an Englishman, and though you have spent some time in France, yet, I doubt not, but by your appearance, which seems to discover you to be no common person, you have good intelligence from persons of condition; you will infinitely oblige the company, and myself in a most particular manner, if you will honour us with your opinion, whether or no you do believe, that we shall fall from those good terms of friendship and alliance, which his Majesty of Great-Britain has hitherto conserved for his most Christian Majesty?"

"Sir, (replied I,) you set too obliging a value upon the opinion of a stranger; but it is the usual effect of your generosity, which I shall in some measure endeavour to merit, by my obedience to your commands:" for I was willing to pay him with his own coin. "But, Sir, (added I,) your question is of too great consideration, to find a resolution from my private opinion. Affairs of that high nature are only transacted in the cabinets of our great masters; and it may be, it is no less a point of presumption than folly, for us to concern ourselves about them." "Monsieur, (said he briskly,) what we say is only to divert our passage, and to borrow an hour or two from these slow sails and the wind, which uses not at this time of the year to be so sluggish. But, in my opinion, there are several reasons which may be alledged to persuade the world that this will not come to blows."

"Sir, (said a good blunt gentleman, with a scar of honour in his face, who lay all along in the boat, and had not spoken till then,) it may be you are not so well acquainted with the English, as I am; for my part, I am not much concerned in affairs of state, nor am I acquainted with the counsels of princes; but let me assure you, by what I have heard and know, that, if it were put to the vote of the people, 'Whether a war, or no war with France;' I believe, not one in a thousand, but would be for a war."

"Monsieur, (said the Frenchman, a little fired at his discourse,) no wonder at that; the people are like the element which now carries us, full of floods and ebbs; and, it may be, they will to morrow be as forward for a peace, as to-day they are for a war. You English love to talk of wars, but you hate to part with your money to defray the charge of it."

[1] [This seems to have been Colbert the elder, Marquis Seignelai, and prime-minister to Louis XIV. whose character as a patriotic statesman was deserving of the highest eulogium.]

" Sir, (said the gentleman, raising himself a little,) I know not whether we can part with our money, but we will part with our blood freely. It is said, indeed, you part with yours, and shoot golden bullets, and make use of keys of the same metal, which will open a breach, or a gate, into the strongest fortifications; but, Sir, we have been used to do it with steel and iron, and yet, give me leave to tell you, I hope we shall be so wise, rather to part with our money, than to keep it till the French come with armed troops to collect it, as they do in their own country: and I hope, yet before I die, to help to open some of the gates of Paris with that hard metal, and to hear the drums beat the heavy English march through the streets again, which once spoiled a jest of one of your kings."

" Monsieur, (said the French merchant, as he called himself, biting the nails of his thumbs, by which I knew he was angry,) *jerne diabile*, you will find something to do before you come there; the King of France has two-hundred thousand *gens d'arms*, and one hundred sail of ships, who will speak thunder and lightning, and make bold to stop your passage."

" Messieurs, (interposed I, not willing to have these heats spoil our conversation,) be so obliging not to transport yourselves into a heat, about an affair, which was only started for our divertisement; there is no war yet, and I hope none there will be." " Sir, (answered the English gentleman fiercely,) there is not, but I hope there will be, and that quickly too." This gentleman, as I understood after our landing, was an English captain, a soldier of fortune, who was taken prisoner going wounded from Maestricht; and not having wherewith to ransom himself, according to the rate set upon him, had been a long time very ill used amongst the French; but, having made friends to procure a small ransom, (which they were willing to take, rather than none at all,) and having got his liberty, was coming over to look for some employ wherewith he might at once satisfy both his necessity and revenge. I gave him a little sign, which he understood; and, being unwilling to hinder the prosecution of the discourse he laid himself down again: upon which I took up the former argument of my French merchant, and desired him to favour us with the reasons that moved him to believe there would be no war?

" Monsieur, (said he,) can the English nation possibly live more happily than at present they do; whilst enjoying peace they have the commerce and traffick of the whole world, without paying any *gabels*, taxes, I think, you call them? And would it not be a strange thing for them to put their finger into their neighbours' fire when there is no necessity; when they have all the assurances of his most Christian Majesty, that he has all the honour and esteem for them imaginable; and that he would be ready to do them all the good offices, as his Majesty did in the late war with Holland in 1665, when the Count D'Estrees was sent with a squadron of gallant ships to your assistance against the Dutch?"

" Monsieur, (said I,) people speak variously of that assistance; and I have heard some persons affirm, that Monsieur D'Estrees did the English more prejudice than kindness; and I remember, I saw a letter, which affirmed, that the not coming-in of the French squadron ravished an assured victory from the English."

Upon which the steersman of the vessel would put in his oar into the boat: " Marry, (said he,) I was then a-board of the London, under Sir John Harman, and I saw never a ship of the French strike a stroke; but, how do you call him, Monsieur Martin, he fought like a gallant man, board and board with the Dutch; but, they say, when he came home, he was clapped up in the Tower of Paris for his pains."

" Friend, (said I, to him,) you mean Monsieur Martel, and that he was made a prisoner in the Bastile; but it was not for fighting, but for disobeying the order of his admiral." " Monsieur, (added the French merchant,) it was for some language which he gave the Count D'Estrees, which did not become him to give, nor the other to receive: but, what signifies one idle-talking captain, who was justly punished for his insolence? But, Monsieur, (said he, turning himself to me,) if it were not the advantage of trade, which you do, and may enjoy, upon keeping up a good understanding with

the French; yet the puissance of his arms, which is so glorious beyond all that ever were before him; attended with a thousand victories, a thousand successes; might persuade you not to be so hasty to enter into a war with a nation, so great, so potent, so fortunate, and who is not without hopes still of greater assistances and alliances; and, possibly, before long, you may hear that some other princes have declared in favour of France."

"Sir, (said I to him,) the argument which you use to persuade to peace is that which, generally I suppose in England, is accounted the greatest motive of the war; the wealth and puissance, the victories and conquests of the French, is that which makes them looked upon as too great and dangerous a neighbour, both in peace and war; in peace, because they will certainly, they affirm, diminish their trade and treasure, as they find by experience; and in war, there is no doubt, but their greatness must needs make them sensible of their danger; and they esteem it, therefore, a point of prudence to endeavour, (if possible,) to arrest the course of their designs, before they break all the banks and ancient limits, which were the boundaries of their ancestors, and overflowing these parts of the world with a dominion, the name of which is odious to the English."

"Monsieur, (reparted the French gentleman,) you do well to put it only by way of supposition (if possible,) for I assure you, had you but seen the French armies such brave men, such gallant captains."———

Upon which the English captain, who, I thought, had been at his repose, starts up: "What men do you mean, pray, Sir? Are you not obliged to our countrymen for your brave atchievements you talk of; pray, who was it that took Maestricht? Are you not obliged to the Duke of Monmouth and the English for that town? Who was it that saved Marshal Turenne oftener than once in Alsace? And who was it that brought off his army after that he was knocked on the head? When these men are drawn off from you, and when they come to fight against you, we shall hear of another story."

"Sir, (said I to him,) all the world must allow, that the French are brave men, well disciplined, and that their commanders are the most vigilant and expert captains of the age."

"Pray, Sir, (said he short upon me,) are you an Englishman Frenchified, or a Frenchman in the disguise of an English? But, be an Englishman or a Frenchman, or what you will, I would tell you a story of one of the gallant French commanders, which will be reason enough to persuade all Englishmen to love them less than they do (if it be possible,) and to fight with him, and beat them too, (which is very possible;) for, let them give you never so good words at present, if ever you come within their clutches, they will use you like dogs, and worse; for they will give you a knock, but the devil a bit with it. I was a captain at Woerden, when the French lay at Utrecht; and, if you will give me leave, I will tell you of a brave speech, which the Duke of Luxemborgh, now the Marshal Montmorency, made to his soldiers."

"Monsieur, (said the French merchant, interrupting him,) pray, spare the Duke of Luxemborgh; I presume you do not know him; for he is certainly the most obliging gallant gentleman in the world."

"Sir, (replied the Captain,) he may be what he will; I have seen him, and, if he were here, I would say what I have said; and hope, as gallant as he is, if I can come near him for his life-guard, to change a pistol with him loaden with a brace of slugs of good English lead; and, though mine will not shoot so far as your French pistols (which they say are better for battery than heavy cannon) yet they will kill the gallantest Frenchman in the army, if they have but the luck to hit him three inches underneath his feather. And, for the Duke of Luxemborgh, I will justify,"——

"Hold, hold, noble captain, (said I,) you are a man of war, we are all peaceable; and I beg the favour of you, that you will allow us the freedom of discourse; it is only to pass away our time till we come to Dover, it will not now be long; and therefore, (ap-

plying myself to my merchant,) Sir, said I, there is no doubt but the French are a most potent nation; and, if some other princes of the empire should join with him, it would be a considerable addition to his power: but still give me leave to speak in favour of my countrymen, the English, they are a people not to be despised; and, if it be true, which is said, that there is a strict confederation between them and the Hollanders, they will outdo you far at sea; and, if they cut off your navy, they cut off an arm from France, which one may say (as the Turk, comparing the loss of the battle of Lepanto to that of Cyprus,) it is worse cutting off the head than cutting off the hair, because the one will grow again, but the other never; and besides the stopping of your trade, and keeping your wines and other commodities upon your hands, will make your money run upon the lees, and is cutting the nerves of war, as money is always esteemed. And, as this power at sea may well balance all that you can say of your masters, so the armies, that England may add to those of the confederates at land, will more than balance the assistance you promise yourself; and yet some persons are of opinion, that the princes will still maintain their neutrality, till they see which way the die of war will fall: you know it is safe joining with the victor, and, in the mean time, they keep their country free from winter-quarters and plunder; but, besides all this, his Electoral Highness of Brandenburgh will now be at great liberty, to assist the confederates with those brave men who made themselves masters of the obstinate town of Stetin."

"Monsieur, (said the French merchant,) you speak a great measure of reason, but we can difficultly persuade ourselves that you are in good earnest, though some things have passed of late that begin to stagger a great many people." "Yes, (says the captain, who could hold out no longer,) I believe it doth stagger a great many people, and the French especially. But that, (said the captain,) for all your pretensions of being a merchant, I believe you are one of his agents; who, with the bills of exchange you told us of, are going into England, to hold intelligence, and sow jealousies: that is a sort of merchandise which you have of late traded with very much in all parts of the world; but it may be, before long we shall hear, that you are broke by the discovery of your correspondence. And I hope those English people, those dull English, whom you think you can cheat and out-wit at your pleasure, will be so wise as to see your tricks and arts; and to understand that the gold, you are so liberal of to some of them, is only to gild the chains you intend to put upon them all. I am satisfied, if they knew you but half so well as I do; or had but seen your kindness to the province of Utrecht after it had been wheedled into a surrender; they would have little reason to trust to your kindness."

"Monsieur, (said the Frenchman,) what is all this to the English?"

"Sir, (said the captain,) I think it is a fair warning to the English, to stand upon their guard, and to endeavour to put themselves out of the danger of falling under the kindness of the French."

"Pray, Monsieur, said the French merchant (being a little cooled with the rough humour of the captain), what are those usages, which the province of Utrecht complains of?"

"Look you here; (said the captain; with that he pulled a little book out of his pocket, written in French, intituled, *Advis fidele aux véritables Hollandois;*) all this is true, and more than this I know to be true, when your gallant Duke of Luxemburgh, and the surintendant Robert, had broken their backs with quarter, and plunder, and payments, and confiscations, and the devil and all; the Marquis de Lovois sends them a letter of consolation, a cup of comfort, an egg broken into a pail of water, which you shall hear, if you have patience.

'*Messieurs, j'ay receu vostre Lettre 23 du mois passé,*' &c. but because, Sir, said he, you understand and speak English so well, as to make you pass for any thing; if you can but leave your shrug and your *jernies* and *bongres*, I will not trouble the company with a language I do love as little as it may be they understand; and therefore I

will endeavour to teach the Marquis to speak English, for he is a civil, obliging, complaisant person.

'Messieurs, I have received your letter of the twenty-third of the last past, by which 'I have seen all the reasons which you represent, to make me understand, that the city 'and province of Utrecht are not in a condition to satisfy the demands, which Monsieur 'Robert hath made. I do easily judge that you cannot do it without great trouble; 'but, since necessity has no law, and that the armies of the king must be maintained; 'you ought to accommodate yourselves to the said Sieur Roberts, so as to furnish what 'he demands; otherwise it is impossible, but you must fall into a most grand desolation; 'and, to mend the matter, the honest Sieur Robert tells them in short, that since they 'made such an impossibility to raise the money demanded, he would cause fire to be set 'to the four quarters of the city, and he would light it in the middle himself, *à fin de re 'duire en cendre une ville, qui n' estoit qui á charge & inutile au Roy mon maistre;* to the 'end I may reduce a city into ashes, which is unprofitable, and a charge to the King my 'master.'

"Is this true or not, Sir?"

"Monsieur, (said the Frenchman,) but what is all this to the English?"

"Sir, (answered the captain,) I think it is a fair warning to the English, to stand upon their guard; and to endeavour to put themselves out of the danger of coming under the power of the French; and, if possible, to put the French out of the power of putting them in danger."

"Why, Sir, (replied the other,) the French have no designs upon you, but only as your own fears and apprehensions persuade you."

"What, (cried the captain,) the French without designs? You shall as soon find a monkey without tricks; from the onion-porridge man to the marshall, you are all politicians and designers. You have, you say, an hundred sail of ships, and two-hundred thousand men, and you have no designs nor ever had, I warrant you, to make yourselves masters of Flanders, Germany, Holland, and England at last. But, by your favour, Sir, you must pass through fire as well as water, before it comes to that."

"Well, Monsieur, (said the Frenchman,) I hope for all this that there will be a peace; and, it may be, I have some reason for my conjecture: I assure you, we merchants are in hopes, that you will not enter upon a war, which must be so great a hazard and charge to the nation."

"Sir, (said the captain,) you offer fair, but I cannot imagine, why you should be so troubled for the charge of the war, though I hope it will come to your share at last to defray it; unless you are afraid we should so impoverish ourselves by a war, that, when you come to visit us, we should not be worth the plundering; and London would be good for nothing, but a second fire, as Robert said of Utrecht: and for my own particular, and I hope all true English hearts are of the same tough old metal, you shall first try how you can digest our steel and iron, before you taste of our gold and silver."

I found my two gentlemen were running into a heat, and therefore I thought it better to make a tack, as the boat then did, to some other discourse, which we presently did; and so past the time till we came to Dover pier.

As we parted, the monsieur bid us adieu, and, with the grace of a shrug particular to his nation, he told me he should be obliged infinitely, if he had the good fortune and honour to meet me upon the Exchange.

"Farewell, (said the captain,) and have a care I do not meet you scattering your bills of exchange in the wrong place, and taking up news to send into France, in lieu of which you will return us suspicions of your own making, to set us together by the ears at home, that so you may be secured from us abroad."

The Frenchman gave him a look full of indignation, and away he went to take post immediately for London. I was extremely pleased with the rugged, honest conversation

of this captain, and therefore desired, if his affairs would permit, that we might be companions for that night at Dover, where I had some little affair. He willingly consented to my proposition, and so together we went to an inn; where we had no sooner taken a room, but in came two gentlemen of my relations, who had promised to meet me there: I was very much pleased at their arrival, and after mutual civilities passed, and that we had, like Englishmen, made some provision for supper, without ever asking what we should pay for it, and got a bottle of good Canary (for my captain would drink no French wine), we presently fell to chat.

The first question you may be sure was, "What news?" And the captain was in great haste, "What, shall we have a war with France?" "Sir, (answered one of my friends,) men's opinions are various as their interests; but here is his Majesty's speech, which, it may be, is news to you; and, if you please to read it, you may make your conjecture." "Cousin, (said I,) you mistake, if you think it news; or if, in less than a week's time, we do not see in Paris every thing of moment that passes at London. The French trade in Aleppo pigeons; nay, if we will believe them, they would persuade us, that they tell before-hand what will be done."

"That is an excellent way of intelligence, (said the other gentleman;) but, for my part, I look upon it as a French artifice; and I am confident, that that trick of pretending to know every thing, amongst us, has done them considerable service: for, certainly, it has given occasion for those jealousies, which now break out amongst us, as if there were a secret intrigue betwixt the French and us, in order to some strange design; and nothing will beat it out of some people's heads, but that this war is only for a colour." "Sir, (said the Captain,) here came over with us one of their whisperers, pistole-droppers, news-makers, and away he is posted for London, to fill some people's heads with proclamations of peace, popery, arbitrary-government, &c. and other's pockets with French money to swear it is true, they have letters from France that confirm it."

"Cousin, (said I,) if the French can accomplish this either way, they have done their business. I assure you there is nothing they dread like a war with England. I saw, upon several posts in Paris, a severe prohibition, so much as to mention such a war; but, if they can drive it off with these reports, by disuniting the King and his subjects, they are lucky people, and safe enough; and, if they can make a peace underhand, though they give as much money for it, as would almost maintain the war, yet they have their aim."

"Well, (said the captain,) I doubt nothing: I am assured from a good hand, that, before I get to London, some resolution will be taken. I told you some stories of the French, but I have more of their pranks to acquaint the people with." "Honest captain, and fellow-traveller, (said I,) God send you good luck: I dare say you will bestow your skill upon the French with a good will: but, cousin, (said I,) pray what's the matter?" "Sir, (replied he,) they were wise that could tell you; and, for my part, I have little curiosity, and less acquaintance with state-affairs; but some people, I find, are displeased. But, prithee, what's that to us? Let us drink and be merry, and let the world go which way it will." "By your favour, sir, (said the captain,) there are some people that are displeased, because they resolved beforehand to be so with every thing: but I presume, that you, and every Englishman, are so far concerned, that, if you do not look about you, the French will before long spoil both your mirth and drinking." "What mean you? (answered the other,) I hope they will not spoil our drinking, by cutting our throats, as they say the Danes did; which brought in the custom of pledging, or being pledged when one drank." "Sir, (said the captain,) you may live and drink, and be merry in that hope; but, for my part, I do not intend to trust them. I had rather cut some of theirs fairly; for I hate to have my weasand slit, unless it be in the field."

"Well, honest, brave captain, (said I,) your ill usage makes you in a rage against the French, and you think the quarrel moves too slow; but, sir, you must consider, this is an affair of great weight, and it is not good to make more haste than speed." "Sir, (said he,) the greater weight should make the motion more quick; you do not seem to under-

stand the worth of time, nor the brisk humour of the French; and, therefore, I have nothing to say to you: but, I hope, other people do, and will consider it." "Come, come, (says my cousin,) what have we to do with these matters; it was never well since there were so many little statesmen, and polite politicians. I believe most people are satisfied of the necessity of a war, to reduce the world to the old balance, and France amongst the rest; that so she may be easy to her neighbours, and they safe from her: and what would any body desire more? It is true, there have been some jealousies, which have clogged the wheels of this great affair; but I can assure you, when I came out of town, it was generally hoped, that a little time would bring all people to a good understanding, councils to unity, and the affair to a happy period."

"Sir, (said the captain,) this is a word of comfort; for I dare assure you, that the great hopes of France are grounded upon our divisions, which they are not so ill husbands, but they know how to improve. I heard one of them the other day say, that he thought that of the great Turk, Solyman, might be applied to the English, who will be of one mind (as he said, the Christian Princes would) when all the fingers of his hand were united into one."

"Come, Captain, (said I,) unity, secrecy, and expedition, added to our courage and power, may do much; and I doubt not, but the necessity, which seems to be upon us, will make them all meet. The cause is good, for it is not for sovereignty, but for safety; not for glory, but security; and to preserve the Protestant religion, our lives, liberties, and estates, from the rapine and ambition of the French: and he is no true Englishman, who will not heartily venture his life and fortune in such a lawful war."

Upon which, supper came in, and having talked ourselves into a good opinion of eating, we gratified our palates, as well as the place would afford; and, not long after, every one retired to his apartment; where, I believe, the captain dreamed of drums, and trumpets, and cannons, and granados, storms, and battles; for he made a horrible noise in his sleep, lying in the next room to me. For my part, like a person not much concerned, I slept as heartily as the soldier would permit me, who gave me several alarms; and I can no more tell, what I dreamed, than I can tell certainly what all men long so much to know, that we shall have a war with France, or such a peace as shall be safe and honourable for England, and all Christendom.

An Account of the Reasons which induced Charles the Second, King of England, to declare War against the States-General of the United Provinces, in 1672: And, of the private League which he entered into at the same Time with the French King to carry it on, and to establish Popery in England, Scotland, and Ireland; as they are set down in the History of the Dutch War. Printed in French at Paris, with the Privilege of the French King, in 1682. Which Book he caused to be immediately suppressed, at the Instance of the English Ambassador.

Licensed, March the 5th, 1689, by James Fraser.

London, printed in 1689.

[Folio, containg Fifteen Pages.]

WHEN King Charles the Second declared war against the States of the United Provinces, in 1672, and assisted the King of France by sea, in the prosecution of a war, which brought that great commonwealth, and, with it, the Protestant interest of this part of Europe, so very near to a final period: it was industriously and carefully given out, that religion was not in the least concerned in the quarrel. The honour of the King of England, and of his people, so insolently trampled upon by the States-general; the hindering of our East-India trade, with the affronts which were put upon our merchants at Surinam; their disputing the sovereignty of the sea, and refusing to take down their flag to our ships, unless we would promise to engage actually in a war against France, were the causes which were publicly pretended; and answerable artifices were made use of to engage the people to a concurrence, which were carried on with so good success, that the parliament consented to allow such sums of money, as should be sufficient for the carrying on the charges of that war.

Yet these reasonings were not so plausible, but that most considering men easily saw through them. Those, that loved the Protestant interest, could not with patience endure to see the triple league (which was the greatest fence of their religion, against the growing greatness of France,) broken; and new leagues made with the King, whose aim at an universal monarchy was then as visible, though the effects of it had not been near so fatal as they are now. Therefore, other methods were followed at home; the dissenters were caressed, and a declaration of indulgence was set out, wherein the King expresses so very great zeal for the Protestant religion, 'which he had so eminently professed in his 'most desperate condition abroad among Roman Catholic Princes[1],' that he allowed to the Protestant Dissenters the public and free exercise of their religion, in houses set apart for that purpose, which was only granted to Roman Catholicks in their own houses. And, lest this might have too much alienated the Church of England, whose members bore so great a sway in that parliament, that a breach with them, at that time, might have stopped his designs upon Holland, in a great measure, by their refusing to pay the charges of the

[1] Vid. the King's declaration of indulgence, December 26, 1662.

war; he declares, in the next session of parliament[2], 'This indulgence should not any way prejudice the Church, but that he would support its rights and it, in its full power.'

His declarations, both at the time when this war was on foot, and even afterwards, as long as he lived, were outwardly so very passionate and warm for the Protestant religion, and the preservation of the English government; that, unless such frequent repetitions of that, which, in good manners, none would seem to question, might look like overdoing, and so breed suspicions; nothing could have ever shaken that opinion, which was so firmly grounded in the hearts of all his subjects. He professed[3], that he should esteem it the most unpardonable crime which could be committed against himself, to raise any suspicions of his unsteadiness in the Protestant religion in the minds of his people; and this restrained almost all his subjects, who were so dazzled with his other royal endowments, that they could never be persuaded to suspect so much artifice in a prince, whose natural goodness, and sweetness of temper, did so effectually charm all those who had the honour to be near his person.

But though these repeated protestations had wrought so entire a confidence in the minds of his people, that they rested satisfied in the sincerity of his intentions, and interpreted all those actions which tended to the supporting of the Popish interest in England, to his tenderness towards the Duke of York[4], whom he resolved never to abandon[5]; notwithstanding the importunities of his people, and the safety of himself and his kingdoms, seemed to require it: yet the King of France was so tender of his honour, as to conceal these private treaties and alliances, which, at his solicitations, the King entered into, against the United Provinces, and to the destruction of the Protestant religion, and the overthrow of the English liberties. But he consented so far to the publication of an account of the war with Holland, and of the reasons and motives which engaged the two kings to carry it on; that the Abbot Primi, who put out the book in the Italian tongue, was employed by Mr. Colbert de Croissy, and a pension was allowed him for his pains, in publishing it also in French: which book was published by authority at Paris, in the year 1682. It is well known, how severe that government is in matters of that nature, where nothing is ever publicly set forth of any importance, as to the church or state, but what perfectly agrees with the inclinations and interests of those who are there so very absolute. It was publicly known at Paris, that Mr. L'Abbé Primi had a pension from Mr. Colbert de Croissy: and when men are employed by ministers of state, to publish accounts of the transactions of the government, their writings are rather looked upon as apologies, than histories. It makes no real difference, whether what a man writes, in such a case, be a translation or an original; he will be supposed to have endeavoured to please those who employed him: and all the fair protestations of sincerity, and faithfulness, and skill, which such a man can use, will be only looked upon as words of course, when once the reasons of his setting up for an historian are publicly known. The original of Count St. Majolo was printed in Italian; and the privilege ran as well to the printing of it in Italian as French. Howsoever, I do judge, that the name of Count St. Majolo, was a kind of trick of the Abbot Primi, to talk of secret alliances, of breaking leagues, of his master's persuading the King of England to seize the Dutch Smyrna fleet, and of several other secrets in the negotiations of Holland, England, and France, in his own name. For, when all is laid upon a foreigner, one may speak with great assurance, and the count St. Majolo will then answer for the very things for which Monsieur L'Abbé receives his pension.

If our minister at Paris, when this book first appeared, had not, by a timely and a diligent application, procured its being stopped; we might, without question, have had several other important secrets published in the following books (for we have only two books of ten printed), which now we can only conjecture at. But the earnest complaints of my

[2] Feb. 5, 1672. [3] Declaration of indulgence, December 26, 1662. [4] A Papist, and his brother.
[5] To the mercy of the parliament, and Protestant subjects of England; who, for the safety of the King and country, required his exclusion from the throne, at the demise of his brother the King.

Lord Preston[6], (who was then envoy from King Charles the Second, at Versailles,) prevailed so far, that the book was immediately stopped, and the edition totally suppressed; so that very few had ever heard of it, and much fewer, especially in England, had seen it. And, to put a face upon the matter, Monsieur L'Abbé was thrown into the Bastile; from whence, after a mock-imprisonment of nine or ten days, he was let out again. All that were at Paris, at that time, knew the story; and all, that were at all acquainted with the arbitrary severity of the French government, could easily see through the grimace: which was the better covered, because Count St. Majolo was to bear all the blame; who, if he be not related to Puffendorf's Monzambano (another Italian Count, also), yet his testimony might easily be over-ruled, and so could furnish those persons with a ready excuse, whose interest it was, that such agreements, which were contrary to their open and public protestations, should either never be known; or, if once divulged, not believed.

I shall not stand to compare the matters of fact which are here set down, with those reports which at that time passed current in England; they are things which fall within most people's memory[7]: my business is only to give such an account of our proceedings, as was published at Paris with the privilege of the King of France, as fully granted, as in any other case whatever. Our author tells us[8], that the growing greatness of the King of France, (after the peace of Aix la Chapelle was concluded, by the mediation of the King of England,) was so very terrible to the Queen-mother of Spain, who was guardian to her son, Charles the Second, King of Spain; that she employed her ablest ministers, to persuade England, Holland, and Sweden, to join in an alliance, for the preservation of the peace, and the reciprocal security of each other's kingdoms.

The Hollanders, he tells us, greedily embraced it, and ran into the triple league with great readiness; not much concerning themselves with France, which, they thought, could make no great opposition to them by sea; and, by land, they were so fortified by the natural fences of their dikes, that they apprehended, on that side, no sort of danger.

A constant series of success against the Spaniards, who declared them a sovereign and independent republick in 1648, pushed them on to great insolencies against the King of France[9]. They interposed in the affairs of Germany, as if they had been immediately concerned[10]. They determined peace or war amongst their neighbours, as they thought would be most for their own interest. They threatened to ruin the kingdom of France, by prohibiting any commerce with French manufactures; and scattered medals and pictures very derogatory to the honour of the French King. Their busying themselves so much with the affairs of Germany, was a means to engage the Bishop of Munster to keep up his army, after he had concluded a peace with the Duke of Brunswick Wolfembuttel; and to declare against the incroachments of the Hollanders upon the Empire[11]: which opportunity the French King laid hold of, to make an alliance with him, and the Princes of the House of Furstemberg, and the Bishop of Strasburgh, against Holland; by which means, he secured the passes upon the Rhine and the Maese, which lay convenient for the setting upon the Hollanders by land, who till then had thought themselves secure from any attacks on that side[12].

He engaged the Emperor also to a neutrality, and persuaded him to ratify those alliances which the French King had already made with the Bishops of Munster and Strasburgh, and the Princes of the House of Furstemberg[13]; with assurances that he would not concern himself in those quarrels, unless either the Empire or the King of Spain should be invaded.

The King of England was already very much dissatisfied with the Hollanders[14], and was willing enough to disengage himself from the triple league. For the Hollanders had

[6] [Richard, Viscount Preston, was created by James the Second, after his abdication, a peer of England, by the title of Baron Esk; but the patent being dated at Versailles, it was rejected by the House of Lords.]

[7] This being published in the year 1689. [8] Page 18, 19. [9] Page 21. [10] Page 45.
[11] Page 48. [12] Page 52. [13] Page 57, 58. [14] Page 58.

refused to stand to those regulations about the East-India trade, which had been concluded upon at Breda; and their vessels would not lower their topsails to the English men of war; and they disputed the sovereignty of the sea, unless the King of England would declare for them against France, in case of a breach: which things were very dishonourable for the English nation, and were great instances of the treachery of the Hollanders, and of the small assistance which the English could promise to themselves from their friendship[15].

'Colbert de Croissy, the French Ambassador at London, urged[16] all these things to the 'King of England; he put him in mind of the medals which the Hollanders published, 'wherein they attributed to themselves all the glory of concluding the peace of Aix la 'Chapelle, which had been obtained by the King of England's mediation; and told him, 'that this was the time wherein he might take his revenge upon a nation, which had so 'little respect for Kings; and that he never could expect a more favourable opportunity[17], 'since several German Princes had already entered into a league, and the King of France 'was sufficiently powerful to satisfy all his confederates in the prosecution of this war, 'both as to their advantage and credit[18].' These things engaged the King of England to sign a secret treaty with France: and, to make it the more firm, Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, a princess, whose wit was equal to her beauty, sister to the King of England, and sister-in-law to the King of France, went over into England in 1670, and proposed a treaty to her brother, in the name of the most Christian King; wherein she proffered to secure to him 'an absolute authority over his parliament, and the re-establishment of the Roman 'Catholick religion in his three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland.' But, she said, that, before this could be effected, there was an absolute necessity of abating the haughtiness and power of the Hollanders, who only studied to foment divisions amongst their neighbours; and to reduce them to the single province of Holland, of which the Prince of Orange should be sovereign, or, at least, perpetual governor; which would not be difficult for these two mighty Kings, when once well united, to accomplish. So that, by this means, the King of England might have Zealand to retire to, if there should be occasion; and that the rest of the Low-countries should remain to the King of France, whenever he should be able to conquer them.

When the King of France had thus secured himself by these alliances, he immediately began his preparations for war; and filled his stores, and raised men, some publicly, and some under-hand, all over France, in Switzerland, Italy, and England.

Though these negotiations, and especially with England, were carried on with all the secrecy that matters of that importance required[19]; yet the Hollanders had such notices given, as did exceedingly surprize them. 'They could not imagine, that the English 'would quit the triple league; they said, this was a report raised by the French to amuse 'mankind withal[20]: they thought, that the present conduct of the King of England gave 'convincing proofs to the contrary. He had just before dismissed out of his port a fleet 'of Dutch merchantmen, and some Amsterdam vessels besides, and recalled Sir George 'Downing, his minister at the Hague, for speaking with too much warmth to the States-'General[21]; so that, in short, he seemed in all his actions to declare, that his intentions

[15] Page 59. [16] Page 60. [17] Page 61.

[18] Ce qui engagea ce Prince à signer un traité secret avec la France; & pour l'asseurer encore d'avantage Henriette d'Angleterre, Duchesse d'Orleans, Princesse qui avoit autant d'esprit que de beauté, sœur du Roy d'Angleterre, & belle-sœur du Roy de France, passa en Angleterre en 1670, & proposa au Roy son frère, au nom du Roy très-Chrêtien, de lui asseurer un autorité absolue sur son Parlement, & de restablir la Religion Catholique dans les royaumes d'Angleterre, d'Escosse, & d'Irlande. Mais elle disoit que pour en venir à bout, il faloit avant toutes choses abaisser l'orgueil & la puissance des Hollandois qui ne songeoient qu'à mettre la division parmi leurs voisins; & les reduire à la seule province d'Hollande, de laquelle le Prince d'Orange seroit souverain, ou au moins gouverneur perpetuel, ce qui ne seroit pas difficile à deux grands Roys puissants & bien unis, & que par ce moyen le Roy d'Angleterre auroit la Zelande, pour lui servir de retraite en cas de besoin, & que le reste des Pays-bas demeureroit au Roy de France, s'il pouvoit s'en rendre maistre.

[19] Page 65. [20] Page 75. [21] Page 76.

'of keeping up a good correspondence with Holland were sincere.' However, the breaches every day grew wider and wider between France and Holland; and matters were carried so far on both sides, that the French King resolved to begin the war the next spring[22]: 'and in the mean time he took secret measures with the King of England[23], to set upon 'them together, and to surprize them both by sea and land[24]. As for the King of Eng-'land, he was exceedingly perplexed; there was need of money to carry on the design, 'and that secretly too[25]: He could raise none at home, without calling a parliament, and 'that could not be done without acquainting all Europe with his designs: there was also 'great fear of opposition, both from the misunderstandings, which in that tumultuous 'assembly do for the most part arise between the two houses, and from the intrigues of 'the Hollanders. For which reasons, the King of France furnished him with such sums 'of money as were sufficient to send out a considerable fleet; and he advised the King of 'England (the better to conceal their agreements) to keep a fair correspondence outwardly 'with the Dutch; to appear firm to the triple league; and declare, that he set out a fleet 'for no other reasons, but because his neighbours, and especially the French, who made 'great preparations in all their ports upon the ocean, strengthened themselves so very 'considerably by sea[26].'

Yet all this was not carried on so secretly, but their own residents at London, and the ministers of other princes in King Charles's court, gave the Hollanders such sure advertisement of his altering his measures, that they found it past all question. Pensioner de Witt fell in a swoon in the Stadt-house, upon the reading of a letter, which gave him an account of it[27]; and, as soon as he had recovered himself, he proposed to send the Heer Meerman into England, to renew the old alliances; who was immediately seconded by the Marquis del Freno, the Spanish minister[28], who was sent thither on purpose to join with him in making use of all sorts of arguments, which might oblige the King of England to break off his new treaty with France[29].

But, all these applications proving ineffectual, all things tended to a war. It was known that the King of England had declared for France; and that, being provoked with the usage which his subjects had received at Surinam, he had renewed a treaty with France against Holland, and had promised to begin the war; provided that his most Christian Majesty would declare war against the States in the beginning of May[30].

And though the earnestness which the King and the Duke of York shewed in the prosecution of this business was extraordinary; though they set out ships, and manned them with all the industry and application possible; 'yet, because the government of Eng-'land was mixed, or composed of King, Lords, and Commons, and that in the great 'concerns of the nation, or in raising of money, there was a necessity of a parliament; which 'is, like the people of whom it is made up, not always of the same mind[31]; and that the 'variableness of their climate is even visible in their councils; and, besides, since the 'Duchess of Orleans died soon after her return to France: for these reasons, the King of 'France did not much rely upon any assistance from England, and so took his measures 'in such a manner, that the King of England might be assured they must succeed, in 'case he should fail him; and therefore he would not suffer the rage of the English against 'the Dutch at that time to cool, but he rather endeavoured to plunge them into a war, by 'such an action as might correspond to their earnest desire of being revenged.'

[22] In the year 1672. [25] Page 87.

[24] Le Roy d'Angleterre de son coté estoit embarassé, il faloit du secret & de l'argent pour faire réussir l'entreprise, & il ne pouvoit rien tirer de ses peuples qu'en convoquant son parlement, ce qui faisoit connoitre ses desseins à toute l'Europe, outre que cette assemblée tumultueuse, par la mauvaise intelligence qui est ordinairement entre les deux chambres & par les intrigues des Hollandois, pouvoit s'y opposer: mais le Roy très-Chrêtien luy envoya des sommes suffisantes pour mettre en mer un flotte considérable, & luy conseilla pour mieux cacher leur union de temoigner aux Hollandois qu'il vouloit bien vivre avec eux, de paroitre ferme dans les traitez de Triple Alliance, & de publier qu'il ne vouloit avoir une flotte que parce que ses voisins, & particulierement les François, faisoient de grands armemens dans tous le ports qu'ils avoit en sur l'ocean.

[25] Page 88. [26] Page 89. [27] Page 91. [28] Page 93. [29] Page 118.

[30] Page 119. [31] Page 120.

And this design soon succeeded: for, the French having notice of the return of the Dutch Smyrna fleet, which were then at sea, they immediately acquainted the King of England with it[32]; and told him, 'that this was a favourable opportunity for him to engage the English in a certain war. They told him, that such a prize would furnish him 'with more money in one day, than he could get from his parliament in a year[33]; and, 'perhaps, so great a prize might put him, during the whole course of the war, in such a 'condition, as that he would not stand in need of his parliament; and that he ought not 'to let slip such an opportunity, because he certainly knew, that, what success soever it 'might have, yet, his people who always carried themselves very high upon a prosperous 'turn of affairs, who were sensible of affronts, would spare for nothing which might 'carry on the war, wherein they might expect to humble the Dutch, and to revenge the 'wrongs of their merchants, and of their nation in general, upon those who would dispute the sovereignty of the sea with them.'

Upon these solicitations, the King consented; and sent Sir Robert Holmes with nine men of war into the channel, to expect the coming of the Smyrna fleet[34]. And it had this effect, that though the Dutch (who had some notice of it before) did, in a thick, foggy night, escape without any very considerable loss; yet this engaged the English to a war, which was immediately hereupon openly proclaimed by the King of England, against the States-General; which was earnestly pressed by Mr. Colbert de Croissy, who advised him not to delay, after the striking so signal, as well as so unexpected a stroke[35].

How far the causes alleged in the declaration of war, which followed soon after, and the reasons by which the King endeavoured to persuade his parliament to a hearty concurrence with him in it, agreed with these motives, every man may judge. Whoever considers the carriage of the King of France, in other things, will not wonder at such a piece of treachery, as the publication of these secrets was, whilst King Charles II. was alive: and I believe, that the sending a man to the Bastile for ten days, who was notoriously known to have been employed for this very purpose, did convince as few people of the falsehood of these pretended alliances, as the sending of Mr. Skelton to the Tower by King James II. did; which was so very like, that one would think the mock-proceedings against Mr. L'Abbé Primi, gave a pattern to the King of England, to animadvert upon his own Minister; who, by the confession of the French Resident at the Hague, acted, by his Majesty's order, only the second part of what the Abbot wrote.

[32] Page 121. [33] Page 122. [34] Page 123. [35] Page 132.

The wicked Plots and perfidious Practices of the Spaniards against the Seventeen Provinces of the Netherlands, before they took up Arms. Being gathered out of several Dutch Writers, by a Lover of Truth, and an unfeigned Hater of Oppression and Tyranny, the Bane of Commonwealths.

Printed about the Year 1642.

[Quarto, containing Eight Pages.]

Gentle Reader,

I SHALL speak so much touching the cruel, inhuman, treacherous, perfidious, yea, unnatural practices of the Spaniards, in these parts, and elsewhere; which may sufficiently delineate him in his deserved colours; that whosoever beholds him, may mourn

to see this Hazael so to tyrannize over the innocent, and that the Lord should permit, and the earth bear such an unheard-of monster. Yet, notwithstanding, much more might be added in sundry other particulars, as the Dutch chronicles mention, and other writers have well set out; amongst which, although I myself be a stranger by nation to them, yet, since the time of my abode here, having attained some understanding in the language, I have thought fit to speak so much, which, in my reading, I have observed.

First, thou art to understand, gentle Reader, that the King of Spain was lovingly received here in the Seventeen Provinces, and a solemn oath was taken on both parts. The King, for his part, swore to maintain all their laws and privileges, and they to him all due homage and allegiance. He presently demanded of them a sum of money; whereupon the States did assemble, and collected for him forty millions of florins, of Brabant money, to be paid in nine years, and they paid it into the exchequer; and, although it was more than they had paid before to his predecessors, yet upon this he took great displeasure against them, and, as they write, he for this did hate them to death.

But he pretended this to be the cause of his wrath, because he saw, that there were some among them, that did defy the Pope and his religion. But that could not be; for the city of Aelst was as superstitious in that religion, as Rome itself; for they did persecute the Reformed religion even unto death: and yet, for all that, both they, and an hundred and seventy fair villages that belonged unto them, were, by them, plundered and spoiled of all their goods; and many of them wounded and tormented for to confess where their money was; and many were killed. Thus much by the way.

My scope and chief intent is to shew the first and just cause of the wars in the Netherlands; whereby the diligent reader (not partially affected) may clearly understand, that the Netherlands did not rebelliously take up arms against a lawful prince (as some ignorantly think and speak) but justly and religiously defend themselves against a perfidious tyrant; who sought their ruin by all possible means he could, and the subversion of the whole state. A long while they patiently underwent his cruel oppressions and intolerable vexations, as the histories clearly manifest, till there was no hope, but either they must become slaves in soul and body, worse than that of Israel, in Egypt, they and theirs for ever; or else be butchered by merciless executioners of a cruel tyrant. This tyrant, having a purpose to innovate all things, to root out ancient inhabitants, and to frustrate all the laws, customs, and privileges, which himself had sworn to maintain, knew not how better to effect his evil ends, than by raising a bloody Inquisition to set over them for their government: which said Inquisition (raised in Spain) concluded and pronounced certain articles, the tenth of February, 1568, which were confirmed by the King the twenty-sixth following. Now, because it may appear I do them no wrong in this charge, I will lay down the articles themselves verbatim.

The most sacred Office of Inquisition, so often attempted in the Netherlands by his Majesty, and hindered until this time, shall be instituted and advanced in this manner, which is most expedient.

'1. They must persuade the Emperor, being gone astray and wickedly confederated 'with hereticks, that he resign his kingdoms unto his son, with the whole administration 'of the Netherlands.

'2. That the Emperor, with his two sisters, (having given over all affairs,) leaving the 'Netherlands, shall retire into Spain unto us, being assured that they shall never return 'more to do any harm.

'3. This being dispatched, we must also draw the King to us, and keep him for ever, 'that he depart not; and not suffer any Flemings to have access or conference with him.

'4. That the King write unto and command the clergy of the Netherlands, that, with 'the Inquisition, they should accept of fifteen new bishops, the which should be free from 'all secular jurisdictions, yea in cases of treason.

'5. The subjects of the Netherlands, through their malice and waywardness, will 'revolt, and move seditions and tumults, pleasing to all but our company.

'6. The princes and noblemen, heads and authors of those factions, with the subjects, 'must be taken away, and the others reduced unto reason.

'7. They shall hire, at our charge, thieves and spoilers of churches and images, whose 'offences shall be by all the world imputed to rebels, by some subtle means; and so we 'shall vanquish them.

'8. That all commerce, negotiation, liberties, and privileges, shall be rooted out, and 'that all be reduced to extreme poverty; whereby the realm shall be permanent for us.

'9. No man of all those countries (except he be of our faction) shall be held worthy to 'live; and, finally, all to be rooted out. And all goods, possessions, arts and trades, and 'all orders to be taken away, until there may be a new realm and a new people.

'10. In this action the wise and valiant Duke of Alva shall be employed in person; 'whereas any other, were he of the blood royal, or a prince, shall be of no esteem; so as, 'being suspected, yea in the smallest matters, they must be dispatched.

'11. No contracts, rights, promises, donations, oaths, privileges, and solemn asser- 'tions of the Netherlands, shall be of any force for the inhabitants, as being guilty of 'high treason.

'12. But, above all, we must have an especial care, that, in these matters of so great 'weight and moment, we proceed not violently, but by means, by degrees, and that dis- 'creetly; to the end the princes, nobility, and inferior subjects may mutiny among 'themselves; so that one may persecute, yea, execute the other, until at last the hang- 'man be executed himself. For, in all Christendom, is there not a nation more foolish 'and indiscreet, and whose levity and inconstancy may sooner be deceived, than these 'Netherlands; and God punisheth them accordingly."

There were other articles found in President Vergas's chamber at Antwerp, and there printed; and those are more cruel than these, but not more subtle.

By these articles, and the unlimited power of these lawless Inquisitors, no man had any assurance of life or goods for a day; but were in danger continually to be called into question, either for the law of their God, or for some work of mercy, which either religion, moral equity, or the bond of nature called for. Or else, if they had colour for none of these, they would impose such unreasonable taxations, that, if the cormorants had not their gorges crammed full, they would make prey of all; whether by right or wrong, it mattered not. But, my purpose being to avoid prolixity, and to pass by impertinences and needless repetitions, I will come to that I intended.

In the year 1565, a match was concluded for the Prince of Parma, and the nuptials were solemnised at Brussels, whither all the nobility and gentry of the country were invited; and accordingly there met of them about four-hundred; who, like faithful Moses, being grieved to see the daily oppression of their brethren, by the hard task-masters of the Inquisition; (who not only robbed them of their goods, but also, by inhuman cruelty and unnatural butchery, deprived them of their lives,) who daily led them as sheep unto the slaughter. The consideration hereof they jointly laid to heart, and hereupon (being met upon this occasion) they resolved to present a petition to the Princess of Parma; which they did the fifth of April next following. The Earl of Breedrod, delivering the petition, humbly requested a favourable answer. Three days after, they received this answer, viz. 'They should send two of their noblemen to the King, by whom she would write in their 'behalf.' The Lord of Barlamont, being present, after their departure, said (like a flattering courtier), "they were a company of rascals and beggars."

It was concluded, that the Marquis of Bargen and the Lord of Mountigny should go into Spain, who humbly presented their suit to the King; but could get no answer in sixteen months after.

The twenty-sixth of August, anno 1566, the Princess of Parma sent for the gentry, telling them she had received letters from the King, containing a promise that all should be well, and that the Inquisition should cease; and, for the proclamations, they should not be of force, but his Majesty would take such order, as they and the States should well

like of. The Princess also gave them toleration for their religion, on condition they should not deface, nor break down the ornaments of the churches; for there had been, before this time, vile and lewd persons, that frequented the meetings of the Reformed; these went into the Papists churches, stole their silver, and what was worth carrying away, and brake down their images. But the Reformed suspected, that this was done by the appointment of the Princess. Neither was their suspicion without good ground; for it is to be seen in the King's letter, Art. 7. that she had orders to hire this rascal company to do this villainy: which fact was imputed to the Protestants, to the end that they might not only be odious there, but also seem guilty even in the judgment of other nations. Howbeit, the offenders were punished with imprisonment, yea, with death, even by the Reformed themselves, who jointly confessed the action unlawful; and were so far from giving occasion of offence in this nature, that papist-burghers themselves offered good security, that no such thing should be attempted by them. Who, then, can make any doubt that they were free from having any hand in those outrages laid to them? The very opposites in religion being judges; who, as appears, were willing to undertake for them. Now, as their faithfulness brought so good effect for their persons, so did the Lord work that the truth of religion found many friends likewise, the Lord wonderously prospering the course of reformation; insomuch, that in a short space they had in Flanders sixty assemblies; some churches they themselves built, but were by Duke d'Alva soon cast down, who erected gallowses of them, and hanged them upon them[1].

The Princess of Parma also began to entertain soldiers, with pretence to apprehend the church-robbers; but intended, indeed, to take away the ancient liberties and privileges of the Netherlands: wherefore, sending certain companies to Valencin, the inhabitants denied them entertainment, who, for that, were proclaimed rebels the fourteenth of December; soon after, they were besieged, sacked, and many of them put to death.

But, before they of Valencin denied entertainment to the soldiers, the nobility had received letters out of Spain, from the Marquis of Bargen, shewing, that the King[2] was exceedingly incensed against the Netherlanders; that he had, in the presence of many, vowed to be fully revenged of them, though it were with the hazard of all his countries; that he would make them an example to all the world, and would invite the Pope and the Emperor to assist him in this quarrel. Upon the receipt of these letters, the nobility assembled at Dortmond, to consult what were best to be done; but concluded not any thing, some judging it safest to join and make head to resist his tyrannical fury, others seeking rather to escape by flight.

The cruelty of this Inquisition did, notwithstanding, increase, and many soldiers came into the country, so that some of the country forsook their houses, and resorted towards Friesland; and some did stay at home, and went to meet the Duke of Alva, and welcomed him into the country, and shewed him all the kindness that they could; but he very shortly took off most of their[3] heads; so that he did so terrify the inhabitants, that there fled out of the countries more than an hundred-thousand householders; besides, many, that were taken in flying, were taken and hanged; and all these had their goods confiscated to the King.

Now the Duke of Alva did command all the inhabitants to pay the hundredth penny of all their goods, and of all that was bought and sold; the which some of the States did yield unto: and then he commanded them to pay the twentieth penny; and then he commanded the tenth penny of all things that were bought and sold, so often as they should be sold. Some of the States did make their humble petition to the Duke, and to the Princess, shewing them that it would drive all trading out of the land. The Duke of Alva told them, 'that he would have it, though it did ruinate all the land; but, if he 'saw them to do their best to pay it, he would deal favourably with them. But, (he said)

[1] Emanuel de Miter saith, 'That in Flanders they took fifty of them at one time, and hanged twenty-two, and whipped the rest.' [2] He pretended it for religion, but his aim was to get their land and goods.

[3] As the Grau of Egmund, and the Grau of Horn, and many of the gentry at Brussels, 1568.

'that it was against the King's honour, if they should not pay it, seeing it was his plea-'sure to require it.' And now did the Inquisition imprison and execute many of the richer sort, as well Papists as of the Reformed Church; and, if they were rich, there was no escaping for them. And whosoever was found to have any hand in way of suit and petition, to have the tenth penny to be remitted, they were adjudged to have committed high treason against God and the King; and all these must forfeit life and goods to the King, and not any of their children to enjoy one penny-worth of the same; but (poor orphans) they must beg their bread. And some, that had been buried certain months, they caused to be digged up, and hanged on the gallows, and some to be burned, because they had not the sacrament and confessed before their death; but it was, because he would confiscate their goods to the King. Yea, when these insatiable gold-thirsty and blood-thirsty wretches wanted colour to cover their injustice and cruelty, they had their officious imps (false witnesses) suborned by Jezabel, to get Naboth's vineyard: witness Martin Hutton, who was one of the Inquisitors' clerks, and (being committed to prison) did acknowledge that he had made many false testimonies against sundry rich persons; some were of the Reformed Church. Here might fitly be brought in, the hundred merchants of Granada, who were of the Roman religion, and were never other. What pretence had he to cause them to be murdered all in one night, and then presently to command all their goods to be brought to his treasury or exchequer; whose estate was worth more than twenty-eight hundred thousand pounds sterling? Now, as this tyrant was a devourer and destroyer of the lives of men; so he did presume to usurp further, not only upon civil ordinances, but upon the things of God; so that those, that were married in the Reformed Church, he forced to be married again; and, if they were rich, he took them from their husbands, and gave them to his soldiers to make prizes of them. Those, that were baptized in the Reformed Church, he compelled to be baptized again; contrary to God's word, and to the decree of the ancient councils. So intolerable were the burthens that this cruel Pharaoh laid, so excessive was his cruelty, that he filled all places with blood, 'blood touching blood,' as the prophet speaks. For in small towns he executed fifty, and in great towns two-hundred and three-hundred, or four-hundred. And in places, as men travelled from one town to another, they might see many that his soldiers had hung up on trees to death; and some of them were worth eighty-thousand guldens, and some less. Yea, this tyrant did confiscate so much lands and goods, as, by his account sent into Spain, did amount to eight tons of money sterling; besides the many thousands that he and his soldiers had. All the money, that he did exact out of this land in six years, did amount to more than fifty millions of gold. And, if any were known to have any thing, that did belong to any that were put to death, and had not brought it to the knowledge of the Inquisition, they did lose both life and goods: yea, the sixteenth of February, 1566, he gave sentence in his court at Madrill, that they were all traitors against God and himself. At Utrecht he beheaded a widow, that was eighty-four years old, because she had before lodged a preacher one night, whose living was worth four-thousand guldens yearly. And, at Maestricht, a father, for lodging his son that he had not seen in a long time, who was fled for religion, was put to death. And at that place there was another put to death, for giving a widow a peck of corn for an alms, whose husband this bloody court had put to death. And many women were put to death, because they received their husbands in the night, that were fled for religion; yea, they have killed women great with child, and ripped up their bellies, and taken out the child and killed it; and some they have flayed alive, and covered drums'-heads with their skins; and some they have tied to a post, and made a small fire round about them, and so roasted them to death.

At Naerden they received the Spaniards friendly into the town, who promised them both their lives and goods; and, as soon as they came in, they commanded them to come to the state-house without their arms: the which they did, and the Spaniards gave fire upon them, and murdered them all[4]: and then they ran about, in the town, and ravished the

[4] The like cruelty they did at Oudwater.

women, and after killed them and fired the town. The young children that lay in the cradle, they quartered them, and took them upon their pikes; and so went up and down, rejoicing in their cruelty.

Such savage cruelty is scarcely to be found in any history. What Christian heart can hear it, and not be affected with deep sorrow? Yet, behold, some monsters herein have been found, that have been so far from humanity herein, (for he, that hath humanity in him, will commiserate others' calamities) that they have applauded it, as if he had, in all these outrages, 'done God good service.' Amongst the rest, I shall content myself, at this present, but to name the holy father the Pope, and one of his chief sons in this business. The Pope sends his legate to commend these so rare exploits, and calls this cruel Duke d'Alva his beloved son; sends him a costly sword, the hilts whereof were of gold, and a hat wrought with gold and beset with rich and costly stones; thanking him for his good service in maintaining the Romish religion, and subverting of hereticks. Howbeit, that his chief son I mentioned (exceeding this man of sin in the sin of cruelty, as if he would verify himself to be ten-fold more the child of Satan, than his father the Pope) thinks not so well of it; (his name is Vergas, the president of this bloody Inquisition;) for, going shortly after into Spain, he told the King, that he and Duke d'Alva did mar all in the Netherlands, by shewing so much mercy to those people.

Concerning this Duke d'Alva, of whose outrage and cruelty so many have felt, and perfidious dealing, which many have found by lamentable experience, whereby may easily appear of what stamp his excessive mercies are, even such as the Wise-man speaks of; Prov. xii. 10. 'The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel:' in which he prides himself; boasting he had slaughtered eighteen-thousand and six-hundred, in form of justice, in six years time; and ten times so many he and his soldiers murdered otherways[5]. And many more would he, doubtless, have murdered, had not the Lord restrained and limited him; for his desire herein was as hell, that cannot be satisfied: Witness the purpose of his proceeding against the magistrates of Brussels, because they did not collect the tenth penny, so as he desired. He swore that he would have it, and, before he would let it fall, or remit it, the sun and moon should leave their shining. So he went to Brussels, and commanded the executioner to prepare ladders and ropes, to hang up that night, in their doors, seventy of the citizens, and gave them his warrant in writing, what they should be. But God (in providence) prevented this his cruel purpose, in that there came news, that the Grave of Mark had taken in the Brill[6]: so the tyrant did not go forward with his bloody enterprises.

Thus, having given you a taste of some of those many things I have observed, concerning the intolerable oppression, and worse than savage cruelty of the Spaniards, exercised upon the people, which they endured and laboured under, the space of sixteen years[7]; I will now leave these cruel tyrants to the Lord for judgment, and address myself to speak somewhat further concerning this Earl of Mark, who had those gentlemen with him, that fled. Before this, he had lain with his shipping in England; but the King of Spain sending his ambassador to our Queen (who was then in peace with him) to desire her, that she would not suffer his subjects to have their harbour in her land, and that she would not give them, or suffer them to have any relief, whereby they should make head against him. And hereupon the Queen sent and commanded them out of her harbour; and she commanded, that they should not be suffered to have any provision in her coasts; so that now they had no other means, but only God, who did, in his mercy, provide for them better than they expected. For they were purposed to have gone for the Tassel, and to have taken some town about that part; but, when they came near that part, they had the wind contrary, that they could not come there; so they went for the Maese, and came with

[5] These words he spake at a banquet, as he sat at the table, rejoicing he had done the King so good service.

[6] Anno 1573, April 1.

[7] I have instanced but four or five towns; but there were scarce any towns escaped their cruel pillaging, except they had bribed their commanders with exceeding large gifts.

their ships before the Brill, and there they went presently and took it. Yet the Duke of Alva had his forces in the town, near so many as they were, whom they killed and chased out of the town, and out of the island. The Prince of Orange being in France, and hearing what had happened, he sent them soldiers, with as much speed as could be, out of France. And, within one month after, Duke d'Alva sent certain companies to Ulishing, to keep that place strong for himself; and many of the commanders were come into the town. So the magistrates commanded the citizens to come presently upon the state-house: so they told them they must lodge Spaniards in their houses; and they (knowing how they had used the citizens in all places where they came) told the magistrates, they would not have the Spaniards in their town. The magistrates asked them, "Which of them it was, that did refuse to receive them?" They said, "All of them." So, the magistrates seeing them so earnest against the Spaniards, they jointly took their arms, and killed and took prisoners all them that were in the town, and with their ordnance they shot at his ships, where the Spaniards were, and they made away. And, of those that were taken, there were the names of about eighty, that they had in writing from Duke d'Alva, that dwelt in the island, that they should put to death [8]. So those of the Brill sent their soldiers with speed to help them. And shortly the Prince of Orange came with forces, and defended them; and some other towns (seeing the cruelty of the Spaniards) forsook the Spaniard, and joined with them, and took the Prince of Orange to be their protector; yet the States, notwithstanding, did remain in obedience to the King some seven years after.

Again, it is further worthy to be noted, that these provinces did three times send to the King their noblemen, but could obtain no mercy; and many more times they went to the Princess of Parma, and made their humble petition for redress of their oppression, but could not obtain any favour: then they made friends to the renowned Queen of England, and to the Princes of Germany, and to the Emperor, who did earnestly intreat, by their ambassadors, for them. The King of Spain answered their ambassadors with these words: he bade them tell their masters, "That they should meddle with their own subjects, and not with his, for he knew well enough how to rule his subjects, without their counsel." Now, when [9] our Queen's Majesty found his unreasonableness and cruelty, then, and not before, she assisted them with arms.

His own son, Prince Charles, did intreat for them, that he would please to let them have their laws and privileges, and that they might not be so oppressed; and, withal, he told his father, that those countries did belong to him, and that they were given him at his baptism; for the which, his father sent him to prison, and he never came out again [10]. If the Lord would not have forgot what Amalek did, long after, for smiting the weakest and hindmost of his people, how may we, in equity, forget the infinite murders and spoils, this cruel tyrant hath executed, where-ever he hath prevailed? And who can forget, in special, that bloody attempt against ourselves, in the year 1588.

If I should trace this tyrant from place to place, I should run *in infinitum*, having made the name of Christianity hateful by his cruelty, amongst the heathens, that know not God further than the light of nature; for it is confessed by the Spaniards themselves, that some of the chief of the Indians, who were to be burnt to death, being told of Heaven and Hell, they asked, "Whither the Spaniards went when they died?" It was answered, "To Heaven." "Oh, then, (said they) we will never come where the Spaniards are." But, not to run so far, I will rest content to keep within the bounds I chiefly intended concerning these countries. When the citizens of Leyden were in great extremity, by reason of a long siege, the Spaniards proffering conditions of peace, if so be they would yield up the city and themselves to them, they returned answer, "Not while they had a right-hand to hold a sword, or a left to eat; but, if they should be driven to fall into their hands, they would rather burn the city, and drown themselves, than to submit to them, of whose per

[8] He had appointed those to be executed, because they were the chief that stood against the payment of the tenth penny. [9] Anno 1575. [10] Marplam, in his Chronicle, Anno 1567.

fidiousness they had had so lamentable experience." And, when some of the citizens pressed a yielding, in respect to the extremity of famine; a burgo-master, called Peter Adrianson, said, "Loving friends, I confess the famine is great, and that some die for want of food; yet rather let us agree to eat up one another, as it shall fall by lot: begin with me first, and divide me amongst you."

At Antwerp, the Spaniards, by the appointment of their governor, did come into the city in battle order, and marched up and down their streets, and shot into their houses, and made a tumultuous noise, as if they had been so many devils, for one day and two nights, and took the keys from the magistrates, and set watch at the ports; whereby they put the citizens in so great fear, that many women with child fell in travail, and some died with fear. And they went, by twelve or twenty, into the best houses, and commanded them to prepare them the best cheer, as boiled and roast, and other dainty dishes, as they list to call for; and, besides beer, they would have at least two sorts of wine. And all the chiefest citizens' houses had at least ten of these guests. And they all cried out for money, and said, that they would have fifteen months pay, before they went out of the city, of them: and the magistrates told them, that they would procure them, in cloth, and apparel, and money, the sum; but they all cried out for money, and that money they would have, before they went away: so at the last the magistrates got the money, which did amount to four-hundred thousand guldens. And the charge they were at, which these companions did cost the citizens, was six-hundred pound sterling the day; and thus they were oppressed with them twenty-eight days, in which time they had made them all rich suits, some of satin and velvet, and some of cloth of gold; and one of them had a cushion of velvet, with these words in letters of gold, 'I am the Dutchman's Bridewell-master:' and thus they got rid of them, for the present. And about two years after they came again, and then they used the citizens much more cruelly; for these devils did bring straw, and set it on fire, and put it into the houses; whereby they set nine rich streets on fire, and burnt them, with many rich and costly goods; and rifled the citizens of all their rich and costly jewels, and silver-works, with their money; and three days did they torment the inhabitants for money; and in this time there were murdered of the citizens above four-thousand. The money they took at that time is reckoned for more than forty tons of gold, beside the jewels; and the loss they had by fire was as much as the rest. And thus was the best city of merchants in Europe ruinated.

Divers things being manifested of the Spaniards' cruelty, I will add one instance of their treachery, and that of a famous person to his nearest familiars; yea, when he pretended sweetest familiarity and friendship. Pope Alexander the Sixth, a Spaniard by birth, invited divers nobles and cardinals to a banquet, with a purpose to poison them all. The meetest instrument he made choice of, to effect this, was a Spaniard, one Cæsar Borgia, his sworn servant. The Pope shewed himself wonderful pleasant, to avoid suspicion, and drank a carouse to them all; willing his trusty servant to fill from such a bottle he knew well; which he did very effectually to the Pope himself, as well as to the rest. After the company was departed, the Pope, perceiving by an alteration in himself, what was done, and that he must die now also, said to Borgia, "This is a right Spanish trick." It is written of them, that they are so expert in these exploits, that, if Judas himself were alive, he might go to them to school.

Tom Tell-Troath: Or, A free Discourse touching the Manners of the Time. Directed to his Majestie[1] by Waye of humble Advertisement.

Supposed to be printed in the Year 1622.

[Quarto, containing Thirty Pages.]

SINCE they that have the honour to appertaine unto you, have neither the courage, nor the conscience to acquaint you with the fearful discontents of the time, but suffer you to loose the people's hearts so slightly, as if they were not worth their keeping; I, a poor unknowne subject, who never had the happines to come near your Majestie, but in the throng; nor to take any other oath in your service, but that of allegiance; have ventured upon so much forwardnes at this time of need, (when all places are indeed voyd, which coveteousness, and huge ambition, seeme to fill,) as to thrust myselfe into the best office about you; better than either President of the Counsel, or Earle Marshal of England, and far more discontinued; the noble *office* of *telling truth:* wherein, if boldnes makes me forget my discretion; loyalty, I hope, will begge my pardon. And the rather, because I perswade my selfe I am not altogether without warrant for what I doe; for it was my duty, not long since, to take notice of two proclamations, come out in your Majesties name, against immoderate talkings; wherein, it is your gracious pleasure, to make all your loving subjects of what condition soever instruments of state, by giving them, not a bare voluntary power, but a *sub-pœna* charge and commission, to informe against all those that shall at any time hereafter offend in that kinde. Now your Majestie shall know that I am one of the greatest company-keepers in this town, and therefore cannot but be guilty of hearing many thinges, that I am bound to reveal, in obedience to the royall command, which is the duty which I propose to my selfe: at this present the miserie is, I know not where to begin, nor whom to accuse in particular of so generall a crime.

For I vow to God and your Majestie, I can come into no meetinges, but I finde the predominant humour to be talking of the wars of Christendome and honour of their country, and such like treasons; and, would to God! they would stop there, and prophane no more the thinges that are above them; but such is the rage and folly of theire tongues, that they spare not your Majesties sacred person; yea, I horror to descant upon the royall style is now their common pastime. That you are trewe and lawfull Kinge, there is none so divellishly affected as to deny; but some there are that find such fault with your Majesties government, as they wish Queen Elizabeth were alive again; who (they say) would never have suffered the enemies of her religion to have unballanced Christendome, as they have done within these few yeares.

They make a mock of your word, *Great Brittaine,* and offer to prove, that it is a great deale lesse, than *Little England* was wont to be; lesse in reputation, lesse in strength, lesse in riches, lesse in all manner of virtue, and whatsoever else is required to make a state great and happy.

They wonder you will call yourselfe King of *France,* and suffer your best subjects there to be ruined; for, Ireland, they say, you content your selfe with the name, and let others receive the profit.

As for the glorious title, 'Defender of the Faith,' (which was wont to be a point of con-

[1] King James the First; who chose rather to be amused with fair promises and deluding negotiations, than to take the just measures of war to defend the Protestant cause and the peace of Europe, against the usurpations of France and Spain, one of which has been for some ages aspiring to universal monarchy: and neither of them ever negotiate with other powers but with a design to deceive them.

troversie between us and Rome), they say flattly that your faithful subjects have more cause to question that then the Papists.

For they[2] were never better defended in their lifes; witnesse, the judges privy instructions, the pursuivants open prohibitions, and your Spanish ambassadors more than parliament protections.

Lastly, that you are 'Head of the Church,' they dare not doubt; but of what church they would gladly know; the *triumphant*, they say, it cannot be, because there are too many corruptions and vexations in it.

And how far it is from the *militant*, they call heaven and earth to witnesse. Therefore they conclude, it must be either the church *dormant*, or none: and to say the truth, Sir, wee are the securest sinners in the world.

These are the thinges, that have most readily offered themselves to my remembrance; because they follow one another in a kind of order. But, if I should reporte all the disorderly and extravagant speeches I have heard of this nature, I must bee faine to racke my memorie, and (I feare) your Majesties patience; yet rather than leave the least shadow of suspition upon my plain dealing, by seeming too curtall in the performance of so necessary a duty, I will venture to ad these fewe.

They, that take the affaires of your children[3] abroade most to hearte, not being able to discerne the compassion of your bowels, but judginge thinges by the exterior of your actions, will hardlie be perswaded, that you are their father; because, they see, the lamentable estate, whereto you suffer thinges to run, comes nearer to destruction than the nature of fatherly correction.

They are not ignorant that your Majestie hath made as though you would doe somethinge for them, but they also know the course, you have taken, hath beene more formall than effectuall, more chargeable than honourable: and are of opinion that either your embassadours have not negotiated as they ought, or else have mett with very ill masters of requests abroade; since they have not bin able, all this while, to get their petition answered.

The very Papists themselves, Sir, repine at your errour; and say, that the prayers and monyes that your Majestie hath consumed of late in the unprofitable treaties, might have beene farr better imployed in redeeming your mother's soule out of purgatorie; for, to get the enemie out of your children's countrie, other ensignes might have beene found a greate deale more proper. In the meane time, they do not onely bind, but satisfy their pernicious hopes, upon your Majesties patience. For, seeing, how easily you tolerate all thinges abroade; they doubt not, ere long, that they shall also have toleration at home. Our godliest preachers do allready pray against the evil day, with so much earnestness, as if that were at hande. And though there be orders given to preach nothing but Courte-divinitie, yet a man may easily perceive, by the very choyce of their texts, and the very teares in their eyes, that, if they durst, they would speake their consciences.

The perpetuall walkers of Paules doe now despair to see their materiall church ever repaired; since the spirituall, and more worthy, is suffered to go to wracke. And some of them not daring to meddle with affaires of state, because they are monied men; and yet not knowing how to holde their peace, upon so sodaine warning; thinke it their safest course, to talke of nothing but ecclesiasticall matters: wherin they all agree, that your Majestie hath pulled downe the churche more with your proceeding, then you have raised it with your writings[4].

In your Majesties owne tavernes, for one healthe that is begun to your selfe, there are ten drunke to the Princes, your forraygn children. And when the wine is in their heads, Lord have mercie on their tongues! Ever in the very gaming ordinaries, where men have scarce leisure to say grace, yet they take a time to censure your Majesties actions, and

[2] The Papists.

[3] The King of Bohemia married King James the First's daughter.

[4] King James the First affected to shew himself a great opposer of the church of Rome, by turning controvertist, and writing against their doctrines, with his own royal pen.

that in their oulde schoole terms. They say, you have lost the fayrest game at Maw[5], that ever King had, for want of making the best advantage of the five finger, and playing the other helpes in time. That your own[6] card-holders play bootie, and give the signe out of your owne hand. That[7] hee, you played withall, hath ever been knowne for the greatest cheater in Christendome. In fine, there is noe way to recover your losses, and vindicate your honour, but with fighting with him, that hath cozened you. At which honest downe righte playe, you will be hard inough for him with all his trickes. I cannot forget how I have seene some, when they have lost all their money, fall a cursing and swearing at the loss of Prague, and the Palatinate; as though all the rancour of their hartes lay there. And, tell them of your Majesties proclamation, they answere in a chafe: "You must give loosers leave to speake."

The merchants and trades-men I, nor no man else, can accuse of being sensible of any thing, but what toucheth their owne profit. All I find in them is, they are extreame jealous the courte will shortly put down their exchange; and apprehend, because one of their occupation is made treasurer[8], that therefore, hence forwarde, all things must be bought and soulde there.

The lawyers seem not so much offended, that your Majestie hath removed the garland of their profession by puttinge the great seale into the hands of a churchman[9], as that you doe not relieve your poore distressed children, according to the equitie of their cause, who, they saye, have bin wrongefully outed; and that therefore you ought to grant them a writ of forcible re-entry, which (under correction) they conceive maye be better executed by the general of an army then the sheriffe of a countie.

They that fly higher, and fixe their speculations upon the mysteries of the court, doe apparently perceive that the councell of Gondemar hath taught some of your active ministers to juggle, onely to make them passively capable of his own conjuringe; and that, by the penetratinge faculty of a yelowe Indian demon[10], hee hath at his command, and is maister of, your cabinett without a key; and knowes your secrets before the greatest part, and most faithful of your councel. And which is worse, they say, your Majestie knowes it; and therefore suspect that your selfe is bribed against your selfe. Otherwise they thinke not the divell himselfe could so abuse the times we live in, as to make things passe in that fashion as they doe, contrary to all sense, and conscience, and reason of state.

Behold, Sir, the second part of *vox populi*, by so much the more like itselfe then the first, by howe much it comes short of it in witt and discretion; for, thoughe the second

[5] [Mr. Strutt has incidentally cited a passage, in his Sports and Pastimes, from Sir John Harington's Epigrams, which mentions—'heaving of the *Maw;*

'A game without civility or law,
'An odious play; and yet in court oft seen,
'A saucy knave, to trump both King and Queen.'

But the able and inquisitive Antiquary has left the game itself unexplained.]

[6] Privy-counsellors and ambassadors.

[7] The King of Spain, or Gondamore, his ambassador.

[8] This was Sir Lionel Cranfield, who at first was a merchant in London, afterwards a custom-house officer, and from thence introduced into the court as a *projector;* a name given to such as suggested, to the ministers of state, means whereby they might fill the Exchequer with money, when the King would rule without a parliament. He there married the sister of Mary Beaumont, Countess of Buckingham, which was sufficient to raise him to the place of treasurer, and to be created Earl of Middlesex. See Wilson, p. 727, and Weldon, p. 141. From an heiress of this family is descended the Duke of Dorset. See Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 446.

[9] Chancellor Bacon, who had been created Baron of Verulam, and Viscount St. Alban's, though he was a very great genius, and one of the most learned men in Europe, being found guilty of bribery and corrupt practices in his high office, was declared by parliament unworthy not only of the office of Chancellor, but also of having a place, for the future, in the House of Peers; fined forty-thousand pounds, and to be imprisoned during the King's pleasure: in whose place, on the twentieth of July, 1621, the King made John Williams, Dean of Westminster, Lord High-Chancellor. See Rushworth, tom. I. p. 29. Howes. Wilson, p. 735. Weldon, p. 133; and Hacket.

[10] Gold.

cogitations are ever held the best, yet wee see the common people for the most part, when they give themselves to talkinge, proceed from bad to worse, and every time more foolishly then other. The reason is, because they never think before they speake; but rashly vent whatsoever gets into their fancy, bee it true, false, or probable, good, bad, or indifferent; nevertheless, by these overflowinges of their mouths, your Majestie maye doe well to guesse at the aboundance of their hearts. And my lords of your councell may make use of their follie, without desparaginge of their owne wisdome; which, if it be lawfull for mee to confesse, The truth is the principall end I ayme at: for it would never sinke into my beleife, that your Majesties meaninge was to publish these kind of proclamations [11], to intrap your subjects, and bringe them to the blocke of punishment; but rather out of a politicke designe to sound their greife, and make their complaints serve for so many directions to amendment. Accordinge to which persuasion, I have thought it sufficient to sett downe the bare discourses, without troubling your Majestie with the persons; for, if all, that are infected with this King's-evill [12], should be brought before you, I fear that both your Majestie and your chirurgeon will want the vertue of curinge all evils [13]: which I wish you maye doe with as much ease as your owne heart desires. And thoughe, perhaps, I cannot end better, than with saying *Amen* to so good a prayer; yet, now that I have begun to speake to the Lord my Kinge, let him not be offended with mee, if I presume a little further, and offer at least a few of mine owne conceptions, by way of humble remonstrance; not that I can hope (however others [14] have sped) to come from an informer to be a councellour; but because, I believe, there are some thinges most worthy of your Majesties consideration, that are fitter for an honest man to present than a greate.

The great spectatours of your Majesties wisdome, (whose dayly exercise is to multiply the object in the artificiall glasses of fraude and flattery,) are so distracted with the infinite faces of the counterfayts, as they cannot discerne the blemishes of the true. But wee, that knowe neither the use nor the benefitt of such court-perspectives, and have no other waye to understande your Majestie, than by your workes; doe, to our great greife, perceive a number of defects that cover the glory of your raigne, as in a cloude; and much allaye the reverence due to the other excellencies of your person. For mine owne part, I cannot see them, and thinke it not inough to murmure as many doe; but must shewe myselfe so affectionate to my Prince and country, as to advise your Majestie of them; which I promise to doe with as much humility as the matter will bear.

The generall torrent and discontent that raigns with such a seditious noyse over your whole kingdome; thoughe (thanks be to God) it hath made no open breach upon your people's obedience; yet certainely hath very much weakened their affections; which hath ever bin held dangerouse, and of so near neighbourhood as commonly there is no waye to prevent the one, without remedyinge the other [15].

The courses, from whence that riseth, are two:

I. Discord at home. And,
II. Dishonour abroad.

For the first, I must confesse, I am not so well read in the newe book of patents [16], as

[11] Viz. One upon summoning the parliament on the twentieth of January, 1621, and the other, after the King had persuaded the Lords to quarrel with the House of Commons, and he had adjourned the parliament, forbidding all persons to talk of state-affairs, with threats of severe punishment, as well against the concealers of such discourses, as against audacious tongues and pens. See Rushworth, tom. I. p. 36.

[12] Of speaking against the King's government and proceedings, or talking of state-affairs, contrary to the proclamations above-mentioned.

[13] Alluding to the evils of state caused by the mal-administration of the King and Council under the influence of the Spanish ambassador, Gondamore.

[14] Alluding to Sir Lionel Cranfield, as mentioned above.

[15] A good admonition to all princes.

[16] This relates to all the patents, by which the King, by granting monopolies to certain companies, or persons, ruined the trade of his other subjects, in order to raise a little present money for the support of such a prerogative in the crown; which, being detrimental to the subject, would not be allowed by parliament.

that I can make any longe discourse upon that subject; and therefore to the lower-house of parliament will leave it: which is the true christall fountaine that will not onely present to your Majesties vewe, as in a mirrour, all the foule spotts of the common-weale; but serve you at the same time with waters, if you please, to wash them out. But for the other [17], which toucheth more to the quicke all generouse spirits, and so excells in matter of complaint; as it receives redresse, all other clamours ought to hold their peace; I dare pretend to knowe as much of it as another, and, perhaps, more than the share of a private gentleman. And having bin of late (by I knowe not what inclination of my genius) not onely the chosen fruit of my outward observations, but the very nourishment of my sadd and solitary thoughts; if then your Majestie will give me leave to execute my melancholy office of tellinge truth, and freely to advertise you what this grand grievance is, that cries so loud for reparation in all voices, in all hearts: and it is a just resentment of the decayes of our countrey's *honour*, a trade wherein wee were wont to outbuy all our neighbors: and make the greate ingrosser [18] of your Weste-Indyes himselfe bankrupt. But, since your Majestie came to be our Soveraigne, least we shoulde be too proude of so greate an addition, it seemes the hand of Heaven hath thought fit to curbe our felicitie in this point; so that we have lived to see the brave stock of soveraigne reputation, which our greate Queen [19], your predecessor, left us, quite banisht, and brought to nothing. And for acquiring of new, that is a thing so long since grown out of use, as that may be very well reckoned, amongst those other inventions, wee have lost through your injurie [20] of time.

The old compasse of honour is quite forgott, and our pilotts [21], now adaies, knowe no other route than that of their own fortunes; according to which they tacke and untacke all publicke affaires. No marvaile then, if wee see your goodly vessels of this state misguided and shamefully exposed to all maner of danger: sometimes by being runn agrounde upon your sands of shallow and uncertaine policie; but most of all, by being kept at anchore [22], and full as it is of leakes, and rotten ribbes, in the deepe gulphe of security: where that takes in more matter of ruin and corruption, in sixe monthes, then can be pumpt out again in seven yeares. Nor can our states-men excuse their negligence hereafter, in saying, the wind did not serve. For never did heavens blow more favourably to our advantage, than that hath done of late; had wee the grace but to have fitted our sayles to the fairenes of your occasion. But there hath been I know not what remora, that hath hung a long time upon this unfortunate state; and still continues of that prodigious force, as for ought I see (unles God of his mercie putt his helping hand) it will rather sink us, then suffer us to go forward in any course that tends to our prosperitie.

In the meane time, our adverse parties have feardome inough, and all is fishe, that comes to their netts; that it seemes they have forbidd us, under the paine of their highe displeasure, to deal any more in matters of worthe: and reserving to themselves the rich prizes, and triumphes of the time, have thought that sufficient for us, to sheere our sheepe, and fetche home spices, to make ginger-bread. Not so much but the very pedlers [23], whome wee our selves set upp for our owne use, are now become our masters in the Easte-Indyes; and thinke themselves our fellowes in any ground of Christendome.

These thinges are the more irkesome unto us, by reason we did least expect them at your Majesties hands. For, who would have thought, that wee should have lost, but rather infinitely gained, by changing the weaker sexe [24], for your more noble, to be our commanders; and having withall to boote the onely nation of the earth [25], that could compare with us in valour, to be our fellowe-souldiers? But the event showes, wee are in nothing more miserable, then in that wee had so much reason to thinke our selves happy;

[17] *Viz.* the House of Lords. [18] The King of Spain. [19] Elizabeth. [20] Of granting patents.
[21] Or ministers of state.
[22] At Spithead, or elsewhere. This particularly refers us to the mismanagement of the Duke of Buckingham.
[23] The Dutch. [24] Queen Elizabeth.
[25] Scotland united by King James the First's accession to the crown of England.

for now that wee see how contrary to our hopes all thinges have succeeded, and how vilely wee have suffered our brave possibilities to passe away one after another; as in a dreame our greatest comfortes are changed into equall despaire, and our most reputed blessings into moste apparent curses.

Of all the benefits, that descend from heaven to earth, there is none to be received with more prayse, and thankefulnes, then that of peace. But a man may have too much of his father's blessing: and I feare we have too much cause to complaine of your Majesties unlimited peace; the excesse whereof hath long since turned vertue into vice, and health into sicknes. As long as other princes kept themselves within their bounds, and followed your great example, it was a thinge rather to be gloryed in, than any way reproached, that your Majestie was knowne throughout Christendome, by the name of the 'Kinge of peace.' But now, that both our sworne enymies, and forsworne friends, have taken up armes with one consent, that defyed your Majesties goodnes by enterprisinge upon your neerest and dearest interest in all forraign parts: now, that there is question of God's glory [26], as well as your owne: and that the cause of both your children lyes equally a-bleeding. Now, I say, to continue still the faute, as still unmoved, as if you were no King of this world, but stood already possessed of the kingedome of heaven by vertue of (*Beati pacifici*); this certainely is such a strange peace of supererrogation, as will serve to astonish the present age, and that to come; but deserve well of neither. It will rather revoke in doubt your former merit, and make us suspect, that your peaceable disposition all this while hath not proceeded so much out of Christian piety, and love of justice, as out of meere impotency, and desire of ease. Pardon me (O King) if I speak to you [27] in a language, you are not accustomed to heare.

It is a part of supremacye [28], not to have your darling sinne layd open; as my lords and bishops do very well observe: but it is now no time to bauke, and palliate that which all the world sees. For, though I feare it lies still in your bosom; yet the blasing starr was not more spectable in our horizon, nor gave people more occasion of talke. Heaven grant it may not be the cause of more mischiefe in Christendome, than the other was a signe of. It is in your Majesties power to take away our feare, and danger, both at once; if you will at length but know your owne strength, and take a resolution worthy of yourselfe.

There are two faire occasions, that come, as it were, a-woinge to your Majestie at this time; the least of which highly deserves the honour and good fortune of your mayden armes [29]: so just, and so religious, in all humane and divine respects, as, I dare say, that, if the noble army of martyrs were sent downe upon earth to make their fortunes a-new, they would choose noe other quarrel to dye in, nor hope for a surer way to recover againe the crown of glory.

The one is, to re-establish your owne children in Germany [30].
The other, to preserve God's children [31] in France.

Both of them so universally desired, and so conformable to Christian faith and good maners, that I doubt not, but they have longe since passed the presse of the conscience; though I know, by what indirect means, they are not suffered to come forth in publike view. I shall not need to rip up these questions of state from the beginninge, and vex your Majestie, with provinge particularly that which is best knowne to your selfe; yet, because I see nothing done, I must needes say somewhat.

And first, for the unfortunate Princes your children. Though they may perhaps have committed a fault, which your Majesty, in your singular wisdome, thought good to make

[26] In the Reformed religion, like to be suppressed in Germany.
[27] Accustomed to the flattery of courtiers.
[28] Alluding to the King of England's title, 'Supreme Head of the Church of England.'
[29] Because never yet used against the enemies of the nation.
[30] *Viz.* in the Palatinate and Bohemia. [31] The Protestants.

them drinke of, (to purge them either of ill counsell, or happily to quench in them betimes their dangerous thirst of ambition, which, not content with Rhine and Danuby[32] might afterwards attempt the ocean;) yet to let them drinke still, and so deep in the cup of afflictions, as not to be able to stand upon their legges, but reele up and downe, without hope of recovery, is the scorne and opprobry of the nations of the earth.

Hac ratione potes justus fortasse videri:
At non crudelis non potes esse pater.

But some will say, your Majestie hath often advised them to returne to themselves; and, which is more, that you sent one of late of purpose to lead them home. But, alas! in theire case how vaine is all comfort without handes? And how ill hath this, the promisinge endeavour sped: the guide you sent (as expert as he made himselfe in the enymies wayes) is come short of his undertakinge; and, instead of givinge end to the Princes misery, hath only lighted upon a handsome trick to cover his own shame. Had fortune so miraculously blest his confidence, as that he had performed this Hercules' labour without a lion's skin, he would have stayned all wise men for ever, who, before he went, gave him for another last embassadour. It could never appeare to them in the least forme of likelyhood; and having the credit dew to gentlemens complement; that the Spanish counsell of warr would be at the charge of getting a country by force of armes, that they meant afterwards to restore at the kissinge of a hand. They are knowne to be a people so circumspect, and advised in all that they doe, as they never resolved upon the present, without consultinge the future, but make the reasons of both their equal warrant; and therfore, if they had made keeping of words, in matters of this nature, they should questionlesse have judged it more convenient to have taken your Majesties for Bohemia, then have taken theirs for the Palatinate: which, before they would surrender, they were first obliged to conquer; and consequently to undertake a new warrant to no purpose. But, seing they would not trust your Majestie in so apparant a congruity, it is not to be wondered at, that they have deceived you, but that they had the meanes to doe so; for not onely Ball, but every Balaam's asse, might easily forsee that your Majesties credulity was in the high way to perdition; and could not but bring you where the Spaniard would have you; who, how hee useth all that are at his mercy, I am sorry your Majestie is now to learne from so curst a schoole-master as himselfe: who will make no new scruple to whipp you as your children, with your owne rods of iron[33], though he fainedly promised to use them only against the Turke; and then it will be too late to wish you had beleved Cassandra, the voyce of your loving Parliament; who, hearing of it, made a start out of their owne businesse, and could not be quiet, til they had intreated your Majestie to consider what a dangerous gift it was, and how fitt to be revoked. But your answere was, that you had passed your royall word to the Spanish embassadour, and could not break it; as if you were the only unfortunate Prince of the world, that were tyed to be faithfull to your owne prejudice. Had your minister in the court of Spaine subreptitiously obtained a graunt from that King of like importance; his Catholicke Majestie would have bin glad of so good an occasion to render is of no effect: and, without standing on such gentle points of honour, or framing to himselfe, I know not what, chimeras of jealousy betweene his owne absolute power, and his people's humble desire; would have bin so farre from expecting his Parliament's opposition, as he would rather have given them charge under hand to have made it, and by that means have recalled his benefitt, and preserved his thankes. But, if your Majestie had made use of this expedient, there might perhapps some inconvenience ensued; for then, it is to be feared, the Spanish embassadour would have bin discouraged from ever asking such un-

[32] Or the countries lying on the banks of those two rivers.

[33] This refers to the King's permission to Gondamore to export ordnance, and other warlike stores from England, to supply the Spanish arsenals; and, in particular, to the King's order for whipping one by the common hangman, for reviling Gondamore for the same in London streets. See Rushworth, tom. i. c. 34.

reasonable thinges againe. The onely hope whereof makes him flatter the state, and tell your Majestie many a pleasant tale. We are not yet willing to be undeceived ; for, if wee were, wee should not stay, till wee sawe the mountaines, that are promised us out of Spaine, vanish into smoake. The poore Palatinate shews us sufficiently, what wee are to looke for from the Spaniard ; who, if hee were resolved to give us shortly so much of his owne, as is imagined, would never keepe so gripingly from us that which is ours. But I crie the Spaniards mercy ; it is not hee (good man) but the revengfull Emperour, that doth us this wrong : as if the Emperour, without him, could wrong a mouse, or doth shew himselfe refractary to the least tittle of his knowne will. Wee may as well suppose the sea turbulent without winde, or the lower spheares to moove without the *primum mobile*. I graunt that wee see the Spanish forces and the signes turne another way, but so as they involve, with a powerfull and secret touch, the rapture of the Palatinate, and all the shires about it ; without the which the Emperour would be as quiet a lumpe of majestie as wee could wish him : and his commissary, the Duke of Bavaria, did nothing but what became him. It is the Catholicke usurper[34] that setts them both a worke, and plaies least in sight himselfe. Betweene them they hold faste your children's patrimony, and play with your Majestie as men doe with little children at handy-dandy, which hand will you have ? when they are disposed to keepe any thing from them. Or as two[35], that having joined together in a theft ; hee, that tooke, saies, ' Hee *has* it not ;' and hee, that hath it, saies, ' Hee *tooke* it not.' Which is a mockery more insufferable than the maine injurie, and ought to provoke your Majestie to the highest straine of indignation : for, if you persist in your obdurate patience, and take still for payment all the artifices, that their false dealing can coine, wee shall be shrewdly tempted to beleeve for once what the author of all lyes, to justifie the King of Spaine, and the other Princes of their[36] religion, doe constantly give out : that your Majestie is sure of the Palatinate by treatie ; and that you pretend the contrary, to draw money from the Parliament. Out of which opinion, if it be once suffered to take roote, may grow a greate deale of poyson, and fall upon your Majestie as a juste judgment of God : who, because you would wilfully trust your enymie to your hurte, may now see yourselfe so unhappy, as not to be beleeved by your owne subjects for your good. But, I hope, God (of his mercy) will avert so great a disaster ; and give your Majestie the grace to discover. and distroy at the same instant, this malitious invention : which may easily be done, if, without any more delay or reservations, you will now really, and royally, ingage your selfe in this righteous way. Nor let the scarcitie of meanes and wayes discourage you. For your Majestie knowes not what a secret treasure lies hidde in your people's hearts ; which (in so good an occasion as this) will be brought forth, and laied at your feete, in greater heapes than the world imagines. Your faithfull Parliament hath already made you a liberall offer of our lifes, and fortunes, and every good English-man hath long since confirmed it in his particular devotion. It wholy depends upon your Majesties wisdome, to make the right use of so great a gift ; for therein consists all the danger, all the difficulty. The foundamentall engines of warre, as every man knows, are men and money : and, would to God ! your Majesties dominions, were as well stored with the one, as they are with the other ; then should we not prostitute, as wee doe, to the great whore-master of Babylon[37], and for a fewe clods of earth give up the honour of our countrey, and violate the love which we owe to religion. But his knowledge of our wants makes him presume on our easiness, and allure us to this base and impious adultery. Though, I verily believe, in this present occasion, hee and his bawds will be much deceived ; for, if your Majesty, and your estates now assembled together, will tie the holy knot of union, and make a firm covenant together, wee shall not need to goe so neere Hell for gold, as Spanish mines ; or, if we doe, wee will take a course to have it without being beholding to the divell : wee shall be able to supply well enough for the businesse in hand out of that wherwith God Almighty hath blest us. Onely, I must advertise your Majesty, that wee expect to see an army

[34] The King of Spain. [35] In the fable. [36] Popish. [37] The Pope and his adherents.

raised, as well as subsidies. For, if wee be at the charge of maintaining a war, it is reason wee should partake of the honour and benefitt of it; especially considering how hardly we can spare money, and how easily men.

There are many thousands of your Majesties subjectes, able and proper fellows, that lie languishing, ready to rebell for want of imployment. And, I hope, none will denie, but English-men can earn theire wages at this worke, as well any other nation. Sure I am, that it is to be found in very good historie, that forraigne Princes have thought it none of theire worst stratagems to clad a great parte of theire owne people in English cassocks[38] to make themselves more terrible to the enymie. Count Mansfield[39] is a gallant man, and deserves not only to be well paid, but highly rewarded, for the good service he hath done your Majestie in that country: where, had he not arrived when he did, those few all worthie countrymen of ours, that would not goe away before they saw the last danger borne, had bin miserably sacrificed to the Spaniards butcherie; which would have made a great many of us worne blacke[40] in England for a while. But nothing would have lasted blacke so long, as the story of it: which when posterity came to read, they would certainely have blurd that part of your Majesties raigne with tears. But as he came thither by an accident; so (for ought I know) hee may go away by another; and therefore it were fit to provide more certaine souldiers, for so certaine a warre. For (as my Lord Digbey[41] did very well show, towards the end of his narration), Count Mansfield's armye doth not consist of such as have their wifes, and children, and friends dwelling in the Palatinate; but of such, to whome all places are alike, so they may set a worke; and upon whome there can be no other tye then precise pay. How much better then were it for your Majestie to satisfie the generall desire, and send over an armye of good English; who, you may be sure, will neither change party, nor spoile the country, but stedfastly adhere, as much out of affection, as obligation to the cause, and persons of your children? Besides, if your Majestie will take thinges aright, wee doe not contribute to this warre, so much to regaine the Palatinate, as to redeeme the credit of our nation; which all the money in the kingdome is not able to doe without action. There are, as I have heard, two reasons made, to oppose this resolution; the one, the odds of the charge; the other, the difficulty of getting thither.

To the first, I answere breifly, that, in matter of warre, the best is ever cheapest, and the shortest the best; I meane, not the shortest beginning, but the shortest ending. And, for the other, it is to be presumed, that where your Majestie shall make this warre royall, by taking it upon your selfe, you will not, for your owne greatnes sake, be seene to send any forces, but such as shall be able to make theire way; if not, at least they may have their commission to take up lodgings by the way, for those shall come after, and so, though they come short of their journeyes end, they may happily make an end of that they goe for, the sooner.

In plaine termes, Sir, the Palatinate is very ill seated for us to warre in; it being both remote from the sea, and surrounded on all sides with our enymies, whome the Pope hath tyed together, like Sampson's foxes tailes, to set these our parts of Christendome on fire; for which purpose, they call themselves the Catholicke League, and have the Catholike King[42] for their head, who sticks close unto them in all adventures. Whereas your Majestie, I know not for what crime, hath long since beheaded the poore Protestant Union, and left it as a body without a soule; yet it is not so dead, and buried, but that there is hope it will rise againe at the first sound of your Majesties trumpets, and joyfully receive a second, and more durable life, from your better resolutions, of all the parts belonging to it, the easiest to be resuscitated. And most usefull for the present busines

[38] Cloaths, or red coats. [39] The general of the King of Bohemia's army. [40] Or gone in mourning.

[41] [George Lord Digby, afterwards created Earl of Bristol, was the negotiator of forty-three several embassies to the courts of Spain and Germany. What his "Narration," here spoken of, might be; does not appear from the article assigned to him in the Royal and Noble Authors. It was probable a state-paper.]

[42] Of Spain.

are the United Provinces of the Low Countreyes, as being the strongest, and neerest to the head, during this time of dissolution.

They have binn faine to do the office of a breast to give your children suck, but are indeed the armes; and would, ere this, have carried them into theire owne countrey, had they not had their handes full of the common enymie[43] at home. If then your Majestie desires to remove the Spaniard's foote out of the Palatinate, the speediest course will be, to give the Hollanders your helping hand in Flanders; or, if your strict alliance with Spaine will not beare such an immediate act of hostility from your selfe; you may, for love, or monie sake, lend the Prince, your son-in-law[44], an army to dispose of, as hee shall see cause; provided alwaies that you counsaile him underhand to his best advantage: so shall the Spaniard be paid in his owne coin, and our princes restored to their owne possessions. Whereas, if you confine the action to the bare Palatinate, and content your selfe with the dove's innocency, now that you see the enymie as wise as a thousand serpents, it will never have an end; but draw it selfe into such a continuall circle of trouble, as wee may looke to see a dozen yeares hence two such armies keeping one another at bay in the Palatinate, as doe now in the Low-Countreys. I will not show so little respect to your Majesties judgment, as to talke any longer in so cleare a case, but will here conclude my reasons with my praiers, humbly beseeching your Majestie to doe your selfe, and Christendome, right in this great affaire. And let it be no longer heard, that the Spaniard hath more witt than the English eye-sight; or the King of Spaines cozen-germanes removed are neerer a kinne to him, then your Majesties owne children are to you.

It remains now, that I speake a word or two in the behalfe of our brethren, God's children, in France, against the firebrands of hell, which have kindled a persecution without all earthly matter, it being the heavenly cause of religion, and no other, for which they are made to suffer; wherin your Majestie, and state, have as much interest, as is possible for a man to have, when his neighbour's house is on fire: indeed, so much as would ill become a private man to put you in mind of at any time, but this, when, it seemes, a dead sleep possesses all the land, and that we had rather perish than be distnrbed.

The vigilant parliament[45] hath laien *sentinell perdu*, and discovered the enemies approaches, but cannot be heard. The watched men of the ballances that stand in high places, though they cannot but see the danger, yet dare they not give the alarme, for fear of disquieting your Majestie. Lastly, and worst of all, the church-men, who are the Seers of Israell, and ought to discry from the holy place the troopes of the Philistins and theire plots, are they that doe most of all connive at the stupidity of the time; all of them already, for excuse of theire weaknes, urge the strong opinions that they have of your Majesties ablenes, for (say they) it is in vaine either to advertise or advise your Majestie of any thing touching government, because, they are assured, you know as much of it, as naturall man can comprehend. And, for mine owne parte, I thinke a great deale more; otherwise, it could not be that your proceedings should so varye as they doe from the whole current of human discretion.

I graunt all wise Princes have ever reserved to themselves certain cases of state, which the politicians call *arcana imperii*[46]; and we should be too injurious to your Majesties wisdome and power, if we should grudge you the like privilege. But, alas! Sir; wee that have reasonable soules, and cannot but use them in so important a matter, doe find a great deal of difference betweene your Majestie and other Princes in this point. For though they have locked up, in the closset of their brests, their incommunicable purposes, and so worke upon divers occasions, as that the effects have bin seene to come abroad, before the cause could be knowne; yet at last it comes to be evident, that these theire secret designes ever tended to the publick good; and the instrumentall meane, were only such heteroclytes as did transcend, and not overthrowe common reason. Wheras your

[43] The Spaniards. [44] The King of Bohemia, and Elector-Palatine.
[45] That was summoned January 20, 1621. [46] Secrets of government.

Majesties courses are not onely inscrutable, but diametrically opposite to poore mans understanding: and so far from giving us any hope of good effects hereafter, as they doe already fulfill the utmost of our feares; insomuch that wee have no way left to put ourselves out of astonishment, and preserve your Majesties wisedome blameles, but by strainingly beleeving, that, whereas all other Princes have liberty to governe themselves according to the rules of worldly policie, your Majesties hands are tied from using such means and advantages by the corrective power of some secret revelation. And as David, who was 'a King after God's owne heart,' might not for all that build God a temple, because he had his hands in blood; so happily your Majestie may not be suffered to do any thing for the church of God, because you have likewise your hands defiled with blood: for how can they be otherwise, being clast so streightly (as they are) with them, that are red with the blood of the [47] saints. One that knowes the sweetnes of your Majesties nature, and hath seen with what clemency and mercy you have swayed the scepter, would thinke it little less blasphemy to accuse you of any thing that is bloody. But God judges not, like man. And who can hinder the Eternall from calling your Majestie to account, for all the ravage hath bin done in his church of late; since you are his lieuetenante of greatest truste, and have received of his heavenly grace both sufficient power and right to oppose such violent innovations? O, the good and divine Providence of God! that hath given your Majestie above all the Princes of the earth such titles and royall attributes, as doe necessarily infer, and transfer a right, and protection upon these his poore persecuted servants; for, whatsoever your Majestie thinks of it, I doe as verily beleeve, as if there were a text for it in the Apocalips, that the great God of the world, in his omniscience and omnipotent prescience, hath so disposed of states to the benefitt of the church, as to continew upon your Majestie the title of France; to the end that little flocke, which he hath thought good to plant there among so many wolfes, might have by a just pretence 'the Defender of the Faith,' for theirs. If your Majestie will not owne this poore people, neither as yow are King of France, nor Defender of the Faith, yet ought you to preserve them for your owne England's sake; and doe that for reasons of state which religion cannot obtain: for should the Protestants of France be utterly extirpt, and that puissant kingdome rendred as catholicke as Spaine, I hope our states-men would not think England the same it was; nor your Majestie behold your monarchie, without greeving at so terrible an alteration. For mine owne parte, I should then beginne to beleeve that the time were come Comines the Frencheman spoke of; who, being in discourse with an Englisheman about the warres we had had so often, and with so good success, made in France, discreetly said, "That God Almighty had brought the English into France, to punish them for theire sins: and when the sins of England should become greater than of France, he would likewise send the French thither to scourge them." And how willingly that nation would imbrace such an imployment, may be easily judged; whether we consider the old or the new cause of their hatred. The virtue of our ancestors sticks still in their stomacks, and the true profession of the Gospell enrages their consciences. They who beleeve they do God good service, in cutting theire owne countrey-mens and kinsmens throats, because they are not Papists; should doubtlesse thinke themselves damned, if they should not doe much more to strangers, and their ancient enymies upon the same occasion. Nor shall they want powerfull incitements to so holy an enterprise. His Holiness himselfe will be tempter, though (thanks be to God) he is nothing yet so cunning as the Divell; for, I know not by what pontificall furie, he hath precipitated his instigations, and suffred his malice to outrunne the season; would any (but Antichrist out of his wits) have so abused his most Christian child the King of France, as to put him upon the conquest of England, before he was master of Rochell[48]. I must confesse, when I first saw his apostolicke letters, I had an opinion that some crafty Hugoenot had devised them, to give your Majestie a more sensible interest in their cause: but, having since beene made certaine they came from Rome, and that I find them inserted in a Catholicke writer,

[47] Protestant.

[48] The chief and strongest town belonging to the Protestants in France.

avec privilege du Roy[49]; I know not what to wonder at most, whether at them that say, the Pope can not erre at all; or at him, that he should erre so much. I assure my selfe, this famous epistle hath long since beene presented your Majestie in its owne language. Neverthelesse, I will crave leave to make you see, how vilely it shews in English.

'To our dearest Sonne in Christ Jesus, Lewis, the most Christian King.

'Pope GREGORIE.

'MOST deare sonne in Christ; health, and our apostolicke benediction. The high 'exploits of your royall valour, which have drawn upon them all the eyes of Christen- 'dome, bring a great deal of comfort to our fatherly care, as well in regard of the glory 'of your armes, as the hope of your triumphs: for, considering (as wee doe) with much 'greife, the impieties of the hereticks[50], living in some places, without feare or danger, 'we now thanke the Lord of Hostes that hath in so fit an opportunity made your Ma- 'jestie to take up armes, to maintaine the dignity of the Catholicke[51] religion. O faire 'apprentishipp of royall warfare, and worthy of a most Christian King! What an ad- 'mirable thing is it, that the age, which others, out of a kind of softnes and idlenes, 'use to pass away in sports and delights; your Majestie should imploy so generously, so 'fortunately, in appeasing differences, conducting armies, and besieging the places of 'hereticks, and all not without the speciall councell of God, by whom kings raigne? It 'is almost incredible, that the very first steps of your thought should carry you in so high 'and troublesome an enterprise; and that the dangers and difficulties, which have stopt 'others in theire course, should onely serve for a spurr to the greatnes of your courage. 'Injoy (dear sonne) the renowne your name hath gott, and follow the God that fights for 'you; to the end that, as you are now held in every man's opinion the thunderbolt of 'war, and buckler of war, so you may hereafter be esteemed the praise of Israell, and 'the glory of the world, from the highest of our apostolicke dignity, whereto it hath 'pleased God of his goodnes to raise us unworthy of so great a grace; wee assist your 'armes with heart and affection, and by our frequent praiers prepare the divine reme- 'dies: and, though we doubt not but your owne virtue will make you constant in this 'worke you have begun, neverthelesse we have thought good to adde our exhortations, 'that the world may see the care we have of the advancement of the true religion; and 'how willing wee are to give way to your glory. You have bin hitherto infinitely bound 'to God for his bounty towards you, and as wee both hope and wish shall hereafter a 'great deale more. For you, having your mind indued with celestial doctrine, and not 'with the bare precepts of humane wisedome, doe well know that kingdomes have their 'foundation upon the truth of orthodox faith; and, indeede, unlesse God keep the city, 'what principality can subsist with any assurance? It may easily be judged, with what 'fidelity they[52] are likely to defend your royall throne, that have cast the very saints[53] 'themselves out of their temples, and don as much as in them lay, to put them[54] out of 'the number of the blessed, yea out of Paradise it selfe: that with impious temerity con- 'demne the institutions of our forefathers, the customes of Kings, the decrees of Popes, 'and the ceremonies of the Church; these are the disturbers of the Christian common 'weale, and the reproaches of France, whom the great God hath reserved to be exter- 'minated in the first year of your raigne. Know then that all Europe (which the event 'of your armes holds now in suspence) hopes shortly to hoise saile upon the ocean under 'your conduct; to the end that place[55], which serves now for sanctuary, and protection

[49] With the King's licence. [50] This is the general name given by the Papists to all Protestants.
[51] Or *Popish:* for *Catholick* is only a term or name usurped by the Papists. [52] Protestant subjects.
[53] Images, pictures, reliques of Popish invention.
[54] That have no farther proof of their saintship than only their canonization by the Pope. [55] England.

'to the hereticks and rebelles, may one day serve for a marke of your victories. Wee 'are confidently persuaded, that neither fear, nor inconstancy, shall ever be able to di- 'vert you from the pursuite of your enterprise; onely wee would have you remember, 'that the saints of Heaven assist that prince, who takes upon him the defence of religion, 'and fight on his side, like fellow souldiers. The same God that hardned the waters like 'dry land, and turned the waters of the sea into wals, to give safe passage to his chil- 'dren's army, will certainely be as favourable unto you; and then, we shall have good 'cause to hope, that, after you have established your own kingdome, and crusht the 'impiety that is there, you may one day (by the progresse of your victorious armes) join 'the Orient to the Occident; imitating the glory of your ancestors, who have ever borne 'as much respect to the exhortations of Popes as to the commandements of God. Saint 'Lewis (whose name you beare, and whose steps you follow) invites you to it; so doe 'the first of your race; who in defending the apostolicke authority, and propagating 'Christian religion, laid the best and surest foundation of your royall house. Follow '(deare sonne) which are the ornaments of the world, the commandements of Heaven; 'powre out your wrath and indignation upon those people, that have not knowne 'God: to the end, the divine treasure of Heaven may belong unto you, by just ac- 'quisition. In the meane time, wee send you most affectionately our apostolicke bene- 'diction.'

'Given at Rome in Great St. Maryes under the Seale of the Fisher, September 4, '1620; being the 10th Yeare of our Pontificate.'

BEHOLD the nett, St. Peter's successors hope to catch England with, wherein your Majestie hath more to loose than any man I know. Bee not therefore offended with your loving subjects, if theire hearts tremble, though not for feare, yet for greife, to see your Majestie neglect both your selfe, and them, in so pregnant and considerable an occasion. The Pope needed not to have bin so foolishe, as to advertise us; we should easily have bin so wise of our selves, to understand how neerly the Protestants of France concerne England.

They are indeed so many hostages, which God Almighty hath put into your Majesties hands to secure you, and your Majesties dominions, from all danger of that countrey; and to loose them were no other (in my opinion) then wilfully to tempt God, to deliver us into the hands of our enymies. As long as God hath any children in France, we shall be sure to have brethren there. But, they once gone, your brother of France will quickly shew whose child he is, and how incompatible the obedience he owes him[56] is, with any good will he can bear your Majestie. Since then, the tye you have upon that Princes friendshipp is of so loose a knot, what can your Majestie doe better for your selfe and yours, then to keep his enmity still clogged, by cherishing and maintaining so good a party in his countrey, as those of the religion; who, you may be sure, will be so far at your devotion, as to continew their publike praiers for your prosperity.

Nor have the holy motions of God's Spirit beene alltogether wanting to your Majesties heart in this point (at least, if wee may beleeve what is unlawful to doubt) the protestation of your tongue. For it is most true, that the first time the deputies of Rochell presented themselves before your Majestie, you received their lamentable remonstrances with all the showes of compassion, and sent them away astonished with your good words. Did you not then tell them that, "although your conscience would not suffer you to assist your owne children in the warre of Bohemia, because you were not well satisfyed of the justice of theire quarrel; yet for them, they might assure themselves, you would employ the

[56] The Pope.

utmost of your forces in theire defence; that you had strictly examined all that had passed betweene theire King and them, and could not find wherein they had any way offended; that you were more engaged in theire behalfe, then perhaps they know of. For when you renewed your alliance with this King, after the death of his father, you caused an expresse article to bee inserted, that those of the Reformed Religion, as long as they comported themselves as good subjects, should be maintained, and enjoy the benefitts of the edict, in as ample manner, as they had done in his father's life time; which being so rashly and wilfully infringed, you helde your selfe both in conscience and honour to take their cause in hand, and see them righted, as you vowed to God you would?" Considering this your resolution to the imprecations of so high a nature, (although I doubt not but they proceeded of zeale;) yet dare I not, for the respect I owe unto your Majestie, but remember them in this place; and that nothing might be wanting to make innocency and religion credulous.

My Lord of Buckingham himselfe fell upon his knees, and besought your Majestie to take them into your protection: insomuch, that the poore men were almost ravished with joy at theire good succes, and came away praising God for the favour they had found in your Majesties eyes. But, by the time they returned into theire countrey, (which was after some eight or nine moneths sollicityng,) they hung downe their heads, and said, they would as long as they lived, call England the Land of *Promise*[57]; for, notwithstanding the great promises that your Majestie made them, they mett with no man, but could tell them, they would be deceived in their expectation; which they would not beleeve, till they sawe at last nothing done, because your Majestie had told them (as became a great prince) that they were not a people, with whom you had any reason to flatter or dissemble; for, if you had not liked theire cause, you would have told them so at first. But, alas! what are they the better for your Majesties liking of their cause? That only shews the goodness of your owne judgment; but doth no way lessen the bitterness of theire calamitie.

True it is, such was their humility and discretion, as they desired your Majestie would first be pleased to try all peaceable meanes in their favour; not out of any hope they had, that would produce any good effect; but, because they knew it was a course most suitable to your Majesties inclination. Hereupon, your Majestie thought good to send my Lord of Doncaster into France, to mediate theire peace; in the choice of whose person they held themselves as muche gratified as in the embassage it selfe: for, though they were strangers and but newly arrived in the courte, yet had they learned (as indeede who could not tell them, what a spotles and openhearted affection, that lord bare to the true service of God and his Majestie) but in this employment his well wishes were his owne, and his instructions your Majesties; and, how farre soever the one went before, he was now bound to follow the other. All he could doe voluntarily was, to use his best diligence in matter of time (as I assure my selfe he did) though it was his misfortune to meete with many heavy rubbs. For, being arrived at the French King's campe, the canon made such a noyse at Montabaes, as hee could not of a long time be heard; and, when with much adoe hee had procured that favour, the answere hee received was so unsavoury, as both his businesse and himselfe fell sick uppon it.

By occasion whereof, more time was spent in this one voyage, then our ancestours were wont to employ in conquering halfe France; and, after all, he came home pitifully complaining of the ill satisfaction he had received. Neverthelesse, your Majestie would not take his faithfull accounte for finall payment; but thought it worth the labour to send him once againe, furnissed (as the world conceived) with stranger charmes than the first; but the effect shewed all was one, for he found the yong king as obstinate as ever in the pursuite of his armes, and not to be perswaded to lay them downe upon bare entreaties. And (to speake truth) it was not to be expected at his handes. For he had no reason to encrease the obligation his Protestant subjects have to his Majestie, by showing them any

[57] and not of *deeds:* whose King spake fair, but performed nothing.

favour at your instance; since it is well knowne, a greate part of the enmity he bears them, proceeds meerely out of a jealousy he hath, that they have already to much dependance upon you. Had your Majestie used your owne perswasions for them, as Edward the Fourth did to Lewis the Second, to make him let the Duke of Brittaine alone, I doubt not but his councells, as fierce a warriour as he is, would have advised him for the best; but this was a point of rhetoricke beyond his Lordshipp's commission: and all that was lawfull for him to urge, was easily avoyded either by flatt refusall or by vaine excusall. So as he was forced the second time to return out of France, without leaving behind him any signe that he had been there; that appeared here at home by my Lord Treasurer's accoumpts, there having been issued as much money out of the exchequer, for the defraying this fruitlesse embassage, as would have satisfied a great part of the[59] churches necessities; as your Majestie came after to consider, though too late, when you told the deputies[60], you could have wished, you had given them the monie my Lord of Doncaster had, and would cost you in this treaty. And, without doubt, the one would have done them a great deal more good then the other. For they were so farre from receiving any benefitt by your Majesties intercession, as it did rather infinitely disadvantage them; it no ways slackened or appeased the fury of theire Prince; who continewed his assaults uppon them every day more cruellie then other.

And it was of that force with them, as not to aggravate matters, and so render his Majesties pious indeavours more difficulte, they imposed measure and modestie upon theire armes; and in diverse occasions, chose rather to suffer, then employ the extremity of warre, in theire defence. Besides, many of theire party, seing your Majestie so farre engaged in a treatise of peace, thought it no point of wisedome to declare themselves, before they knew the issue of it; which could not be but a great weaknesse to them; so as the very prejudice they have received by your Majesties occasion (were there no other motive) obligeth you, in point of justice, to do something for them; and, in the name of God, what should hinder you, after so many vowes and promises, from perfourming so easy and meritorious a work? Perhaps, some false-hearted Achitophell[61] hath buzd into your apprehension, that, if you should releive the Protestants of France, the French King might likewise be drawne to assist the Papists in England, against your Majestie; but (thanks be to God) wee are not there yet.

For, though our Papists have had more scope given them of late, than all that love theire country have wished; yet they are not growne to such a formidable light, that this illusion should be thought of any consequence.

The Protestants of France have lawes[62] made in theire favour, and townes given them for theire security; but the Papists of England can expect nothing from the lawes of theire country, but penalty; nor challenge any other assurance, then what proceedes from meere connivencie. Besides, the tenetts of the one[63] are known to be so comformable to civill government, as they are, and of right ought to be permitted to assemble themselves both in provincionall or nationall synods; whereas, the other[64] are justly denied this libertie, because both their positions and dispositions are altogether repugnant to the peace and safty of the state. Well may they conspire in secret, two and two; but, to rebell openly, the constable[65] will not suffer them; if they were in case to show themselves in right colours, wee should quickly have newes of theire freinds beyond the seas. There being a great Prince[66] in the world, that openly professes the English Catholickes are as deare unto him, as his owne proper Castilians; it is not your Majesties example, but your wisedome, that must caution you from this danger. To hinder them from having any forraigne assistance, there is no way but one, to keepe them in such order as they may be incapable of it. The churche of Rome, as it for the most part is grounded upon worldly policy, so it doth, above all, excell in this, that it holds the parts firmely linked together, and possesses, by I know not what fascination, with such a spiritt of confederacy, as

[59] Protestant. [60] Of the Rochellers. [61] Counsellor.
[62] See the edict of Nantes, and of Mompellier, made 19 Oct. 1622. [63] *viz.* Protestants.
[64] *viz.* Papists. [65] Or, Peace-officer. [66] The King of Spain.

they partake alike in both fortunes, and passionably espouse one another's interests; whereas, if wee pray once a weeke, more out of custome, then any devotion, 'for the good estate of Christ's church[67],' wee thinke wee have perfourmed the utmost of Christian duty. Hence it is, that the Catholicke cause makes such a noyse in the world, and carries all before it in these troublesome times; for, amongst them, it is not inough to professe religion, without contributing to it; whereas, wee think God sufficiently honoured, if we beleeve his truth; lett him defend it, as hee will. Or, if at any time wee be urged to fight for our religion, wee use only the spirituall sword; whilest our adversaries they are victorious, and confound more in a day with the one, then S. Peter or S. Paul could ever convert with the other. The Princes, that have given theire power to the beast, send armes; and your Majestie (that should fight the battles of the Lord) embassadours. In a word, whilest your Majestie amasethe your selfe[68] to convince an errour or two of theirs; they find meanes to conquer a whole province of ours. Certainly, these children of darknes are 'wiser in theire generation then the children of light;' and shall rise up against us at the last day, for bearing more affection to the Alcaron[69] of Rome, then wee do to the Gospel of Christ.

That I may yet give your Majesty a more lovely touch of these thinges, let it be lawfull for mee to change the present state of religion throughout Christendome, and see what will necessarily ensue. Suppose your Majesty and the body of your estate were Papists, and the recusants Protestants. The French King, and his major part of that kingdome, Protestants, and the Hughonotts Papists; the King of Spain, the Emperour, and all the tribe of Austria, of the confession of Ausburgh; your children, and other Princes of Germany, theire confederats, Roman Catholickes. Suppose, I say, the differences were in all parts the same, the sides only turned. Doth your Majestie thinke you could have shewed your selfe deafe at such crying occasions, without seeing your whole kingdom in commotion? Or, that they would have suffred you to take your pleasure a hunting, whilest your children, and brethren, were made a prey to the common enymie?

No, assuredly; you would have found another manner of busines of it: and seene your selfe forced to perfer your safety before your ease; *Dieu et mon droict*[70], before *Beati pacifici*[71]: you should have seen the differences between a Puritane Parliament and a Popishe: and wondred at your selfe for being so unequall as to feare the one, and despise the other.

The Pope's bulls, and his feircer beasts, the Jesuits, would have beene continually uppon your back, and never left you neither safe nor quiet till they thrust you into action: and, for one preacher of ours that chances to let a word fall from him to this purpose, you should have all theirs treat of nothing else. No prevention could have been used, to make them either silent, or sparing, in a cause that so highly concerned theire mother the church. What then, shall the true religion, because it teacheth no doctrine but what agrees with the simplicity and purenes of the Gospel, be therfore neglected? God forbidd. They, that maintaine the excommunication, deposition, and assassination of princes; would desire no better a ground, then such an advantage for theire opinion. And, if it could not but anger the very Saints themselves to see theire enymies triumph over them, with such unlawfull weapons; your Majestie may say what you heare of Puritanes, and by the authority of your knowne disfavour, make that good word to be taken in an ill sence.

But, if my observation have not erred, in some parts of Christendome where I have lived, there is no religion like theirs, for a Soveraigne that desires to make himselfe absolute and dissolute. Insomuch, that I wonder that such princes as professe religion

[67] This alludes to the 'Prayer for the Church Militant,' which, being part of the Communion-Office, is seldom said oftener than once a week. [68] By writing.

[69] The additional Articles of Faith contained in Pope Pius's Creed.

[70] 'God and my right;' which is the motto on the arms of the Kings of England.

[71] 'Blessed are the peace-makers;' a motto humorously assumed by a cowardly prince, and in which King James the First chiefly boasted.

onely for policies sake, will suffer any other in their dominions. For let a Protestant King, (I meane one that rules over a people of that profession) be never so notoriously wicked in his person, nor so enormious in his government: let him stampe vice with his example, and make it currant by being his; let him remove the ancient boundworks of Soveraigntie, and make every day new yokes and new scourges for his poore people; let him take rewards and punishments out of the handes of justice, and so distribute them without regard to right or wrong, as may make his followers doubt whether there be a Heaven and Hell; which desperate point of unbeliefe is a great helpe, and preparative to our preferment. In short, let him so excell in mischeife, ruine, and oppression, as Nero, compared with him, may be held a very father of the people: when hee hath donne all that can be imagined to procure hate and contempt, hee shall not, for all that, have any occasion to feare; but may bouldly goe in and out to his sports, without a publique guard or a privy coate[72]. And, though every day of his raigne bring forth a new prodigie to greive all that are honest, and astonish all that are wise, yet shall he not neede to take either the lesse drink, when he goes to bedd, or the more thought, when he riseth. Hee may solace himselfe as securely in his bed-chamber as the Grand Signor in his seraglio; have lords spirituall for his mates, lords temporall for his eunuchs, and whom hee will for his incubus. There may he kisse his minions without shame, and make his grooms his companions without danger: who, because they are acquainted with his secret sins, assume to themselves as much power and respect as Catholick Princes use to give theire confessors: a pack of ravenous currs, that know no difference betweene the commonwealth, and one of their master's forrests; but think all other subjects beasts, and only made for them to prey upon, that lick theire masters soares not whole, but smooth; and bark at every man that dares be found circled with these sweete beagles. Wee may revell and laugh, when all the kingdome mournes: and upon every foote of ground his prerogative get, and cry with Tiberius, 'O people prepared for servitude!' His poore Protestant subjects will only think hee is given them of God for the punishment of theire sinnes; and that hee ought to be obeyed, not because he is good, but because hee is theire King; not because hee rules according to justice and equitie, but because his power is the ordenance of God. Yea, the preachers of greatest note and creditt will hould themselves bound in duty to praise him against theire consciences, and laying aside divinitie, make the pulpitt a stage of flattery: where you shall have them indue him after a most poeticall manner, with more then all the vertues, and paint him so excellently good, as would make all that heare them happy, if they could believe the thinges of princes, as well as those of God, in spite of their sences.

Nor doe their fatherhoods this, out of simplicity or ignorance, (for they are too well read in the black booke of the court,) but out of a politique and officious purpose to sweeten the people's minds, and keepe them from rebelling.

These are the fruits and prosperities of the Reformed religion; which, teaching Divine Providence according to Divine truth, tyes the subject to such wonderful patience and obedience, as doth almost verify that bould speech of Macchiavell, when hee sayd, 'Christianity made men cowards.' And, if it be so advantageous to a bad prince, how much more to a good? For, though dutys are and must be payd to both, yet is there a great deale of difference in the manner and proportion; no more nor les then was to be betweene the workes of bare charity and mutuall freindshippe: the one receives the people's service and obedience, as a meere almes, given for the Lord's sake; the other as a free benevolence, wherein men extend themselves with the more alacrity, because they beleeve it is rather due to his meritt then to his power. The experience your Majestie hath had in your long and prosperous raigne will better declare this truth, then any discourse of myne: I will therefore digresse no farther in this pointe, but by way of inference returne to the marke I ayme at, which I doubt not but your Majesties quicke apprehension will sooner hitt, then I can show; for can your Majestie but finde it more then

[72] Of armour, concealed under his clothes.

reasonable to favour or assist a religion, that you see deserves so well of princes and all humane society? That teacheth tumultuous hearts a harmony of Heaven, and makes men obey Kings as the angels of God; that charitably beareth with bad, and abundantly requites the good: in shorte, a religion that hates the Jesuites with a perfect hatred, because they are our Kings' enymies. How ill advised then is that young Prince[73], that seekes with fire and sword to drive this holy and only true opinion out of his kingdome? What can be pretended by this his crudelity, besides the pleasure of making martyrs? Would hee have all his subjects agree that it is lawfull to kill Kings, and none else to write against consecrated knifes[74]? Would hee have all his great ones to be pensions of his ambitious neighbours, to winke at every publicke prejudice that may serve to augment theire state, and lessen his; and none left to oppose the designes of his envious superiours in the Romane Hierarchie, who have a long while thought the crowne of France too goodly a thing for him, or any Frenchman to possesse? Conformable to which, there is a famous worke composed by a Spanish author; where, for the better managing of Christendome, his wisedome thinkes it fitt there should be two monarchies, a spirituall and a temporall; the Pope to have the one, and his Majestie[75] the other. But suppose little Lewis the Just, by reason of his strict alliance with Spain, and his devoute observance to Rome, may promise himselfe more assurance of his life and empire, then Henry the Great, his more worthy father; neverthelesse, if hee were old inough to be wise, hee would never teach his people so dangerous a lesson, once to know theire owne strength; nor move them to take up armes in any occasion by compelling them to defend themselves in a just cause. How fatall this indiscretion hath proceeded to as great princes as himselfe, both ancient and moderne examples doe sufficiently instruct; but I cease to wonder at him, that hearkens to lying prophetts, and suffers himselfe to be led away by the spiritt of illusion: that which most disquiets my understanding is, that your Majestie should so much forget the part you have in this good people, neuter betwixt his madnesse and theire innocency. It is nothing so grievous and scandalous in him to murther and scatter Christ's flocke, as it is in your Majestie to looke on, who is as well his deputie shepheard as his viceroy; indeede you are nothing, nor can bee considered in any capacitie, function, or dignity, which doth not highly oblige you to take the cause of these poore men to heart, and employ your most potent meanes for theire preservation. Hitherto you have put God Almighty to doe miracles for them, who will not suffer them to perish for his owne name's sake; but it is now expected both of God and man that you should put to the helping hand, and commaund that reason with the sword, which you have so often in vaine desired with your pen.

Your Majestie shall no sooner exceede words, and shew your selfe reall in this resolution; but the foote-ball will presently be on your side, and then it will be your turne to receive ambassadours as fast as you have sent them for the mediation of peace: that, which is now held too much to graunt, your Majestie, may then thinke too little, and have more; for the profit cannot but answere the honour; when you shall see it in your power, to sell the warre to your subjects, and the peace to your enymie, at what rate you please; a traffick farre better becoming a greate prince then that of titles, offices, and such like petty commodities of courte.

I would-here willingly make an end, but that there is one motive more offers it selfe to my conceyt, which I thinke fitt to preferr to your Majesties consideration. And that is this:

Your Majestie hath ever expressed a desire, worthy your selfe, to unite the people as well as the countryes of England and Scotland. And whosoever doth not contribute his best indeavours to so good a worke, is unworthy of either; only it is to be wished, that your Majestie would thinke upon some better meanes, then hitherto hath beene used; such as may give universall satisfaction, the true and most naturall mother of union. It

[73] The King of France.

[74] Alluding to the form of blessing of knives, &c. by the Jesuits, who hired or persuaded Parry, Babington, &c. to murder Queen Elizabeth, &c.

[75] Of Spain.

is not to be done by choosing the minion alternatively out of each nation; not by making Scots-men lords of England, and English-men lords of Scotland; nor yet by mixture of marriage, which, though it makes two persons one, cannot make two people one; no nor by the more subtile way, that is now practised, of making England as poore as Scotland. These are too weake and counterfeite ingredients to compound a love-potion for them that were wont to thirst after one another's blood: it must bee something of more vertue, that must charme the dissonant humors of these two nations, and make them forgett whose fortune it was to be envied, and whose to be contemned in times past; and, if any thing on earth do it, it will be theire freindshipp at armes in some fortunate warre, where honour and danger may be equally divided, and no jealousie or contention rise, but of well-doing; one victory obtayned by the joint valour of English and Scots will more indelibly christen your Majesties empire *Greate-Brittaine*, then any acte of parliament or artifice of state.

If then your Majestie will proceede in good earnest to the accomplishment of the fatherly desire, and relinquishe the unholsome and unnecessary policy of keeping the two nations in continual faction and counterpoise for the strengthening of your authoritie; what remaines then but to bring forth your royall standard, and make the conjunction of your armes the happy instrument of the people's union? They shall no sooner see the common ensigne of honour, wherein they have both equall interest; but all other notes of diversity will be thought unworthy theire remembraunce; and then your enymie shall quickly find to his cost, that the two mighty and populous kingdomes of England and Scotland have but one head, and one hearte. Now, albeit your Majestie have at this time, as good choice of occasions as the world can afford, yet that of Fraunce seemes most proper for this purpose. For, as that countrey was the cause of our ancient enmity, so would it be made to feele the first effects of our reconcilement, were it for nothing else, but to cancell the strict aliance that was wont to be suspected and prejudiciall to England; had not the Scots of old beene our backe-freinds, and shewed themselves in all occasions more affectionate to the French then us, your Majestie might happily at this day have seene your selfe King of Fraunce.

And yet, had not wee preferd Scotland before Fraunce, your Majestie had never come to be King of England; this will seeme no riddle to them, that are never so little acquainted with the historie of those times; and, if England were able to make her party good both against Scotland and Fraunce, when theire league offensive was at the strongest, what might not England and Scotland doe now in Fraunce; where there is another manner of party, then that of Burgundie, to receive us? Surely, wee might drive all the Rojolists into the sheepfold of Berris, and make another King of Burges. But I will not labour in vaine to make your Majesties courage exceede your conscience: God Almighty, I know, hath filled your heart with dominion, and so sealed it up from seditious thoughts, as that you esteeme 'conquests no better then splendide robberyes,' as you are pleased to expresse your selfe in one of your late workes of divinity: nor doe I pretend to incite your Majestie to any thing, but what may stand as well with your goodnesse as your greatnesse. Cursed be they that tell the King, he may doe all he *can!* For my part, I shall thinke my selfe blest of Heaven, if I may but obtaine my humble desire, which goes no further then to what you *ought;* it is not spoile, nor the bellowes of warre, that I thinke worthy to move your Majestie to forgoe the long contentment of peace. Nothing should make me so hardy for to wish it, were there any other hope but in your armes, to right the wronged world, and acquite yourselfe of the duty to God and nature.

Behold (Sir) as much as I am able to present; and perhaps more then I shall have thankes for; but that is the least part of my intention. The love to truth and your Majesties service, deserve this and a great deale more of an honest man; and hee that seekes reward of well-doing, knowes not the true value of a good conscience.

I shall bee content to remaine unknowne, so as I make your Majestie know what false and wicked men keepe from you; the misfortunes of government, and the just complainte of your subjects.

If I have offended your patience, your Majestie may be pleased to consider how long yours[76] hath offended all the world, and forgive mee.

Let it not seeme strange or evil in your Majesties eyes, that I have used a few harty words in a cause my soule loves, above all that is mortall: and, for the advancement whereof, I dare suffer as much as they deserve that disswade you from it.

[76] With the enemies of our church and state.

The Lives of the three Normans, Kings of England: William the First, William the Second, and Henry the First. Written By I. H.[1]

Improbè facit qui in alieno libro ingeniosus est. MART.

Imprinted at London, by R. B. Anno 1613.

[Quarto, containing One-Hundred and Thirty-One Pages; besides the Epistle Dedicatory to Charles Prince of Wales, which contains Five Pages more, in smaller Type.]

To the high and mighty Prince CHARLES, Prince of WALES.

Most illustrious Prince;

OUR late, too late born, or too soon dying Prince, Henry of famous memory, your deceased brother, sent for me, a few months before his death. And, at my second coming to his presence, among some other speeches, "he complained much of our Histories of England; and that the English nation (which is inferior to none in honourable actions) should be surpassed by all, in leaving the memory of them to posterity. For this cause he blamed the negligence of former ages; as if they were ignorant of their own deservings; as if they esteemed themselves unworthy of their worth."

I answered, "that I conceived these causes hereof: one, that men of sufficiency were otherwise employed, either in public affairs, or in wrestling with the world, for maintenance or increase of their private estates. Another is; for that men might safely write of others in manner of a tale; but in manner of a history, safely they could not: because, albeit they should write of men long since dead, and whose posterity is clean worn out; yet some alive, finding themselves foul in those vices which they see observed, reproved, and condemned in others, their guiltiness maketh them apt to conceive, that, whatsoever the words are, the finger pointeth only at them. The last is; for that the argument of our English history hath been so foiled heretofore by some unworthy writers, that men of quality may esteem themselves discredited by dealing in it."

[1] [John Hayward, LL.D. and one of the historiographers of Chelsea-college, by the appointment of King James I. from whom he also received the honour of knighthood. Bishop Nicolson observes, that the author of these Lives calls them *Descriptions* rather than Histories, (see Epist. Ded.) and so indeed they are; being only short Portraitures, in such a witty and humoursome style, as might better serve to divert a young prince, than instruct him. Strype farther adds, that Hayward must be read with caution; and Kennet terms him, a professed speech-maker.]

" And is not this (said he) an error in us, to permit every man to be a writer of history? Is it not an error to be so curious in other matters, and so careless in this? We make choice of the most skilful workmen to draw or carve the portraiture of our faces, and shall every artless pencil delineate the disposition of our minds? Our apparel must be wrought by the best artificers, and no soil must be suffered to fall upon it; and shall our actions, shall our conditions, be described by every bungling hand? Shall every filthy finger defile our reputation? Shall our honour be basely buried in the dross of rude and absurd writings? We are careful to provide costly sepulchres, to preserve our dead lives, to preserve some memory what we have been; but there is no monument, either so durable, or so largely extending, or so lively and fair, as that which is famed by a fortunate pen; the memory of the greatest monuments had long since perished, had it not been preserved by this means."

To this I added, " that I did always conceive, that we should make our reckoning of three sorts of life; the short life of nature, the long life of fame, and the eternal life of glory. The life of glory is so far esteemed before the other two, as grace is predominant in us; the life of fame before our natural life is so far esteemed, as a generous spirit surmounteth sensuality, as human nature over-ruleth a brutish disposition. So far as the noble nature of man hath dominion in our minds, so far do we contemn, either the incommodities, or dangers, or life of our body, in regard of our reputation and fame. Now, seeing this life of fame is both preserved and enlarged chiefly by history, there is no man (I suppose) that will either resist, or not resist, the commendable, or at least, tolerable writing thereof, but such as are conscious to themselves, either that no good, or that nothing but ill, can be reported of them. In whom notwithstanding it is an error to think, that any power of the present time can either extinguish or obscure the memory of times succeeding. Posterity will give to every man his due: some ages hereafter will afford those, who will report unpartially of all."

Then he questioned, " whether I had wrote any part of our English history, other than that which had been published, which at that time he had in his hands?" I answered, " that I wrote of certain of our English Kings, by way of a brief description of their lives; but, for history, I did principally bend, and bind myself to the times wherein I should live; in which my own observations might somewhat direct me; but as well in the one, as in the other, I had at that time perfected nothing."

To this he said, " that, in regard of the honour of the time, he liked well of the last; but, for his own instruction, he more desired the first; that he desired nothing more than to know the actions of his ancestors; because he did so far esteem his descent from them, as he approached near them in honourable endeavours." Hereupon, beautifying his face with a sober smile, he desired me, " that against his return from the progress then at hand, I would perfect somewhat of both sorts for him; which he promised amply to requite, and was well known to be one, who esteemed his word above ordinary respects." This stirred in me, not only a will, but power to perform; so as, engaging my duty far above the measure either of my leisure or of my strength, I finished the lives of these three Kings of Norman race, and certain years of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

At his return from the progress to his house at St. James's, these pieces were delivered unto him; which he did not only courteously, but joyfully accept: and, because this seemed a perfect work, he expressed a desire that it should be published. Not long after he died; and with him died both my endeavours and my hopes. His death, alas! hath bound the lives of many unto death, face to face; being no ways able, either by forgetfulness to cover their grief, or to diminish it with consideration.

For, in truth, he was a prince of a most heroical heart: free from many vices which sometimes accompany high estates, full of most amiable and admirable virtues; of whose perfections the world was not worthy. His eyes were full of pleasant modesty; his countenance manly beautiful; in body both strongly and delicately made; in beha-

vious sweetly sober, which gave grace to whatsoever he did. He was of a discerning wit; and, for the faculty of his mind, of great capacity and power, accompanied with equal expedition of will; much foreseeing in his actions, and for passions a commander of himself; and of good strength to resist the power of prosperity. In counsel he was ripe and measured, in resolution constant; his word ever led by his thought, and followed by his deed. And, albeit he was but young, and his nature forward and free, yet his wisdom reduced both to a true temper of moderation; his desires being never above his reason, nor his hopes inferior to his desires. In a word, he was the most fair fruit of his progenitors, an excellent ornament of the present age, a true mirrour to posterity; being so equally both settled to valour, and disposed to goodness and justice, as he expressed not only tokens, but proofs, both of a courage and of a gravity and industry, right worthy of his estate.

Glorious Prince, my love and duty hath carried me further than, happily is fit for the present purpose; and yet this is but an earnest only of my earnest affection and zeal to thy honour. I shall hereafter have a more proper place to display, at large, the goodliness of thy shape, the goodness of thy nature, the greatness of thy mind, all thy perfections, whereby our affections were much inflamed. And evil-worthy may he be of any happy hopes, who will not add one blast of his breath, to make up the glorious gale of thy fame.

In the mean time I have here accomplished his desire in publishing this work: more to testify to the world the height of his heart, than for any pleasure I have to set forth any thing, to the view of these both captious and unthankful times; wherein men will be, not readers only, but interpreters, but wresters, but corrupters and depravers of that which they read; wherein men think the reproof of others, to be the greatest parcel of their own praise. But how should I expect any better usage? The Commentaries of Cæsar (never disliked before) are esteemed, by Lipsius, a dry sapless piece of writing. The most famous Tacitus is termed, by Alciate[1], "a thicket of thorns"; by Budeus[2], "a most lewd writer"; by Tertullian[3], "an exceeding lyar"; by Orosius[4], "a flatterer"; than which assuredly he is nothing less. I will not expect any better usage, I will not desire it: I will hereafter esteem nothing of any worth, which hath not many to detract from it.

Whatsoever this is, I have presumed to present it to your Highness, for these causes following:

First, for that it received this being from him, who was most dearly esteemed by you; who may be justly proposed, as an example of virtue, as a guide to glory and fame.

Secondly, for that the persons, of whom it treateth, are those most worthy ancestors of yours, who laid the foundation of this English empire; who were eminent among all the princes of their times, and haply for many ages after, as well in actions of peace as of war.

Lastly, for that I esteem histories the fittest subject for your Highness's reading. For, by diligent perusing the acts of great men, by considering all the circumstances of them, by comparing counsels and means with events, a man may seem to have lived in all ages, to have been present at all enterprises; to be more strongly confirmed in judgement, to have attained a greater experience, than the longest life can possibly afford.

But because many errors do usually arise, by ignorance of the state wherein we live; because it is dangerous to frame rules of policy out of countries differing from us, both in nature, and custom of life, and form of government; no histories are so profitable as our own. In these your Highness may see the noble disposition and delights of your ancestors, what were their sweet walks, what their pleasant chases; how far they preferred glory, before either pleasure or safety; how, by the brave behaviour of their sword, they hewed honour out of the sides of their enemies. In these you may see the

[1] *Sententiosus.* [2] *Scriptor omnium sceleratissimus.* [3] *Mendacissimus.* [4] *Adulator.*

largeness, commodities, and strength of this country; the nature of the people, their wealth, pleasure, exercise, and trade of life, and what else is worthy of observation. Generally, by these you may so furnish yourself, as not easily to be abused either by weak or deceitful advice.

The Most High preserve and prosper your Highness, that, as you succeed many excellent ancestors in blood, so you may exceed them all in honourable atchievements.

Your Highness's most devoted,

J. HAYWARD.

The Life of King WILLIAM THE FIRST, surnamed CONQUEROR.

ROBERT Duke of Normandy, the sixth in descent from Rollo, riding through Falais, a town in Normandy, espied certain young persons dancing near the way: and as he staid to view awhile the manner of their disport, he fixed his eye especially upon a certain damsel named *Arlotte*, of mean birth, a skinner's daughter, who there danced among the rest. The frame and comely carriage of her body, the natural beauty and graces of her countenance, the simplicity of her rural both behaviour and attire, pleased him so well, that the same night he procured her to be brought to his lodging[6]; where he begat of her a son, who afterwards was named William.

I will not defile my writing with memory of some lascivious behaviour which she is reported to have used, at such time as the Duke approached to embrace her. And doubtful it is, whether upon some special note of immodesty in herself, or whether upon hate towards her son, the English afterwards adding an aspiration to her name (according to the natural manner of their pronouncing) termed every unchaste woman, *Harlot*.

It is remembered by some, rather servile than fond in observations, who will either find or frame predictions for every great action or event; that his mother before the time of her delivery had a dream, that her bowels were extended over Normandy and England. Also, that at the time of his birth he fell from his mother's body to the ground; and there filled both his hands with rushes, which had been cast thick upon the floor, and strained them with a very strait gripe. The wives laughed at large, and soon grew prodigal of idle talk: but the midwife somewhat more soberly said, that he should not only hold well his own, but grasp somewhat from other men.

When he was about nine years of age, his father went upon devotion to Jerusalem, and in his return died at the city of Nice. So William at that age succeeded his father; having then very generous and aspiring spirits, both to resist abroad, and to rule at home. He was committed to the government of two of his uncles; and the French King was intreated by his father to take upon him the protection, both of his person and state. But his uncles pretended title to his dignity, by reason of his unlawful birth; the King of France also desired much, and had often attempted to reduce Normandy to his absolute subjection, as it was before the invasion of the Normans. So, as it may seem, he was committed to these tutors, as a lamb should be committed to the tutelage of wolves. The only means of his preservation consisted in a factious nobility, divided into so many parts, as there were parties: some contending for possession of the young Duke's person; others of his authority and power; all of them incompatible to endure either equals, or else superiors[7]; all of them united against a common enemy; all divided among themselves.

Here it may be demanded, how he, being unlawfully born, could succeed his father in

[6] Some historians say, that Duke Robert took her to wife. Malmesbur. p. 97.

[7] In which case, we may well apply the saying of Seneca: *Societas nostra lapideæ fornicationi simillima est; quæ casura, nisi in vice obstarent, hoc ipso continetur.* Senec. Epist. 97.

the Duchy of Normandy; his father leaving two brothers born in lawful marriage, and much other legitimate kindred behind him?

Will. Malmesbury[8], and some others have reported, that albeit he was born out of marriage, yet Duke Robert his father did afterwards entertain his mother for lawful wife; which by the law of that country, agreeable in that point to the civil and canon law, sufficed to make the issue inheritable, although born before[9].

And further, it was a general custom at that time in France, that bastards did succeed, even in dignities of highest condition, no otherwise than children lawfully begotten. Thierry, bastard of Clovis, had for his partage, with the lawful children of the same Clovis, the kingdom of Austrasy, now called Lorrain. Sigesbert, bastard of King Dagobert the First, had his part in the kingdom of France, with Clovis the Twelfth; lawful son to Dagobert. Loys and Carloman, bastards of King Loys le Begue, succeeded after the death of their father. So likewise, in England, Alfride, bastard son of Oswine, succeeded his brother Egfride. So Adelstane, the bastard son of Edward the Elder, succeeded his father, before Edmund and Eldred, his younger brothers; notwithstanding they were lawfully begotten. So Edmund, surnamed the Martyr, bastard son to King Edgar, succeeded him in the state, before Ethelbred his lawful issue. Afterward, Harold, surnamed Harefoot, bastard to Canutus, succeeded him in the kingdom, before Hardicanutus, his lawful son. The like custom hath been observed in Spain, in Portugal, and in divers other countries. And it is probable that this use was grounded upon often experience, that bastards (as begotten in the highest heat and strength of affection) have many times[10] been men of excellent proof, both in courage and in understanding. This was verified in Hercules, Alexander the Great, Romulus, Timotheus, Brutus, Themistocles, Arthur; in Homer, Demosthenes, Bion, Bartholus, Gratian, Peter Lombard, Peter Comestor, John Andreas, and divers of most flourishing name; among whom our Conqueror may worthily be ranged.

And yet, in the third race of the Kings of France, a law was made, that bastards should not inherit the crown of the realm. This custom was likewise banished out of England, and other countries of Europe. Notwithstanding, in France[11], other bastards of great houses were still advowed.

The exercises of this Duke, from his very youth, were ingenious, manly, decent, and such as tended to activity and valour; he was of a working mind and vehement spirit, rather ambitious than only desirous of glory; of a piercing wit, blind in no man's cause, and well-sighted in his own; of a lively and present courage; neither out of ignorance, or rash estimation of dangers, but out of a true judgment both of himself and of them. In peace, he was politic; in war, valiant and very skilful, both to espy and to apprehend, and to follow his advantages: this valour and skill in military affairs, was always seconded with good success. He was continually accustomed both to the weight and use of armour, from his very childhood. Oftentimes he looked death in the face with a brave contempt. He was never free from actions of arms; first upon necessity to defend himself, afterwards upon ambition to offend and disturb the possessions of others.

In his first age, he was much infested with rebels in Normandy; who often conspired both against his life, and against his dignity and state; traducing him, as a bastard, as a boy, as born of a base ignoble woman, as altogether unworthy to be their Prince. Of these, some he appeased and reconciled unto him; others he prevented and dispersed their power, before it was collected; others encountered in open field, before he had any hair upon his face; where he defeated their forces in full battle, then took their strong-holds, and lastly chased them out of his dominion.

[8] *Lib. iii. in princ. Ingulph. lib. vi. cap.* 19.

[9] Let that be as it will, I cannot but observe, that, after the Conqueror obtained the crown of England, he often signed his grants with this subscription, 'William Bastarde;' thinking it no abasement either to his title or reputation.

[10] πολλάκις δε τοι νόθοιτε πολλοὶ γνήσιων ἀμείνονες. *Eurip. in Androm.* [11] And Portugal.

And first, Roger Tresny, having gained exceeding great both favour and reputation by his services against the Saracens in Spain, made claim to the Duchy of Normandy; as one lawfully descended from Rollo, their first Duke. And, albeit many others were before him in title, yet (said he) if they will sit still; if they either through sloth, which is ill, or through fear, which is worse, will abandon the adventure; he alone would free the Normans from their infamous subjection. He was followed by many, partly upon opinion of his right, but chiefly of his valour. But, when he brought his cause to the arbitrement of arms, he was overthrown in a strong battle, wherein his claim and his life determined together.

After this, William, Earl of Arques, base son to Richard the Second, and uncle to Duke William, upon the same pretence declared himself against his nephew. And, albeit the Normans were heavy to stir in his favour, yet he so wrought with the French King, by assuring him great matters in Normandy, that with a mighty army of his own people, he went in person to place him in possession of that Duchy. The way, which the King took, led him to a large valley, sandy and full of short bushes and shrubs, troublesome for horsemen either to fight or to march. On either side were rising hills, very thick set with wood. Here the army entered with small advisement, either for clearing the passage, or for the safety of their carriages. The van-guard consisted chiefly of battle-axes and pikes[12]. In the right wing, were many Almans among the French. In the left, were many of Anjou and Poictou. After these followed the baggage, with an infinite number of scullions, carters, and other base drudges attending upon it. Next came the French King with the main battle, consisting for the most part of valiant and worthy gentlemen, bravely mounted. The lances and men at arms closed the rereward.

When they were well entered this valley, the Normans did lively charge upon them in head; they delivered also their deadly shot from the hills on both sides, as thick as hail. Notwithstanding the van-guard, casting themselves into a pointed battle in form of a wedge, with plain force of hand made themselves way; and, marching in firm and close order through the thickest of their enemies, gained (albeit not without great loss) the top of a hill, and there presently incamped themselves. The like fortune haply might the residue have had, if they had followed with the like order and courage: but, failing herein, the right wing was hewed in pieces, and the left wing was broken and beaten upon the carriages; where, overbearing and treading down one another, they received almost as much hurt from themselves, as they did from their enemies. The main battle and rereward, advancing forward to rescue the carriage, were first miserably overwhelmed with a storm of arrows from the hill on both sides; and the gallant horses, once galled with that shot, would no more obey or endure their riders; but, flinging out, either overthrew or disordered all in their way. And, the more to increase the misery of that day, the dust and light sand which was raised, partly by the feet of horses and men, and partly by violence of the wind (which then blew full in the faces of the French) involved them all as in a thick and dark cloud, which deprived them of all foresight and direction in governing their affairs. The valiant was nothing discerned from the coward; no difference could be set between contrivance and chance; all laboured in one common calamity, and every one increased the fear of his fellow.

The Normans having well spent their shot, and perceiving the French in this sort both disordered and dismayed, came down from the hills, where they hovered before; and, falling to the close stroke of battle-axe and sword, most cruelly raged in the blood of their enemies. By whom if any spark of valour was shewn, being at so great disadvantage, it was to no purpose, it was altogether lost; it was so far from relieving others, that it was not sufficient to defend themselves. And doubtless nothing so much favoured the state of the French that day, as that the number of the Normans sufficed not to inclose them behind. For then they had been intrapped as deer in a toil; then not one of them could have es-

[12] And was commanded by Odo, brother to the King of France.

caped. But, the entrance of the valley remaining open, many fled back to the plain ground, tumbling together in such headlong haste, that if the Normans had sharply put upon them the chace, it is certain that they had been extremely defeated. But the Duke gave over the execution upon good advice: for, knowing himself not to be of force utterly to vanquish the French, he essayed rather by fair forbearance to purchase their friendship.

Here the French King assembled his broken companies, and incamped them for that night so well as he could. The joy of their present escape expelled for the time all other respects. But, after a little breathing, their remembrance began to run upon the loss of their carriages; whereby they had lost all means to refresh themselves. Of their van-guard they made a forlorn reckoning, and the like did the van-guard of them. Many were wounded, all wearied; and the Normans gave notice by sounding out their instruments of war, that they were at hand on every side. The rudest of the soldiers did boldly upbraid this misfortune to the King; one asked him, "Where his van-guard was? Where his wings? Where were the residue of his battle and rereward?" Others called for the carriages, to preserve those in life who had not been slain. Others demanded, "If he had any more mouse-traps to lead them into?" But most sat heavy and pensive, scarce accounting themselves among the living. The King swallowed down all with a sad silence; sometimes he dissembled as though he had not heard; sometimes he would fairly answer, "Good words, good soldiers; have patience a while, and all will be well:" which was indeed a truer word than he thought it possible to be when he spoke it.

In this extremity, the King assembled the chief of his commanders, to advise with them what was best to be done. It was generally concluded, that in staying, their case was desperate, and dangerous it was to stir. But here lay the question, Whether it was least dangerous to remove together, or every man to shift for himself? Whilst this point was in debating, whilst they expected every minute to be assailed, whilst no man saw any thing but death and despair; behold, a messenger came from the Duke, not to offer, but desire peace; and to crave protection of the French King, according to the trust which Robert, the Duke's father, reposed in him. There needed not many words to persuade. Peace was signed, protection assured, in a more ample manner than it was required. Then the messenger with many good words appeased the King's heaviness, telling him, that his van-guard was safe, his carriages not touched, and that he should be furnished with horses, both for burthen and draught, instead of those that had been slain. These words, as a sweet enchantment, ravished the French King with sudden joy. But, when they came to gather up their baggage, a spectacle both lamentable and loathsome was presented unto them. The valley covered, and in some places heaped with dead bodies of men and horses; many, not once touched with any weapon, lay trod to death, or else stifled with dust and sand; many grievously wounded, retained some remainder of life, which they expressed with cries and groans; many, not mortally hurt, were so overlaid with the slain, that they were unable to free themselves; towards whom it is memorable, what manly both pity and help the Normans did afford. And so the French King, more by courtesy of his enemies, than either by courage or discretion of his own, returned in reasonable state to Paris.

Upon these events of open hostility, Guy, Earl of Bourgogne, who had taken to wife Alice, daughter to Duke Richard II. and aunt to Duke William; conspired with Nigellus, president of Constantine, Ranulph, Viscount of Bayonne, Beaumont, and divers others, suddenly to surprize the Duke, and slay him in the night. A certain fool, nothing regarded for his want of wit, observing their preparations, secretly got away, and, in the dead of the night, came to Valogne, where the Duke then lay, no less slenderly guarded with men, than the place itself was slight for defence. Here he continued rapping at the gate, and crying out until it was opened, and he brought to the presence of the Duke. To whom he declared the conspiracy, with circumstances of such moment, that the Duke forthwith took his horse, and posted alone towards Falais, a special place for strength of

defence. Presently after his departure, the conspirators came to Valogne; they beset the house, they enter by force, they search every corner for the Duke, and finding, that the game was started and on foot, in hot haste they pursued the chace.

About break of day the Duke's horse tired, and he was ignorant of his right way. He was then at a little village, called Rie, where the chief gentleman of the place was standing at his door, ready to go abroad. Of him the Duke enquired the next way to Falais. The gentleman knew the Duke, and with all duty and respect desires to know the cause of his both solitary and untimely riding. The Duke would willingly have passed unknown; but, perceiving himself to be discovered, declared to him the whole adventure. Hereupon the gentleman furnished him with a fresh horse, and sent with him two of his sons to conduct him the direct way to Falais.

No sooner were they out of sight, but the conspirators came, and enquired of the same gentleman (who still remained at his door) whether he saw not the Duke that morning; as if, forsooth, they were come to attend him. The gentlemen answered, that he was gone a little before, and therefore offered them his company to overtake him. But he led them about another way, until the Duke was safely alighted at Falais. And thus, the more we consider these and the like passages of affairs, the less we shall admire either the wisdom, or industry, or any other sufficiency of man. In actions of weight, it is good to employ our best endeavours; but, when all is done, he danceth well to whom fortune doth pipe.

When the conspirators understood that their principal purpose was disappointed, they[13] made themselves so powerful in arms, that the Duke was forced to crave aid of the King of France, who not long before was his greatest enemy. They King, preferring to his remembrance the late honourable dealing of the Duke, came in person unto him; by whose countenance and aid the Duke overthrew his enemies in a full battle in the vale of Dunes; albeit, not without great difficulty, and bold adventure of his own person. Guy de Bourgogne escaped by flight, and defended himself in certain castles which he had fortified in Normandy for his retreat; but in the end he surrendered both himself and them to the Duke's discretion. The Duke not only pardoned him, but honoured him with a liberal pension; which he did afterwards both with valiant and loyal service requite.

Not long after, the French King had wars against Jeoffrey Martell, and Duke William went with a fair company of soldiers to his aid. In this service he so well acquitted himself, both in judgment and in hand, that the French King was chiefly directed by him; only blaming him for too careless casting himself into the mouth of dangers; imputing that to ostentation, which was but the heat of his courage and age. Oftentimes he would range from the main battle, with very few in his company: either to make discoveries, or to encounter such enemies as could not be found with greater troops. Once he withdrew himself only with four, and was met with by fifteen of the enemies. The most forward of them he struck from his horse, and broke his thigh with the fall. The residue he chased four miles; and, most of them being hurt, took seven prisoners. Hereupon Jeoffrey Martell then said of him, that he was at that time the best soldier, and was like to prove the best commander in the world.

And, as he was both favourable and faithful towards them who fairly yielded, so against such as either obstinately or scornfully carried themselves, he was extremely severe, or rather cruel. When he besieged Alengon (which the Duke of Anjou had taken from him), the defendants would often cry from the walls, *La pel, La pel*; reproaching him thereby with the birth of his mother. This base insolence, as it inflamed both his desire and courage to achieve the enterprise, so did it his fury, to deal sharply with them, when they were subdued; by cutting off their hands and feet, and by other severities which were not usual.

Besides these, some others of his own blood provoked Ingelrame, Earl of Ponthieu, to

[13] Supposing that there could be no remedy against their danger, but by running into greater danger, declared openly against the Duke.

move against him in arms; but the Duke received him with so resolute valour, that the Earl was slain in the field, and they well chastized who drew him into the enterprise. The Bretagners did often feel the force of his victorious arms. He had many conflicts with Jeoffrey Martell, Earl of Anjou, confederate with the Princes of Bretagne, Aquitain, and Tours; a man equal unto him both in power and skill to command, but in fortune and in force of arms, much inferior. Many excellent achievements were performed between them; insomuch as their hostility seemed only to be an emulation in honour. Once the Duke fell into an ambuscade addressed for him by the Earl of Anjou; wherewith he was so suddenly surprised, that he was almost in the midst of the danger before he thought any danger near him. An exceeding great both terror and confusion seized upon his soldiers; because, the more sudden and uncertain a peril is, the greater is it always esteemed. Many of his bravest men were slain; the residue so disordered, or at least shaken, as they began to think more of their particular escape, than of the common either safety or glory.

When they were thus upon the point to disband, the Duke rather with rage than courage, cried unto them: "If you love me not, soldiers, yet, for shame, follow me; for shame, stand by me; for shame, let not any of your friends hear the report, that you ran from me, and left me fighting." With that he threw himself into the thickest throng of his enemies, and denounced those either traitors or cowards who would not follow. This example breathed such brave life into his soldiers, that they rallied their loose ranks, and in close order seconded him with a resolute charge; encouraging one another, "that it was shameful indeed not to fight for him, who so manfully did fight with them." The Duke, brandishing his sword like a thunderbolt, dung down his enemies on every side; made at Earl Martell, in the midst of his battalion, struck him down, clove his helmet, and cut away one of his ears. This so diverted the Anjouans to the rescue of their Earl, that they let the other part of their victory go. The Earl they recovered again to horse, and so left the Duke master of the field. Verily, it is almost impossible that a commander of such courage should have either faint or false-hearted soldiers[14].

Now it happened, not long before, that Foulke, Earl of Anjou, having drawn Herbert, Earl of Maine, under fair pretences, to Xaintonge, cast him in prison; from whence he could not be released, until he had yielded to certain conditions, both dishonourable and disadvantageous unto him. Hugh succeeded Herbert; from whom Jeoffrey Martell, Earl of Anjou, took the city of Maine, and made himself lord of all the country. Hugh, having lost his dominion, left both his title and his quarrel to his son Herbert; who, having no issue, appointed Duke William to be his heir. Hereupon, the Duke invaded Maine, and, in a short time, subdued the whole country, and built two fortifications for assurance thereof; having first sent word to the Earl of Anjou, upon what day the work should begin. The Earl used all diligence and means to impeach the buildings; but he not only failed of that purpose, but further lost the county of Medune.

Again, Henry, King of France, did many other times, with great preparation, invade his country; sometimes with purpose to win upon him, and sometimes to keep him from winning upon others. Upon a time the King led his troops over the ford of Dine; and when half his army had passed, the other half, by reason of the rising of the sea, was compelled to stay. The Duke, apprehending the advantage, came upon them with a furious charge, being now divided from the chief of the army; and either slew them, or took them prisoners, in the plain view of their King. After this they concluded a peace; whereof the conditions, were, That the Duke should release such prisoners as he had taken, and that he should retain whatsoever he had won, or afterwards should win from the Earl of Anjou. And yet the King did again enterprize upon him, with greater forces than at any time before: but the Duke entertained his armies with so good order and valour, that the King gained nothing but loss and dishonour. And, the greater his desire was of victory and revenge, the more foul did his foils and failings appear; which so brake both his courage and heart, that, with grief thereof, as it was conceived, he ended his life. And

[14] *Tanti est exercitus quanti imperator.* Flor. ii. cap. 18.

thus, during all the time that he was only Duke of Normandy, he was never free from action of arms. In all his actions of arms, he was carried with a most rare and perpetual felicity.

As he grew in years, so did he in thickness and fatness of body; but so, as it made him neither unseemly, nor unserviceable for the wars; and never much exceeding the measure of a comely corpulency. He was most decent, and therewith terrible in arms. He was stately and majestical in his gesture; of a good stature, but in strength admirable; insomuch as no man was able to draw his bow, which he would bend sitting upon his horse, stretching out the string with his foot. His countenance was warlike and manly, as his friends might term it: but, as his enemies said, truculent and fierce. He would often swear, 'By God's resurrection, and his brightness;' which he commonly pronounced with so furious a face, that he struck a terror into those that were present. His head was bald; his beard always shaven; which fashion, being first taken up by him, was then followed by all the Normans. He was of a firm and strong constitution for his health; so as he never was attacked with sickness, but that which was the summons of his death; and in his age seemed little to feel the heavy weight and burthen of years.

In his first age, he was of a mild and gentle disposition; courteous, bountiful, familiar in conversation, a professed enemy to all vices. But, as in fortune, as in years, so changed he in his behaviour[15]: partly by his continually following the wars, whereby he was much fleshed in blood; and partly by the inconstant nature of the people over whom he ruled; who, by often rebellions, did not only exasperate him to some severity, but even constrained to hold them in with a more stiff arm[16]. So he did wring from his subjects very much substance, very much blood; not for that he was by nature either covetous or cruel, but for that his affairs could not otherwise be managed[17]. His great affairs could not be managed without great expence, which drew a necessity of charge upon the people: neither could the often rebellions of his subjects be repressed, or restrained, by any mild and moderate means[18]. And generally, as in all states and governments, severe discipline hath always been a true faithful mother of virtue and valour; so in particular of his Normans he learned by experience, and oftentimes declared this judgment: "that if they were held in a bridle, they were most valiant, and almost invincible; excelling all men both in courage, and in strength, and in honourable desire to vanquish their enemies: but, if their reins were laid loose upon their necks, they were apt to run into licentiousness and mischief; ready to consume either themselves by riot and sloth, or one another by sedition; prone to innovation and change; as, heavily moved to undertake dangers, so not to be trusted upon occasion[19]."

He took to wife Matilda, daughter to Baldwin, Earl of Flanders; a man for his wisdom and power, both reverenced and feared, even of Kings; but, because she was his cousin-german, he was, for his marriage, excommunicated by his own uncle, Mauger, Archbishop of Roan. Hereupon he sued to Pope Victor, and obtained of him a dispensation: and afterwards so wrought, that by a provincial council, his uncle, Mauger, was deprived of his dignity. But, by this means, both he and his issue were firmly locked in obedience to the See of Rome; for that, upon the authority of that place, the validity of his marriage, and consequently the legitimation of his issue, seemed to depend.

When he was about fifty years of age, Edward, King of England, ended his life. This Edward was son to Ethelred, King of England, by Emma, sister to Richard, the second Duke of Normandy, who was grand-father to Duke William; so as King Edward and Duke William were cousins-german once removed.

At such time as Ethelred was first overcharged with wars by the Danes, he sent his wife Emma, with two sons which she had born unto him, Alfred and Edward, into Normandy,

[15] *Assidué dimicantibus difficile est morum custodire mensuram.* Cassiod. I. Var. Epist. ix.

[16] *Regum clementia, non in ipsorum modo, sed in illorum quum parent ingeniis, sita est.* Curt. lib. viii.

[17] Δεῖ δὴ χρημάτων, καὶ ἄνευ τούτων οὐδὲν ἐγὶ γενέσθαι τῶν δεόντων. *Opus sunt opes, et sine iis nihil fiet quod opus.* Demosth. Olynth. i.

[18] *Crudelem medicum intemperans æger facit.* Publ.

[19] *Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos.* Martial.

to her brother; where they were entertained with all honourable usage for many years. Afterward, giving place to the malice of his fortune, he passed also into Normandy; and left his whole state in the possession and power of Swanus, King of Denmark. But, after the death of Swanus, partly by the aid of the Normans, and partly by favour of his own people, he recovered his kingdom, and left the same to his eldest son, Edmund; who, either for the tough temper of his courage and strength, or for that he almost always lived in arms, was surnamed Ironsides.

Hereupon Canutus, the son of Swanus, made sharp war, first against Ethelred, then against Edmund; and finally, after many varieties of adventure, but chiefly by the favour of the clergy of England (because they had sworn allegiance to his father) spread the wings of his victory over the whole kingdom. He expelled out of the realm Edwin and Edward, the two sons of King Edmund, of whom Edwin married the King's daughter of Hungary, but died without issue; Edward was advanced to the marriage of Agatha, daughter to the Emperor, Henry, and by her had issue two sons, Edmund and Edgar, and so many daughters, Margaret and Christine. The same Canutus took Emma to wife, who had been wife to King Ethelred; by whom he had a son, named Hardicanutus.

After the death of Canutus, Alfred, the son of Ethelred, came out of Normandy, and with fifty sail landed at Sandwich, with purpose to attempt the recovery of his father's kingdom. In which enterprise he received not only encouragement, but good assurance, from many of the English nobility. But by Earl Goodwin he was abused and taken, his company slain, his eyes put out, and then sent to the Isle of Ely, where, in a short time, he ended his life. Edward also arrived at Hampton with forty ships; but, finding the country so far from receiving, as they were ready to resist him; he returned into Normandy, and attended the further favour of time. So after Canutus succeeded, in England, first Harold surnamed Harefoot, bastard son to Canutus; and after him Hardicanutus, son to Canutus, by Emma, mother also to King Edward.

Hardicanutus being dead, the nobility of the realm sent into Normandy for Edward to be their King; whereto also he was appointed, as some have written, by Hardicanutus. But, because Alfred his brother, upon the like invitation, had been traitorously taken and slain before, William, at that time Duke of Normandy, would not permit him to depart, until he had received, for pledges of his safety, Woolnoth, son to Earl Goodwin, and Hacon, son to Swain, Earl Goodwin's eldest son. Upon this assurance, he was furnished by the Duke, his cousin, with all means fit both for his enterprise and estate. And so he passed the seas, arrived in England, and with general joy was received for King. He took to wife, Edith, the daughter of Earl Goodwin; but, whether upon a vow of chastity, or whether upon impotency of nature, or whether upon hatred to her father, or whether upon suspicion against herself, for all these causes are alleged by several writers of those times, he forbore all private familiarity with her.

When he was well locked into the chair of state, Duke William came out of Normandy to see him, to shew his magnificence to the English people; to shew to the English, both that he loved their King, and that he was of power to relieve him, in case his necessities should so require. Here, besides honourable entertainment, besides many rich gifts, both to himself and to his followers, the King having neither hope, nor desire of issue, promised him, in regard of his great favours and deserts, that he should be his next successor in the kingdom. And, for further assurance thereof, sent him also the like message into Normandy, by Robert Archbishop of Canterbury.

After this, Harold, son to Earl Goodwin, passed the seas into Normandy, to deal for the discharge of his brother Woolnoth, and Hacon, his nephew, who had been delivered for hostages to the Duke[20]. In his passage he was much tossed with troublesome weather, and, in the end, was cast upon the coast of Ponthieu, and there taken by the Earl, and

[20] This voyage was much against the liking of King Edward, who, either by conjecture, as a good politician, or, as some will have it, by divination, foretold him, "That his journey would be fatal to himself, and unprosperous to the whole realm."

committed to prison[21]. But at the request of the Duke of Normandy, Harold was released with honourable respect, and by the Earl himself accompanied to the Duke, who entertained him with great magnificence at Roan. The Duke was then going in arms against the Bretagners; in which journey Harold did accompany him, and shewed himself a man, neither rash in undertaking, nor fearful in performing any services of the field. After a prosperous return, the Duke declared to Harold the promises of King Edward concerning the Duke's succession to this crown. Harold did avow the same to be true; and promised to afford thereto the best furtherance that he could. Hereupon, the Duke assembled a council at Bonneville, where Harold did swear fidelity[22] unto him; and promised likewise, by oath, that, after the death of King Edward, he would keep the realm of England to the use of the Duke; that he would deliver unto him the castle of Dover, and certain other pieces of defence, furnished at his own charge. Hereupon, the Duke promised unto him his daughter in marriage, and with her half the realm of England in the name of her dower. He also delivered to him his nephew Hacon; but kept his brother, Woolnoth, as an hostage, for performance of that which Harold had sworn[23].

In a short time after King Edward died, and Harold[24], being general commander of the forces of the realm, seized upon the sovereignty; and, without any accustomed solemnities, set the crown upon his own head. The people were nothing curious to examine titles; but, as men broken with long bondage, did easily entertain the first pretender. And yet to Harold they were inclinable enough, as well upon opinion of his prowess, as for that he endeavoured to win their favour, partly by abating their grievous payments, and partly by increasing the wages of his servants and soldiers; generally by using justice with clemency and courtesy towards all[25]. About this time a blazing star appeared, and continued the space of seven days; which is commonly taken to portend alteration in states[26]. Of this comet a certain poet, alluding to the baldness of the Norman, wrote these verses.

Cæsariem, Cæsar, tibi si natura negavit,
Hanc, Willielme, tibi stella comata dedit.

Duke William sent divers ambassadors to Harold; first[27], to demand performance of his oath; afterwards to move him to some moderate agreement[28]: but ambition, a reasonless and restless humour, made him obstinate against all offers or inducements[29] of peace. So both parties prepared to buckle in arms; equal both in courage and in ambitious desires, equal in confidence of their fortune; but Harold was the more adventurous, William the more advised man. Harold was more strong in soldiers, William in allies and friends.

Harold was seated in possession, which, in case of a kingdom, is oftentimes with facility

[21] According to the barbarous custom of those days on that coast, which made every stranger a prisoner, till he could be ransomed, that put, or were driven, into their ports.

[22] Acknowledging William, Duke of Normandy, to be the heir to the crown of England, after the death of Edward the Confessor.

[23] Fidelity, as in the last note.

[24] Being in possession of the military force of the nation, and relying on the favour of the people, to whom his martial conduct had rendered him very amiable; in which he was confirmed, not only by his noble birth, which was extracted from the first nobility, but strengthened by his marriage with Edgitha, the sister of the Earl of Chester, and Morcard, governor of Northumberland.

[25] Simon Dunelm, and Brompton tell us, that Harold lessened the taxes, and caused justice to be impartially administered: and from time to time insinuated, that he intended to resign the crown to Edgar Atheling, when of age: and, in the mean time, created him Earl of Oxford, and seemed, by his particular care of his education, to qualify him for regal authority. Again, some authors say, that he claimed the crown, on a donation of King Edward, and was crowned, the day after the King's death, by Aldred, Archbishop of York.

[26] *Heu vani monitus, frustraque morantia Parcas*
Prodigia!————Lucan.

[27] On the tenth day after the death of King Edward.

[28] And finally, to declare war against him, if he would not agree upon his terms.

[29] *Ut nemo docet fraudis & scelerum vias,*
Regnum docebit————Senec. Othyest.

attained, but retained hardly: William pretended the donation of King Edward[30], and that he was near unto him in blood by the mother's side.

Now, there wanted not precedents[31], both ancient and of later times, that free kingdoms and principalities, not settled by custom in succession of blood, have been transported, even to strangers, by way of gift. Attalus, king of Pergamus, did constitute the people of Rome his heir; by force whereof they made his kingdom a part of their empire. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, made the people of Rome likewise his heir[32]; whereupon his kingdom was reduced to the form of a province. So Alexander, king of Egypt[33], gave Alexandria and the kingdom of Egypt; and so Ptolemy gave the kingdom of Cyrene to the same people of Rome[34]. Prasutagus, one of the kings of Great-Britain, gave the kingdom of the Iceni to Cæsar Nero, and to his daughters[35]. Yea, in the Imperial state of Rome, Augustus designed Tiberius to be his successor; and, by like appointment, Nero became successor to Claudius; Trajan to Nerva; Antoninus Pius to Adrian; and Antoninus the Philosopher to another Antoninus. When the Emperor Galba did openly appoint Piso for his successor, he declared[36] to the people, that the same custom had been observed by most approved and ancient princes. Jugurtha, being adopted by Micipsa, succeeded him in the kingdom of Numidia; and that by the judgment as well of Micipsa himself, as of the senate and people of Rome[37].

The holy[38] histories report, that Solomon gave twenty cities to Hiram, King of Tyre; and, if the argument be good from the part to the whole, he might in like sort have disposed of all his kingdom. Who hath not heard of the donation falsely attributed to Constantine the Great, being in truth the donation of Lewis, surnamed the Pious; whereby he gave to Pope Paschal the city of Rome, and a large territory adjoining unto it; the instrument of which gift Volaterrane doth recite[39]? So the lady Matilda, daughter to Roger the most famous Prince of Sicily, and wife to King Conrade, son to Henry the Fourth, Emperor, gave the Marquisate of Apulia to the Bishop of Rome[40]; which when the Emperor Otho the Fourth refused to deliver, he was for that cause excommunicated by the Pope. In like sort the country of Dauphine was given by Prince Umbert to the King of France, upon condition that the eldest son of France, should afterward be called Dauphin[41]. Lastly, the Duke's first ancestor, Rollo, received the dukedom of Normandy, by donation of Charles King of France: and himself held the county of Maine by donation of Earl Herbert, as before it is shewed. And, by donation of the King of Britain, Hengist obtained Kent, the first kingdom of the English Saxons in Britain. After which time, the country was never long time free from invasion: first, by the English and Saxons against the Britons; afterwards by the seven Saxon kingdoms among themselves; and then lastly, by the Danes. By means whereof the kingdom at that time could not be settled in any certain form of succession by blood, as it hath been since; but was held for the most part in absolute dominion, and did often pass by transaction or gift; and he, whose sword could cut best, was always adjudged to have most right. But of this question more shall hereafter be said, in the beginning of the life of King William the Second.

Touching his propinquity in blood to King Edward by the mother's side, he enforced it to be a good title; because King Edward not long before had taken succession from Hardicanutus, to whom he was brother by the mother's side. And, although King Edward was also descended from the Saxon Kings, yet could not he derive from them any right; for that Edgar and his sisters were then alive, descended from Edmund Ironsides, elder brother to King Edward. He could have no true right of succession, but only from Hardicanutus the Dane. So Pepin, when he was possessed of the state of France, did openly publish, that he was descended of the blood of Charles the Great, by the mother's side.

[30] First, in France, which he alleged was afterwards confirmed by Edward in England, and by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Earl Goodwin, and Earl Siwarde.
[31] Flor. lib. ii. Eutr. lib. iv. Epit. Liv. lix. [32] Eutrop. Epit. Liv. xciii.
[33] Cic. Agrar. Orat. ii. [34] Liv. lib. lxx. [35] Tacit. lib. xiv. [36] Tacit. An. xvii.
[37] Salust. Bell. Jug. [38] 1 Reg. ix. [39] Geogr. 3. [40] Trithem. cap. 22.
[41] Theod. Nehem. lib. ii. cap. 25.

And albeit the said Egbert was both nearer to King Edward than the Duke of Normandy, and also joined to him in blood by the father's side; yet was that no sufficient defence for Harold. The usurped possession of Harold could not be defended, by alleging a better title of a third person[42]: the injury, which he did to Edgar, could not serve him for a title against any other.

These grounds of his pretence, beautified with large amplifications of the benefits which he had done to King Edward, he imparted to the Bishop of Rome; who at that time was reputed the arbitrator of controversies which did rise between Princes. And the rather to procure his favour, and to gain the countenance of religion to his cause, he promised to hold the kingdom of England of the Apostolick See. Hereupon Alexander, then Bishop of Rome, allowed his title, and sent unto him a white hallowed banner, to advance upon the prow of his ship; also an *agnus-dei* of gold, and one of St. Peter's hairs, together with his blessing to begin the enterprise; cursing all those that should oppose against it.

But now concerning his further proceedings, concerning his victorious both entrance and continuance within the realm of England, two points are worthy to be considered; one how he, being a man of no great either power or dominion, did so suddenly prevail against a courageous King, possessed of a large and puissant state? The other is, how he so secured his victory, as not the English, not the Britons, not the Danes, not any other could dispossess, or much disturb him and his posterity, from enjoying the fair fruits thereof. And, if we give to either of these their true respects, we shall find his commendation to consist, not so much in the first, as in the second: because that was effected chiefly by force, this by wisdom only; which, as it is most proper to man, few men do therein excel. He that winneth a state, surmounteth only outward difficulties; but he that assureth the same, travelleth as well against internal weakness, as external strength. To attain a kingdom is many times a gift of fortune; but to provide that it may a long time continue firm, is not only to oppose against human forces, but against the very malice of fortune, or rather the power and wrath of time, whereby all things are naturally inclinable to change.

For the first then, besides the secret working and will of God, which is the cause of all causes; besides the sins of the people, for which (the Prophet saith) 'Kingdoms 'are transported from one nation to another:' King Edward, not long before, made a manifest way for this invasion and change. For, although he was English by birth; yet, by reason of his education in Normandy, he was altogether become a Norman; both in affection and in behaviour of life. So as, in imitation of him, the English abandoned the ancient usages of their country, and with great affection (or affectation rather) conformed themselves to the fashions of France[43]. His chief acquaintance and familiar friends were no other than Normans; towards whom, being a mild and soft-spirited prince, he was very bountiful, and almost immoderate in his favours. These he enriched with great possessions; these he honoured with the highest places, both of dignity and charge. Chiefly he advanced divers of them to the best degrees of dignity in the church, by whose favour Duke William was afterwards both animated and aided in his exploit. Generally, as the whole clergy of England conceived a hard opinion of Harold[44]; for that, upon the same day wherein King Edward was buried,[45] he set the crown upon his own head, without religious ceremonies, without any solemnities of coronation; so they durst not, for fear of the Pope's displeasure, but give either furtherance or forbearance to the Duke's proceedings; and to abuse the credit which they had with the people, in working their submission to the Normans. Now, of what strength the clergy were at that time within the realm, by this which followeth it may appear.

After that Harold was slain, Edwin and Morcard, Earls of Northumberland[46] and Marckland, brothers of great both authority and power within the realm, had induced

[42] *Arg. l. creditor. & l. Claudius. D. qui pot. in pign. ha.*
[43] *Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque.* Æneid.
[44] The bishops, to a man, were all for him.
[45] Which was the day after his death.
[46] Or rather of Chester.

many of the nobility to declare Edgar Atheling to be their King: but the prelates not only crossed that purpose, but delivered the next heir from the Saxon Kings, to the pleasure of the Duke.

Again, when the Duke, after his great victory at Hastings, advanced his army towards Hertfordshire; Frederick, Abbot of St. Alban's, had caused the woods belonging to his church to be felled, and the trees to be cast so thick in the way, that the Duke was compelled to coast about to the castle of Barkhamstead. To this place the abbot under sureties came unto him; and, being demanded wherefore he alone did offer that opposition against him, with a confident countenance, he returned answer: "That he had done no more than in conscience, and by nature, he was bound to do; and that, if the residue of the clergy had borne the like mind, he should never have pierced the land so far." "Well, (answered the Duke) I know that your clergy is powerful indeed; but, if I live and prosper in my affairs, I shall govern their greatness well enough[47]." Assuredly, nothing does sooner work the conversion or subversion of a state, than that any one sort of subjects should grow so great as to be able to over-rule all the rest.

Besides this disposition of the clergy, divers of the nobility also did nothing favour King Harold or his cause; for that he was a manifest usurper, naked of all true title to the crown, pretending only as born of the daughter of Hardicanutus the Dane. Yea, he was infamous for his injury and perjury towards the Duke and no less hateful for his disloyalty in former times, in bearing arms with his father against King Edward. Hereupon the nobility of the realm were broken into factions[48]; many (of whom his own brother Tosto was chief) invited Harold King of Normandy to invade; with whom whilst Harold of England was encountering in arms, the residue drew in Duke William out of Normandy. And these also were divided in respects. Some were carried by particular ends, as being prepared in divers manners by the Norman before-hand; others upon a greedy, and for the most part deceivable ambition, in hunting after hazard and change; others were led with love to their country, partly to avoid the tempest which they saw to gather in clouds against them, and partly to enlarge the realm, both in dominion and strength, by adjoining the country of Normandy unto it. In which regard, because the less doth always accrue to the greater, they thought it more advantageous to deal with a Prince of an inferior state, than with a Prince of a state superior or equal.

As for Edgar Atheling (the next successor to the crown in right of blood) he was not of sufficient age; of a simple wit, and slow courage; not gracious to the English, as well for his imperfections, both in years and nature, as for that he was altogether unacquainted with the customs and conditions of their country; unfurnished of forces and reputation, unfurnished of friends, unfurnished of all means to support his title. So Duke William, having better right than the one[49], and more power than the other[50], did easily carry the prize from both[51].

Now touching the state of his own strength, albeit Normandy was but little in regard of England, yet was it neither feeble nor poor. For the people, by reason of their continual exercise in arms, by reason of the weighty wars which they had managed, were well enabled both with courage and skill for all military achievements. Their valour also had been so favoured by their fortune, that they were more enriched by spoil, than drawn down, either with losses or with charge. Hereupon, when preparation was to be made, for the enterprise of England, although some dissuaded the Duke from embracing the attempt, affirming, that it was a vain thing to strain at that which the hand is not able to contain, to take more meat than the stomach can bear; that he, who catches at matters too great, is in danger to gripe nothing: yet others did not only encourage him by advice, but enable him by their aid. Among which William Fitz-Auber did furnish forty ships

[47] Consequently, the King soon after deprives the Abbey of St. Alban's of all the lands and revenues which it then possessed between Barnet and London-stone.

[48] Few being willing to become subjects to one, who for a long time had been their equal; so, as Tacitus observes, *Stimulat non raró privati odii pertinacia in publicum exitium.* Hist. i.

[49] Harold. [50] Edgar Atheling. [51] *In summâ fortunâ id æquius quod validius.* Tacit. Annal. xv.

with men and ammunition; the Bishop of Bajeaux likewise forty; the Bishop of Mans thirty; and in like sort others, acccording to the proportion of their estates.

And yet he drew not his forces only out of Normandy, but received aid from all parts of France, answerable not only to his necessity, but almost to his desire. Philip, King of France, at that time was under age, and Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, was governor of the realm; whose daughter the Duke had taken to wife. By his favour, the Duke received large supplies from the state of France, both in treasure and in men of war; for countenance whereof, it was given forth, that the Duke should hold the realm of England, as he did the duchy of Normandy, under homage to the crown of France. Hereupon, divers Princes of France did adjoin to his aid; and especially the Duke of Orleans, the Earls of Brittany, Anjou, Boulogne, Ponthieu, Nevers, Poictou, Hiesmes, Aumale, and the Lord of Tours. Many other of the nobility and gentlemen did voluntarily adventure both their bodies, and whole estates, upon the event of this enterprise. So greatly had he either by courtesy won the love, or by courage erected the hopes of all men; yea, of many who had been his greatest enemies. With these also the Emperor, Henry the Fourth, sent him certain troops of soldiers, commanded by a Prince of Almaigne. He received also many promises of favour from Swain, King of Denmark; and, who can assure (for the sequel maketh the conjecture probable) that he held not intelligence with Harold Harfager, King of Norway, to invade England with two armies at once? So, partly by his own subjects, and partly by supply from his allies and friends, he amassed a strong army, consisting chiefly of Normans, Flemings, French, and Bretagners, to the number of fifty thousand men; and brought them to St. Valery's, before which town his ships did ride. Here he staid a certain time, attending the wind, as most writers do report; but rather, as it may be conjectured, to wait the arrival of Harold Harfager[52], King of Norway; knowing right well, that the invasion of Harold of Norway, upon the north parts of the realm, would draw away Harold of England to leave the coasts towards the south undefended.

During his abode at St. Valery's, certain English spies were taken, whom King Harold had sent to discover both the purposes and power of the Duke. When they were brought to his presence, with a brave confidence he said unto them:

"Your lord might well have spared this charge; he needed not to have cast away his cost to understand that by your industry and faith, which my own presence shall manifest unto him, more certainly, more shortly, than he doth expect. Go your ways; go tell him from me, if he find me not, before the end of this year, in the place where he supposeth that he may most safely set his foot; let him never fear danger from me, whilst he live."

Many Normans disliked this open dealing of the Duke, preferring to his judgment the valour and experience of King Harold, the greatness of his treasure, the number and goodness of his men, but especially his strong navy and expert sailors, accustomed both to the fights, and dangers of the sea, more than any other people in the world[53]. To these the Duke turned, and said:

"I am glad to hear this opinion run, both of his prowess and of his power; the greater shall our glory be in prevailing against him. But I see right well, that I have small cause to fear his discovery of our strength, when you, who are so near unto me, discern so little. Rest yourselves upon the justice of your cause, and foresight of your commander[54]. Who hath less than he, who can justly term nothing his own? I know more of his weak-

[52] Which, by interpretation, is 'Fair-Locks.'

[53] So early, you may observe, was the naval power of England renowned over all the world, and claimed justly the dominion of the seas; which yet it is able to maintain against all nations.

[54] *Fieri quid debeat, cum multis tracta: quid facturus sis, cum paucissimis, vel potiùs ipse tecum.* Veget. lib. iii.

ness, than ever he shall know of my strength, until he feel it. Perform you your parts like men[55], and he shall never be able to disappoint either my assurance, or your hopes."

Now Harold, King of England, had prepared a fleet to resist the invasion of the Duke of Normandy; but, by reason of his long stay at St. Valery's, speeches did spread, whether by error, or suborнation, (yea, assured advertisement was sent out of Flanders[56],) that he had, for that year, abandoned his enterprize. In the mean time, Harold Harfager, King of Norway, than whom no man was esteemed more valiant, having assured both intelligence and aid out of England, arrived in the mouth of the Humber[57]; and from thence, drawing up against the stream of the river Owse, he landed his forces at a place called Richball, where he marshalled his army, and marched forth into the country. When he came near unto York, he was encountered by the English, led by Edwin and Morchard, the principal commanders of all those quarters[58]. The fight was furious; but in the end, the English were overthrown, and, with a great slaughter, chased into York.

Upon advertisement hereof, Harold, King of England, carried all his forces against Harfager. His readiness was such, and such his expedition, that the fifth day after the fight before-mentioned, he gave him battle again[59]; wherein Harold Harfager was slain, and so was Tosto, the King of England's brother: Tosto, by an uncertain enemy; but Harfager, by the hand of Harold of England. Their army also was routed, and with a bloody execution, pursued, so long as day and fury did last. Here a certain soldier of Norway was most famous, almost for a miracle of manhood. He had been appointed, with certain others, to guard the passage at Stamford-bridge. The residue, upon approach of the English, forsook their charge; but he alone stepped to the foot of the bridge, and, with his battle-axe, sustained the shock of the whole army, slew above forty assailants, and defended both the passage and himself, until an English soldier went under the bridge, and, through a hole thereof, thrust him into the body with a lance.

If the victory of King Harold had been as wisely used, as it was valiantly won, he should have neglected the spoil, and returned with the like celerity, wherewith he came. But he gave discontentment to his soldiers in abridging their expectation for free sharing the spoil; and, having lost many in that conflict, he retired to York, and there staid, as well to reform the state of the country, greatly disordered by means of these wars, as also both to refresh and repair his army.

In the mean time, the Duke of Normandy, receiving intelligence that the sea-coasts were left naked of defence, loosed from St. Valery's with three-hundred, or, as some writers report, eight-hundred and ninety-six, or as one Norman writer affirms, with more than one-thousand sail: and having a gentle gale, arrived at Pemsey[60] in Sussex, upon the twenty-eighth of September. The ship, wherein the Duke was carried, is said (as if it had run for the garland of victory) to have outstripped the rest so far, that the sailors were forced to strike sail, and hull before the wind to have their company. When he first stepped upon the shore, one of his feet slipped a little. The Duke, to recover himself, stepped more strongly with the other foot, and sunk into the sand somewhat deep. One of his soldiers, espying this, said merrily unto him: "You had almost fallen, my Lord; but you have well maintained your standing, and have now taken deep and firm footing in the soil of England; the presage is good, and hereupon I salute you King." The Duke laughed; and the soldiers, with whom superstition doth strongly work, were much confirmed in courage by the jest.

[55] *Parendo potiùs, quod imperia ducum sciscitando res militaris continetur.* Tacit. Hist. i.

[56] From Earl Baldwin.

[57] With three-hundred sail. Here also he was joined by Tosto, Earl of Northumberland and brother to Harold, who, having been banished by Edward, had attached himself to the interest of William, Duke of Normandy.

[58] The field of battle is yet shewn to travellers by the citizens of York.

[59] Which continued from morning until noon, with equal courage and fortune on both sides. [60] Pevensey.

When he had landed his forces, he fortified a piece of ground with strong trenches, and discharged all his ships, leaving his soldiers no hope to save themselves, but only by victory. After this, he published the causes of his coming in arms, namely:

1. To challenge the kingdom of England, given to him by his cousin, King Edward, the last lawful possessor at that time thereof.
2. To revenge the death of his cousin Alfred, brother to the same King Edward; and of the Normans, who did accompany him into England; no less cruelly than deceitfully slain by Earl Goodwin, and his adherents.
3. To revenge the injury done unto Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury; who, by the practice (as it was then given forth) of Harold, had been exiled, in the life-time of King Edward.

This last article was added, either to please the Pope, or generally in favour of the clergy; to whom the example grew then intolerable, that an archbishop should be once questioned by any other, than by themselves.

So the Duke leaving his fortification furnished with competent forces to assure the place, as well for a retreat, as for daily landing of fresh supplies, marched forward to Hastings, and there raised another fortress, and planted likewise a garrison therein. And, in all places, he restrained his soldiers either from spoiling, or harming the country people, for fear that, thereby, they would fall into[61] disorder; but giving forth, that it were cruelty to spoil them, who in a short time should be his subjects. Here the Duke, because he would not either adventure, or trust his soldiers, went forth in person to discover the country, with fifteen horsemen in his company, and no more. His return was on foot, by reason of the evil-qualitied ways; and, when Fitz-Osborne, who went with him, was over-wearied with the weight of his armour, the Duke eased him[62], by bearing his helmet upon his shoulder. This action may seem of slender regard, but yet did gain him both favour and duty among his soldiers.

King Harold, hearing of these approaches, hasted by great journeys towards London, sending his messengers to all places, both to encourage and intreat the people to draw together for their common defence. Here he mustered his soldiers; and albeit he found that his forces were much impaired by his late battle against Harfager, yet he gathered an able army, countenanced and commanded by divers of the nobility, which resorted unto him from many parts of the realm. The Duke, in the mean time, sent a messenger unto him, who demanded the kingdom in so stout a manner, that he was at the point to have been evil-intreated by the King. Again, the King sent his messenger to the Duke, forbidding him, with lofty language, to make any stay within that country, but to return again no less speedily, than rashly he had entered. The Duke, between mirth and scorn, returned answer, "That, as he came not upon his intreaty, so at his command he would not depart. But (said he) I am not come to word with your King, I am come to fight, and am desirous to fight: I will be ready to fight with him, albeit I had but ten-thousand such men, as I have brought sixty-thousand."

King Harold spent little time, lost none (unless haply that which he might have taken more) both in appointing and ordering his army. And, when he was ready to take the field, his mother intreated him, first moderately, then with words of passion and with tears, that he would not adventure his person to the battle. Her importunity was admired the more, for that it was both without any apparent cause, and not usual in former times. But Harold, with undaunted countenance and heart, conducted his army into Sussex, and incamped within seven miles of the Normans; who thereupon approached so near to the English, that the one army was within view of the other.

[61] Fury, or despair.

[62] ——— *Monstrat tolerare labores,*
Non jubet. ——— Lucan. lib. ix.

First, spies were sent on both sides, to discover the state and condition of their enemies. They, who were sent from the English, made a large report, both of the number, and appointment, and discipline of the Normans. Whereupon Girth, younger brother to King Harold, presented him with advice, not to play his whole state at a cast; not to be so carried with desire of victory, as not to wait the time to attain it; that it is proper to invaders presently to fight, because they are then in the very pride and flourish of their strength; but the assailed should rather delay battle[63], rather observe only and attend their enemies, cut off their relief, vex them with incommodities, weary them, and wear them out by degrees[64]: that it could not be long before the Duke's army, being in a strange country, would be reduced to necessities; it could not be long but, by reason it consisted of divers nations, it would draw into disorder: that it was proper to an army, compounded of different people, to be almost invincible at the first, whilst all contend to excel, or, at least, to equal others in brave performance; but, if they be advisedly endured, they will easily fall into disorders, and lastly of themselves dissolve. "Or if (said he) you resolve to fight; yet, because you are sworn to the Duke[65], you shall do well to withdraw your presence, to employ your authority in mustering a new army, to be ready to receive him with fresh forces. And, if you please to commit the charge of this encounter unto me; I will not fail to express both the love of a brother, and the care and courage of a commander. For, as I am not obliged to the Duke by oath, so shall I either prevail with the better cause, or with the quieter conscience die."

Both these counsels were rejected by Harold. The first, out of a violent vehemency of these Northern nations, who do commonly esteem delay of battle a dejected cowardice, a base and servile deflowering of time; but to bear through their designs, at once, they account a point of honourable courage[66]. The second he esteemed both shameful to his reputation, and hurtful to the state of his affairs. For, what honour had he gained by his former victories, if, when he came to the greatest pinch of danger, he should fearfully shrink back[67]? With what heart should the soldiers fight when they have not his presence for whom they fight; when they have not their general an eye-witness of their performance: when they want his sight, his encouragement, his example to inflame them to valour? The presence of the Prince is worth many thousands of ordinary soldiers. The ordinary soldier will undertake both labour and danger for no other respects so much, as by the presence of the Prince. And therefore he did greatly extenuate the worth of the Normans, terming them a company of priests; because their fashion was to shave their faces. But whatsoever they were, "as he had (he said) digested in his mind the hardest events of battle; so either the infamy or suspicion of cowardice in no case he would incur." He resolved not to overlive so great dishonour; he resolved to set up, as his last rest, his crown, and kingdom; and life withal. And thus, oftentimes, Fortune dealeth with men, as executioners do with condemned persons; she will first blindfold, and then dispatch them[68].

After this, the Norman sent a monk to offer the choice of these conditions to Harold; either to relinquish his kingdom upon certain conditions; or to hold it under homage to the Duke; or to try their cause by single combat; or to submit it to the judgment of the pope, according to the laws of Normandy or of England; which he would. Again, some conditions were propounded from King Harold to the Duke: but their thoughts were so lifted up, both with pride and confidence, by reason of their former victories, that no moderate overture could take place; and so they appointed the day following,

[63] [This mode of military forbearance in similar circumstances, was recommended, on similar principles of policy, by Viscount Wimbleton, a distinguished commander and tactical writer in the reign of Charles the First. See Noble Authors, ii. 297.]

[64] *Multa bella, impetu valida, per tædia & moras evanuere.* Tacit. Hist. ii.

[65] This refers to the oath Harold had taken to the Duke of Normandy in King Edward's life-time.

[66] *Barbaris cunctatio servilis, statim exequi regium videtur.* Tacit. Annal. vi.

[67] *Si status imperii in discrimine vertatur, debebit in acie stare. Minora bella minoribus ducibus deleganda.* Tacit. Hist. iv.

[68] *Occæcat animos fortuna, ubi vim suam ingruentem frangi non vult.* Liv. lib. v.

which was the fourteenth of October, to determine their quarrel by sentence of the sword. This happened to be the birth-day of King Harold; which, for that cause, by a superstitious error, he conjectured would be prosperous unto him.

The night before the battle for divers respects was unquiet. The English spent the time in feasting and drinking, and made the air ring with shoutings and songs; the Normans were more soberly silent, and busied themselves much in devotion[69]; being rather still than quiet, not so much watchful as not able to sleep. At the first appearance of the day, the King and the Duke were ready in arms, encouraging their soldiers, and ordering them, in their arrays; in whose eyes it seemed that courage did sparkle, and that in their face and gesture victory did dance The Duke put certain relics about his neck, upon which King Harold had sworn unto him. It is reported that, when he armed, the back of his cuirass was placed before, by the error of him that put it on; some would have been dismayed hereat, but the Duke smiled and said, "Assuredly this day my fortune will turn; I shall either be a King, or nothing, before night."

The English were knit in one main body on foot; whereof the first ranks consisted of Kentishmen (who by an ancient custom did challenge the honour of that place), the next were filled with Londoners; then followed the other English. Their chief weapons were pole-axe, sword, and dart, with a large target for their defence. They were paled in front with pavises in such wise, that it was thought impossible for the enemy to break them. The King stood on foot by his standard, with two of his brothers, Girth and Leofwine; as well to relieve from thence all parts that should happen to be distressed, as also to manifest to the soldiers, that they retained no thought of escaping by flight. On the other side, the Normans were divided into three battles: the first was conducted by Roger Montgomery, and William Fitz-Osborne; it consisted of horsemen of Anjou, Maine, and Bretagne, commanded by a Bretagner named Fergent; it carried the banner, which the Pope had sent. The middle battle, consisting of soldiers out of Germany and Poictou, was led by Jeffery Martell, and a Prince of Almaigne. The Duke himself closed the last battle, with the strength of his Normans, and the flower of his nobility[70]. The archers were divided into wings, and also dispersed by bands through all the three battles.

Thus were both sides set upon a bloody bargain; ambition, hope, anger, hate, inflaming them to valour. The Duke edged his soldiers, by declaring unto them the noble acts of their ancestors[71], the late admirable achievement of their fellow Normans, in subduing the kingdom of Sicily; their own brave exploits under him: by shewing them all that pleasant and plentiful country, as the purchase of their prowess, as the gain and reward of their adventure[72]: by putting them in mind, that they were in a country both hostile and unknown, before them the sword, the vast ocean behind, no place of retreat, no surety but in valour and in victory; so that they, who would not contend for glory, were upon necessity to fight for their lives: lastly, by assuring them, that, as he was the first in advice, so would he be the foremost in adventure, being fully resolved either to vanquish, or to die. The King[73] encouraged his men, by presenting to their remembrance the miseries which they sustained, not long before, under the oppression of the Danes[74]; which whether they were again to endure, or never to fear, "it lieth (said he) in the issue of this field." The King had the advantage both for number of men, and for their large able bodies. The Duke both in arms, especially in regard of the bows and arrows, and in

[69] *Fortissimus in ipso discrimine exercitus, qui ante discrimen modestissimus.* Tacit. Hist. i.

[70] *Ad victoriam plurimum confert, ut lectissimos de peditibus & equitibus habeat dux post aciem in subsidiis præparatos.* Veget. iii. cap. 17.

[71] The Norwegians and Danes, as well in England, as in France.

[72] *Eo impenditur labor & periculum, unde emolumentum & honos speretur.* Liv. iv.

[73] Harold.

[74] *Viz.* The spoil and ruin of their flourishing land and common government; the rifling of their private estates; the abusing of their wives and daughters; the destruction, or, what is worse, the oppression and slavery of all sorts of people.

experience and skill of arms; both equal in courage; both confident alike in the favour of fortune, which had always crowned their courage with victory.

And, now, by fronting of both the armies, the plots and labours of many months were reduced to the hazard of a few hours. The Normans marched with a song of the valiant acts of Rowland, esteeming nothing of peril, in regard to the glory of their adventure. When they approached near their enemies[75], they saluted them first with a storm of arrows: Robert Fitz-Beaumont, a young gentleman of Normandy, beginning the fight from the right wing. This manner of fight, as it was new, so was it most terrible to the English, and they were least provided to avoid it. First, they opened their ranks, to make way for the arrows to fall; but, when that avoidance did nothing avail, they closed again, and covered themselves with their targets, joined together in manner of a pent-house; encouraging one another to haste forward, to leap lustily to hand-strokes, and to scour their swords in the entrails of their enemies. Then the Duke commanded his horsemen to charge; but the English received them upon the points of their weapons, with so lively courage, in so firm and stiff order, that the overthrow of many of the foremost did teach their followers to adventure themselves with better advice. Hereupon they shifted into wings, and made way for the footmen to come forward. Then did both armies join in a horrible shock, with pole-axes, and the prince of weapons, the sword: maintaining the fight with so manlike fury, as if it had been a battle of giants, rather than of men. And so they continued the greatest part of that day, in close and furious fight; blow for blow, wound for wound, death for death; their feet steady, their hands diligent, their eyes watchful, their hearts resolute; neither their advisement dazzled by fierceness, nor their fierceness any thing abated by advisement.

In the mean time, the horsemen gave many sharp charges, but were always beaten back with disadvantage. The greatest annoyance came from the archers, whose shot showered among the English so thick, that they seemed to have the enemy in the midst of their army. Their armour was not sufficiently either complete or of proof to defend them, but every hand, every finger's breadth, unarmed, was almost an assured place for a deep, and many times a deadly wound. Thus, whilst the front was maintained in good condition, many thousands were beaten down behind, whose death was not so grievous unto them, as the manner of their death, in the midst of their friends, without an enemy at hand, upon whom they might shew some valour, and work some revenge.

This manner of fight would soon have determined as well the hopes as the fears of both sides, had not the targets of the English been very serviceable unto them; had not King Harold also, with a lively and constant resolution, performed the part not only of a skilful commander, by directing, encouraging, providing, relieving; but of a valiant soldier, by using his weapon, to the example of his soldiers. In places of greatest danger he was always present, repairing the decays, reforming the disorders, and encouraging his company; that in doing as men, whether they prevailed, or whether they perished, their labour was always gloriously employed. So they knit strongly together, and stood in close and thick array, as if they had been but one body; not only bearing the brunt of their enemies, but making such an impression upon their squadron, that the great body began to shake. The Duke adventured in person so far, moved no less by his natural magnanimity, than by glory of the enterprise, that, besides his often alighting to fight on foot, two, or (as some report) three horses were slain under him. And having a body both able by nature, and by use hardened to endure travail, he exacted the greater service of his soldiers; commending the forward, blaming the slow, and crying out (according to his nature) with vehement gesture and voice unto all. "That it was a shame for them, who had been victorious against all men with whom they dealt, to be so long held by the English in delay

[75] One named Taillefer advanced forward at the head of the army, and challenged any one of the English to a single combat, which being accepted, he slew the first and second; but was himself slain by the third assailant: upon which the Normans began the attack.

of victory." So partly by his authority, and partly by his example, he retained his soldiers, and imposed upon them the fairest necessity of courage; whilst every man contended to win a good opinion of their Prince.

Then the fight entered into a new fit of heat; nothing less feared than death, the greatness of danger making both sides the more resolute; and they, who could not approach to strike with the hand, were heard to encourage their fellows by speech, to pursue the victory, to pursue their glory, not to turn to their own both destruction and disgrace. The clashing of armour, the justling of bodies, the resounding of blows, was the fairest part of this bloody medley; but the grisliness of wounds, the hideous falls and groans of the dying, all the field defiled with dust, blood, broken armour, mangled bodies, represented terror in her foulest form. Never was fury better governed; never game of death better played. The more they fought, the better they fought; the more they smarted, the less they regarded smart.

At the last, when the Duke perceived that the English could not be broken by strength of arm, he gave direction that his men should retire and give ground; not loosely, not disorderly, as in a fearful and confused haste, but advisedly and for advantage; keeping the front of their squadron firm and close, without disbanding one foot in array. Nothing was more hurtful to the English, being of a frank and noble spirit, than that their violent inclination carried them too fast into hope of victory. For, feeling their enemies to yield under their hand, they did rashly follow those who were not hasty to fly; and in the heat of their pursuit, upon a false conceit of victory, loosed and disordered their ranks, thinking then of nothing but of executing the chace. The Normans espying the advantage to be ripe, made a stiff stand, redoubled upon the English; and, pressing on with a fury equal to their favourable fortune, with a cruel butchery broke into them. This error could not possibly be repaired[76]. But it is scarce credible with what strength both of courage and hand the English, even in despite of death, sustained themselves in this disorder; drawing into small squadrons, and beating down their enemies on every hand, being resolved to sell their lives with their place.

But a mischief is no mischief, if it comes alone. Besides this disadvantage of dis-array, the shot of the Normans did continually beat upon the English, with a grievous execution. Among others, King Harold, about the closing of the evening, as he was busy in sustaining his army, both with voice and hand, was struck with an arrow through the left eye into his brains, of which wound he presently died. His two brothers, Girth and Leofwine, were also slain, and also most of the nobility that were present: so long as the King stood, they stood stoutly, both with him and for him, and by him; his directions supported them, his brave behaviour breathed fresh boldness and life into them. But his death was a deadly stab to their courage: upon report of his death, they began to waver in resolution, whether to trust to the force of their arms, or to commend their safety to their good footmanship. In this uncertainty many were slain; many retired in reasonable order to a rising ground, whither they were closely followed by the Normans; but the English, having gotten advantage of the place, and drawing courage out of despair, with a bloody charge did drive them down. Count Eustachius, supposing fresh forces to be arrived, fled away with fifty soldiers in his company; and, meeting with the Duke, rounded him secretly in his ear, that, if he went any further, he was undone. Whilst he was thus speaking, he was struck between the shoulder with so violent a blow, that he fell down as dead, and voided much blood at his nose and mouth. In this conflict many of the noblest Normans were slain, which moved the Duke to make a strong ordered stand, giving liberty thereby, for those English to retire. Others fled through a watery channel, the passages whereof were well known unto them; and when the Normans did more sharply than advisedly pursue, (the place being shadowed partly with sedges and reeds, and partly with the night,) they were either stifled in the waters, or easily destroyed by the English, and that in so great numbers, that the place was filled up with dead bodies. The residue scat-

[76] Οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἐν πολέμῳ δὶς ἁμαρτανεῖν. *Non licet in bello bis peccare.* Plut. in Apophth.

tered in smaller companies, and had their flight favoured by increasing darkness; the enemy not adventuring to follow, both in a strange country, and in the night. Earl Edwin and Earl Morchard, brothers of approved both courage and faith, did great service at that time, in collecting these dispersed troops, and leading them in some fashion to London.

Duke William, surprized with joy, gave public charge for a solemn thanksgiving to God. Then he erected his pavilion in the midst of the field, among the thickest of those bodies whom death had made to lie quietly together. There he passed the residue of that night; and the next morning mustered his soldiers; buried those that were slain, and gave liberty to the English to do the like. The body of King Harold could not be known by his face, it was so deformed by death, and by his wound; by his armour and by certain marks upon his body it was known. As it lay upon the ground, a Norman soldier did strike it into the leg with his sword; for which unmanly action he was cassed by the Duke with open disgrace. It was carried into the Duke's pavilion, and there kept under the custody of William Mallet. And, when his mother made suit for it to be buried, the Duke denied it at first, affirming, that burial was not fit for him, whose ambition was the cause of so many funerals. The mother, besides her lamentations and tears, offered for it (as one Norman writer affirms) the weight thereof in gold; but the Duke, with a manly compassion, gave it freely, as holding it dishonourable both to value the body of a King, and make sale of a slain enemy. So his body was buried by his mother, at Waltham-cross, within the monastery which he had founded. Verily, there was nothing to be blamed in him, but that his courage could not stoop to be lower than a king.

I have been the longer in describing this battle, for that I esteem it the most memorable and best executed that ever was fought within this land; as well for skilful direction, as for courageous performance, and also for the greatness of the event. The fight continued with very great both constancy and courage, and variety of fortune, from seven of the clock in the morning until night. Of the Normans were slain six-thousand and more, besides those that were drowned and beaten down in the water. The slaughter of the English is uncertainly reported, but certainly it was far greater than that of the Normans. Certain also that their death was most honourable and fair, not any one basely abandoning the field; not any one yielding to be taken prisoner. And yet one circumstance more I hold fit to be observed, that this victory was gotten only by the means of the blow of an arrow[77]; the use whereof was by the Normans first brought into this land. Afterwards the English, being trained to that fight, did thereby chiefly maintain themselves with honourable advantage, against all nations with whom they did contend in arms, being generally reputed the best shot in the world.

But of late years it hath been altogether laid aside, and instead thereof the harquebuz and calliver are brought into use; yet not without contradiction of many expert men of arms; who, albeit they do not reject the use of these small pieces, yet do they prefer the bow before them. First, for that, in a reasonable distance, it is of greater both certainty and force. Secondly, for that it dischargeth faster. Thirdly, for that more men may discharge therewith at once; for only the first rank dischargeth the piece, neither hurt they any but those that are in front; but with the bow ten or twelve ranks may discharge together, and will annoy so many ranks of the enemies. Lastly, for that the arrow doth strike more parts of the body; for in that it hurteth by descent (and not only point-blank like the bullet) there is no part of the body but it may strike; from the crown of the head even to the nailing of the foot to the ground. Hereupon it followeth, that the arrows falling so thick as hail upon the bodies of men, as less fearful of their flesh, so more slenderly armed than in former times, must necessarily work most dangerous effects.

Besides these general respects, in many particular services and times, the use of the

[77] *Al.* By the means of the bow and arrow, which the English were strangers unto; or else this expression to the wound given by an arrow, of which King Harold died.

bow is of greatest advantage. If some defence lie before the enemy, the arrow may strike where the bullet cannot. Foul weather may much hinder the discharge of the piece, but it is no great impediment to the shot of the bow. A horse, struck with a bullet, if the wound be not mortal, may perform good service; but, if an arrow be fastened in his flesh, the continual stirring thereof, occasioned by the motion of himself, will force him to cast off all command, and either bear down or disorder those that are near.

But the crack of the piece (some men say) doth strike a terror into the enemy. True; if they be such as never heard the like noise before: but a little use will extinguish these terrors. To men, yea to beasts acquainted with these cracks, they work a weak impression of fear. And if it be true, which all men of action do hold, that the eye in all battles is first overcome[78]; then, against men equally accustomed to both, the sight of the arrow is more available to victory than the crack of the piece. Assuredly, the Duke, before the battle, encouraged his men, for that they should deal with enemies, who had no shot. But I will leave this point to be determined by more discerning judgments, and haply by further experience in the affairs, and return again to my principal purpose.

The next day after the victory, the Duke returning to Hastings, about seven miles from the place of the encounter, partly to refresh his army, and partly to settle in advice and order, for his further prosecution. First, he dispatched messengers to signify his success to his friends abroad. To the Pope he sent King Harold's standard, which represented a man fighting, wrought curiously with gold and precious stones. Afterwards, placing a strong garrison at Hastings, he conducted his army towards London, not the direct way, but coasted about through Sussex, Surrey, Hampshire, and Berkshire; the ways where he passed being as free from resistance, as his thoughts were from change. At Wallingford he passed over the Thames, and then marched forward through Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Hertfordshire, until he came to the castle at Berkhamstead. In this passage, many of his soldiers languished and died of the flux: and whether it were upon licentiousness after the late victory, or whether for want of necessary provision, or whether to strike a terror into the English, or whether to leave no danger at his back; he permitted the sword to range at large, to harass freely, to defile many places with ruin and blood.

In the mean time the English Lords assembled at London, to advise upon their common affairs; but the variety of opinions was the chief impediment to the present service; the danger being more important than the council resolute, or the confidence assured[79]. The nobility inclined to declare Edgar, grandchild to Edmund Ironsides, to be their King; and with these the Londoners wholly went. But those of the clergy were of opinion (some upon particular respects, all upon fear to displease the Pope) to yield to the storm and stream of the present time, to yield to the mighty arm of God; that, their forces being prostrated, their hopes feeble and forlorn, they must be content not to be constrained; they must not provoke the victor too far; against whose forces and felicities, time gave them not power to oppose. This deliberation held so long, that all the time of action was spent: for the Duke approached so near the city, that many, preferring their safety before other respects, withdrew themselves and went unto him. Hereupon, the residue dissolved, and Alfred[80], Archbishop of York, Wolstane, Bishop of Worcester, Wilfire, Bishop of Hereford, and many other prelates of the realm, went unto the Duke at Berkhamstead, accompanied with Edgar, Earl Edwin, Earl Morchard, and divers others of the nobility; who gave pledges for their allegiance, and were thereupon received to subjection and favour. The Duke, presently dispatched to London, was received with many declarations of joy, the lesser in heart, the fairer in appearance, and upon Christmas day next following was crowned King[81].

[78] *Primi in omnibus prœliis oculi vincuntur.* Tacit. de Mor. Germ.

[79] *Timet, atque eum deficere omnia videntur, qui in ipso negotio consilium capere cogitur.* Cæs. Com. lib. vi.

[80] *al.* Aldred.

[81] By Aldred, Archbishop of York; Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, refusing to perform the ceremony.

Now the means, whereby this victory was assured, were the very same whereby it was achieved[82]; even by a stiff and rigorous hand. For whosoever supposeth that a state, attained by force, can be retained by milder means, he shall find himself disappointed of his hopes. A people, newly subdued by force, will so long remain in obedience, as they find themselves not of force to resist.

And first he endeavoured either to prevent or appease all foreign wars[83], especially against the Danes, who were then chiefly feared in England; as well in regard of their former victories, as for that they pretended title to the crown. And herein two things did especially favour his affairs: one, for that the Normans were in some sort allied to the Danes; being the progeny of those Norwegians and Danes, which under the conduct and fortune of Rollo, invaded France; and, after many great achievments, seated in Normandy. The other was, for that, after the death of Canutus, the state of Denmark was much infeebled by division. For the Norwegians set up Magnus, the son of Olaus, for their King; but the Danes acknowledged Canutus the third of that name; by means whereof that puissant empire did languish in consumption of itself, and could not be dangerous to any neighbour country. Yet ceased they not, for many years, to continue claim to the crown of England; but King William had purchased many sure and secret friends in that diseased state, wherein all public affairs were set to sale; especially he used the authority of Adelbert, Archbishop of Hamburgh, either to cross all counsel of hostility against him, or else to delay, and thereby to delude the enterprise, or lastly so to manage the action, that it should not work any dangerous effect.

After the death of Swain, Canutus prepared a navy of one-thousand sail for invasion of England; and was aided with six-hundred more, by Robert le Frizon, whose daughter he had taken to wife. But either for want, or else by negligence, or haply of purpose, this navy continued, partly in preparation, and partly in readiness, the space of two years, and then the voyage was laid aside. The cause was attributed to contrariety of winds, but the contrariety of wills was the truest impediment. Likewise Swain had furnished against England a navy of two-hundred and four sail, commanded by Earl Osborne, his brother. Another fleet of two-hundred sail was set forth, under the charge of Earl Hacon; but King William so corrupted them both, that the one departed out of the realm without performing any great exploit, the other never would arrive.

Also, out of those confusions in England, Malcolm, King of Scots, did take this opportunity for action. He received into protection many English, who, either for fear or for discontentment, forsook their country; of whom many families in Scotland are descended, and namely these, Lindsey, Vaus, Ramsey, Lovell, Towbris, Sandlands, Bissart, Sowlis, Wardlow, Maxwell, and divers others. He entertained in his court Edgar Atheling, and took his sister Margaret to wife. He possessed himself of a great part of Cumberland, and of Northumberland[84]; wherewith the people were well content, for that he was their Earl's sister's son.

Hereupon King William sent against him, first, Roger, a Norman, who was traitorously slain by his own soldiers; then Gospatrick, Earl of Gloucester: these did only repress the enemy, but were not able to finish the war fully. Lastly, he went himself with a mighty army into Scotland, where he made wide waste; and, in Lothian, found King Malcolm, prepared both in force, and resolution, to entertain him with battle. The great army of King William, their fair furniture and order, their sudden coming, but especially their firm countenance and readiness to fight, much daunted the Scots: whereupon King Malcolm sent a herald to King William, to move him to some agreement of peace. The

[82] *Imperium iis artibus facillimè retinetur quibus partem est.* Sal. Catilin.

[83] *Novis ex rebus aucti, tuta et præsentia, quod vetera et periculosa malunt.* Tacit. Ann. i.

[84] He invaded all the country as far as Tisidale, which he foraged with the places adjoining; destroyed Holderness, wasted the lands of Cuthbert and Durham, fired the church of St. Peter at Weremouth and divers others, and destroyed those that had taken sanctuary in them; and having perpetrated the greatest sacrileges and cruelties by robbing the churches, and putting the old men and young children to the sword, he returned with the most able-bodied and well favoured both men and women to be made captives.

more that the King was pleased herewith, the more he seemed unwilling and strange: the more he must be persuaded to that, which, if it had not been offered, he would have desired. At the last, a peace was concluded[85], upon conditions honourable to King William, and not unreasonable for the King of Scots; whereby all the English were pardoned, who had fled into Scotland, and borne arms against their King.

As for the Welch, albeit both their courage and their power had been extremely broken in the time of King Edward, and that by the valour and industry of Harold; yet, upon advantage of these troubled times, they made some incursions into the borders of England; but in companies so disordered and small, so secretly assaulting, so suddenly retiring, so desirous more of pillage than of blood, that they seemed more like to ordinary robbers, than to enemies in a field. Against these the King led an army into Wales, reduced the people both to subjection and quiet, made all the principal men tributary unto him, and received pledges of all, for assurance of their obedience and faith.

Whilst the King thus settled his affairs abroad, he secured himself against his subjects; not by altering their will, but by taking away their power to rebel[87]. The stoutest of the nobility and gentlemen were spent, either by war, or by banishment, or by voluntary avoidance out of the realm. All these he stripped of their estates, and in place of them advanced his Normans; insomuch as scarce any noble family of the English blood did bear either office or authority within the realm. And these ran headlong to servitude; the more hasty, and with the fairer shew, the more either countenanced or safe. These he did assure unto him, not only by oath of fidelity and homage, but either by pledges, or else by retaining them always by his side.

And, because at that time the clergy were the principal strings of the English strength, he permitted not any of the English nation to be advanced to the dignities of the church, but furnished them with Normans, and other strangers. And whereas, in times before, the Bishop and Alderman[87] were absolute judges in every shire, and the Bishop, in many causes, shared in forfeitures and penalties with the King; he clipped the wings of their temporal power, and confined them within the limits of their ecclesiastical jurisdiction; to maintain the canons and customs of the church, to deal in affairs concerning the soul. He procured Stigand[88], Archbishop of Canterbury, Angelwine, Bishop of East-Angles, and certain other bishops and abbots, to be deprived by authority from Rome[89]; and detained them in prison, during their lives, that strangers might enjoy their places. The matters, objected[90] against Stigand, were these:

I. 'That he had intruded upon the archbishoprick, whilst Robert the Archbishop was 'in life.

II. 'That he received his pall from Benedict the Fifth, who, for buying the papacy, 'had been deposed.

III. 'That he kept the see of Winchester in his hands, after his investiture into the 'see of Canterbury.'

He was otherwise also infamous in life; altogether unlearned, of heavy judgment and understanding, sottishly serviceable both to pleasure and sloth; in covetousness, beneath the baseness of rusticity: insomuch, as he would often swear, that he had not one penny upon the earth; and yet, by a key, which he did wear about his neck, great treasures of

[85] *Melior certa, pax, quàm sperata victoria.* Liv. xxx. [86] *Quos viceris, cave amicos tibi credas.* Curt. lib. vii.

[87] This title, Alderman, is of a Saxon extraction, and, in its first use, stood for the Peers of the land, that were not Princes, sons of the King, or foremost in the royal line. As for those Aldermen, or more properly, according to its original, *Ealdermen*, which were ranked with Bishops in the Saxon laws, as here mentioned, they were such as had counties, or other territories, under their government, and had the same power and jurisdiction as the Earl had afterwards, which was the same charge and care of counties, as at this time is committed to High-sheriffs, or, as we find it spelt in King Athelstan's Saxon Laws, *High-gereves.*

[88] Whom he ever hated, for refusing to set the English crown upon his head.

[89] In a provincial council held at Winchester, in the presence of two Cardinals. [90] Publicly.

his were found under the ground. And this was a grief and sickness to honest minds, that such spurious and impure creatures should sustain, or rather destain, the reverence and majesty of religion.

Further, the King caused all the monasteries and abbeys to be searched, pretending, that the richer sort of the English had laid up their money in them: under colour whereof, he discovered the state of all, and bereaved many of their own treasure. Some of these religious houses he appropriated wholly to himself; of divers others he seized the liberties, which they redeemed afterwards at a very high and expensive rate. Those bishopricks and abbeys which held baronies, and had been free before from secular subjection, he reduced under the charge of his service, appointing how many soldiers, and of what sort, they should furnish for him, and his successors, in the time of their wars. Those strangers, which he entertained in pay, he dispersed into religious houses, and some also among the nobility, to be maintained at their charge; whereby he not only favoured his own purse, but had them as a watch, and sometimes as a garrison over those, of whose allegiance he stood in doubt.

Now, against the inferior sort of people, knowing right well that he was generally hated, he prepared these remedies for his estate. All their armour was taken from them; they were crushed down with change of calamity, which held them prostrate under the yoke, and brake the very heart of their courage; leaving them no hope to be relieved, no hope to raise into any degree of liberty, but by yielding entire obedience unto him. Those, who either resisted or favoured not his first entrance, he bereaved of all means afterward to offend him; holding them down, and keeping them so low, that their very impotency made him secure. All such as had their hand in any rebellion, albeit they were pardoned their lives, lost their livings, and became vassals to those lords to whom their possessions were given. And, if they attained any thing afterward, they held it only at the pleasure of their lords; that at the pleasure of their lords they might be despoiled[91].

He much condemned the judgment of Swanus the Dane, sometime King of England, who permitted those whom he had vanquished, to retain their former authority and estates; whereby it happened, that, after his death, the inhabitants were of force to expel the strangers, and to quit themselves both from their society and subjection. Hereupon, many severe laws were made; divers of all sorts were put to death, banished, stripped of their wealth, disabled in their bodies by unusual variety of punishments; as, putting out the eyes, cutting off the hands, and such like: not only to diminish his fears, if they were suspected; but sometimes, if they were of wealth, to satisfy therewith either his pleasure or wants. His cruelty made the people rebellious, and their rebellions made him the more cruel; in which case, many innocents were made the oblations of his ambitious fears. Many heavy taxations were imposed upon them; their ancient lords were removed, their ancient laws and policies of state were dashed to dust; all lay couched under the Conqueror's sword, to be newly fashioned by him, as should be best fitting for his advantage.

He erected castles in divers parts of the realm, of which the Tower, near London, was the chief; which afterwards was increased, both in compass, and in strength, by addition of the outward walls. In these he planted garrisons of the Normans, as if it had been in a hostile country; not without oppression to the people, although they remained quiet, and sufficient to suppress them, if they should rebel. Thus he secured the realm against a general defection; as for particular stirs, they might haply molest him, but endanger him they could not. Exeter, Northumberland, and some other parts did rise against him in arms; but, being unable to maintain their revolt, their overthrow did much confirm his state.

[91] He also seized the charters and privileges of cities, and towns corporate, and of the politic bodies throughout the land, and never restored them, without a large sum of money; by which means he got the greatest part of the nation's wealth into his own power, and so impoverished them all, that he had nothing to fear from them: So that, when it was told him at any time, that "the oppressed people spake evil of him," his usual reply was, "It is well they can do me no evil."

He either imitated, or concurred with Cæsar in advice: For, as Cæsar invaded the Germans, which kept the great forest of Ardenna, not with his own soldiers, but with his aids out of Gallia; (gaining thereby victory over the one, and security from the other, without any dispense of the Roman blood;) so after the King's great victory over the valiant, but too adventurous King Harold, when many of the English fled into Ireland, and from thence with fresh both courage and supplies, returned into England, commanded by two of Harold's sons; he encountered them only with English forces. In the first conflict the King's party was overthrown, and the valiant leader Ednothus slain, who had been master of the horse to King Harold. In the second his enemies were so defeated, as they were never able to make head again. So, the victors being weakened, and the vanquished wasted, the King with pleasure triumphed over both. Likewise, when he was occasioned to pass the seas into Normandy, (either to establish affairs of government, or to repress rebellions, which in his absence were many times raised,) he drew his forces out of England, and that in a more large proportion, than the importance of the service did require. He also took with him the chief men of English blood, as well to use their advice and aid, as also to hold them and their friends from working innovation in his absence.

He inclosed the great forest near unto the sea in Hampshire, for which he dispeopled villages and towns[92], about the space of thirty miles, to make a desart for beasts of chace; in which place two of his sons[93], Richard and William, ended their lives; Richard, by a fall from his horse, and William, by the stroke of an arrow. The King's great delight in hunting was made the pretence of this forest; but the true end was rather, to make a free place of footing for his Normans, and other friends out of France, in case any great revolt should be made. Divers other parts of the realm were so wasted with his wars, that for want both of husbandry and habitation, a great dearth did ensue, whereby many were forced to eat horses, dogs, cats, rats, and other loathsome and vile vermin; yea, some abstained not from the flesh of men. This famine and desolation did especially rage in the North parts of the realm; for the inhabitants beyond Humber, fearing the King's secret hate, so much the more deep and deadly, because unjust; received without resistance, and perhaps drew in the army of the King of Swedeland, with whom Edgar Atheling, and the other English that fled into Scotland, joined their power. The Normans within York fired the suburbs, because it should not be a lodging for their enemies: but the strength of the wind carried the flame into the city, which consumed a great part thereof, with the minster of St. Peter, and therein a fair library. And herein, whilst the Normans were partly busied, and partly amazed, the enemies entered, and slew in York, in Duresme[94], and thereabout, three thousand Normans; among whom were many of eminent dignity, as well for birth, as for place of their charge. But in a short time the King came upon them, and having partly by arms, and partly by gifts, dispatched the strangers[95]; exercised upon the English an ancient and assured experience of war, to repress with main force a rebellion in a state newly subdued; insomuch as all the land between Duresme and York, except only the territory of Sir John of Beverlace[96], lay waste for the space of nine years, without inhabitants to manure the ground.

And, because conspiracies and associations [97] are commonly contrived in the night, he commanded, that in all towns and villages a bell should be rung in the evening at eight

[92] He, in this exploit, demolished thirty-six towns.

[93] As also his grandson, Richard, the son of Robert, who, being in full chace, was struck in the jaws by a bough, upon which he hung, till he expired. See Malmesbur. p. 111. See Dunelm. p. 225.

[94] *Al.* Durham.

[95] *Viz.* the army of the King of Swedeland.

[96] *Al.* Beverley. And this happened more through superstition, than any devotion for God, or his saints; for, one of his horsemen riding full speed into the lands belonging to Beverley, the horse fell, and broke his neck, and the man's face became so convulsed, as to turn behind him; which the king esteemed a bad omen, and so desisted from his intended violence on that place. Ib.

[97] *Summum periculum est, si cœtus, concilia, & secretas consultationes esse sinas.* Liv. xxxiv.

of the clock; and that in every house they should then put forth their fire[98] and lights, and go to bed. This custom of ringing a bell at that hour, in many places, it still observed.

And, for that likeness is a great cause of liking and of love, he enjoined the chief of the English, and these were soon imitated by the rest, to conform themselves to the fashions of Normandy, to which they had made themselves no strangers before. Yea, children in the school were taught their letters and principles of grammar in the Norman language. In their speech, attire, shaving of the beard, service at the table; in their buildings, and household furniture; they altogether resembled the Normans.

In the beginning of his reign, he ordained that the laws of Edward should be observed, together with those laws which he did prescribe; but afterwards he commanded, that nine men should be chosen out of every shire, to make a true report, what were the laws and customs of the realm. Of these he changed the greatest part, and brought in the customs of Normandy in their stead[99]; commanding also that causes should be pleaded, and all matters of form dispatched in French. Only he permitted certain Danish laws, which before were chiefly used in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire, to be generally observed; as having great affinity with his Norman customs; both being derived from one common head.

Likewise, at the great suit of William, a Norman, then Bishop of London, he granted a charter of liberty to that city[100], for enjoying the use of King Edward's laws[101]; a memorial of which benefit the citizens fixed upon the Bishop's grave, being in the midst of the great west-aile of St. Paul's. Further, by the counsel of Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, and of Eglesine, Abbot of St. Augustine's, (who at that time were the chief governors of Kent,) as the King was riding towards Dover, at Swanescomb, two miles from Gravesend, the Kentish men came towards him armed, and bearing boughs in their hands, as if it had been a moving wood; they inclosed him upon the sudden, and with a firm countenance, but words well tempered with modesty and respect, they demanded of him the use of their ancient liberties and laws; that in other matters they would yield obedience unto him, that, without this, they desired not to live. The King was content to strike sail to the storm, and to give them a vain satisfaction for the present; knowing right well, that the general customs and laws of the residue of the realm would in a short time overflow these particular places. So, pledges being given on both sides, they conducted him to Rochester, and yielded the county of Kent and the castle of Dover into his power.

In former times, many farms and manors were given by bare word, without writing, only with the sword of the lord, or his head-piece; with a horn or standing goblet, and many tenements with a quill, with a horse-comb, with a bow, with an arrow; but this sincere simplicity at that time was changed. And, whereas, charters and deeds were before made firm by the subscription of the party, with crosses of gold, or of some other colour; then they were firmed by the parties' special seal, set upon wax, under the teste of three or four witnesses.

He ordained also his council of state, his chancery, his exchequer, his courts of justice,

[98] [Hence the term *curfew*, or courfeu, from couvre-feu.]

[99] This I apprehend is a misinterpretation of Ingulphus, who does not say that the Conqueror changed the laws, or brought in the Norman customs in their stead; but, *Ipsum etiam idioma tantum abhorrebant* (*Normanni*), *quòd leges terræ, statutaque Anglicorum regum linguâ Gallicâ tractarentur;* p. 71: which affirms only, 'that the Emperor had the ancient English laws translated into French, but still they remained the laws of the land, and the statutes of the English kings.' And whoever will consult Madox's History of the Exchequer, p. 123. will find good authority for what is here advanced, and that the change, mentioned by our author, was not completely brought about till the reign of Henry II.

[100] N. B. In this first charter given by the Conqueror to London, there is no word that signifies *City*; and its inhabitants are there called Burghers, Burgesses, or inhabitants of the Borough; and the Lord-Mayor is styled the *Port-Reeve*.

[101] Here by *Laws*, we must understand the liberties and privileges granted by King Edward to the City of London by charter.

which always removed with his court. These places he furnished with officers, and assigned four terms in the year for determining controversies among the people[102]; whereas before, all suits were summarily heard and determined in the Gemote, or monthly convention in every hundred, without either formalities or delay.

He caused the whole realm to be described in a censual roll, so as there was not one hide of land, but both the yearly rent and the owner thereof were therein set down; how many plough-lands, what pastures, fens, or marches; what woods, parks, farms, and tenements were in every shire; and what every one was worth. Also, how many villans[103] every man had, what beasts or cattle, what fees; what other goods, what rent or commodity his possessions did yield[104]. This book was called, 'The Roll of Winton,' because it was kept in the city of Winchester. By the English it was called 'Domeseday-book,' either by reason of the generality thereof, or else corruptly instead of *Domus-Dei Book;* for that it was laid in the church of Winchester, in a place called *Domus Dei.* According to this roll, taxations were imposed; sometimes two shillings, and sometimes six shillings, upon every hide of land (a hide containing twenty acres), beside ordinary provisions for his house.

In all those lands, which he gave to any man, he reserved dominion in chief to himself; for acknowledgement, whereof, a yearly rent was paid unto him, and likewise a fine, whensoever the tenant did alien or die. These were bound as clients unto him, by oath of fidelity and homage; and if any died his heir, being in minority, the King received the profits of the land, and had the custody and disposing of the heir's body, until his age of one-and-twenty years.

It is reported of Caligula[105], that when he intended to make advantage of his penal edicts, he caused them to be written in so small letters, and the tables of them to be fastened so high, that it was almost impossible for any man to read them. So the King caused part of those laws, that he established, to be written in the Norman language; which was a barbarous and broken French, not well understood of the natural French, and not at all of the vulgar English. The residue were not written at all, but left almost arbitrary, to be determined by reason and discretion at large. Hereupon it followed, (partly through ignorance of the people, and partly through the malice of some officers of justice, who many times are instruments of secret and particular ends;) that many were extremely entangled, many endangered, many rather made away, than justly executed.

But here it may be questioned, seeing these laws were laid upon the English, as fetters about their feet, as a ponderous yoke upon their neck, to depress and detain them in sure subjection; how it falleth out, that afterwards they became not only tolerable, but acceptable and well esteemed.

Assuredly, these laws were exceeding harsh and heavy to the English at the first: and therefore King William Rufus, and Henry the First, at such time as Robert their elder brother came in arms aginst them to challenge the crown, being desirous to win the favour of the people, did fill them with fair promises, to abrogate the laws of King William their father, and to restore to them the laws of King Edward. The like was done by King Stephen, and by King Henry the Second; whilst, both contending to draw the state to himself, they did most grievously tear it in pieces. The like by others of the first Kings of the Norman race, whensoever they were willing to give contentment to the people; who desired no other reward for all their adventures and labours, for all their blood spent in the service of their Kings, but to have the laws of King Edward restored. At the last, the nobility of the realm, with great dispense, both of their estates and blood, purchased a charter of liberty[106]. First, from King John, which was soon revoked, as violently forced

[102] See Madox's History of the Exchequer.

[103] Farms.

[104] And though the counties of Durham, Lancaster, Northumberland, Westmorland, and Cumberland, were not contained in this survey; yet it appears that the remaining part of England, without Cornwall, was divided into thirty-four parishes, containing 52080 towns or villages; 45002 parish churches; 75000 knights-fees, whereof 28015 were of religious order. See Polychronicon.

[105] *Tranquil. in Calig.*

[106] Which is that commonly known by the name of *Magna Charta*, and on which we to this day pretend to found our liberty and property.

from him; afterwards from King Henry the Third, which remained in force[107]: and thereby the sharp severity of these laws was much abated.

In that afterward they became, not only tolerable, but easy and sweet, and happily not fit to be changed; it is by force of long grounded custom, whereby those usages, which our ancestors have observed for many ages, do never seem either grievous or odious to be endured. So Nicetas writing of certain Christians, who, by long conversing with the Turks, had defiled themselves with Turkish fashions: 'Custom (saith he) winneth such 'strength by time, that it is more firm than either nature or religion[108].' Hereupon Dio. Chrysostom[109] compareth customs to a King, and edicts to a tyrant; because we are subject voluntarily to the one, but upon constraint, and upon necessity, to the other. 'It 'is manifest, (saith Agathias,) that, under whatsoever law the people hath lived, they do 'esteem the same most excellent and divine[110].' Herodotus reporteth, that Darius the son of Hydaspes (having under his dominion certain Grecians of Asia, who accustomed to burn their dead parents and friends, and certain nations of India, who used to eat them) called the Grecians before him; and told them, that it was his pleasure that they should conform themselves to the custom of the Indians, in eating their deceased friends. But they applied all means of intreaty and persuasion, that they might not be forced to such a barbarous, or rather brutish observation. Then he sent for the Indians, and moved them to conformity with the Grecians; but found that they did far more abhor to burn their dead, than the Grecians did to eat them.

Now these severities of the King were much aggravated by the English, and esteemed not far short of cruelties. Notwithstanding he tempered it with many admirable actions both of justice and of clemency and mercy[111], for which he is much extolled by the Norman writers[112]. He gave great privileges to many places; and the better to give the people contentment, and to hold them quiet, he oftentimes renewed the oath, which first he took at his coronation; namely, 'to defend the holy church of God, the pastors thereof, and the 'people subject to him justly to govern, to ordain good laws, and observe true justice; 'and, to the uttermost of his power, to withstand all rapines and false judgments.' Such of the nobility, as had been taken in rebellion, were only committed to prison; from which they were released in time; such, as yielded and submitted themselves, were freely pardoned, and oftentimes received to favour, trust, and employment[113].

Edric[114], the first that rebelled after he was King, he held near and assured unto him. Gospatrick, who had been a stirrer of great commotions, he made Earl of Gloucester, and employed him against Malcolm King of Scots. Eustace Earl of Boulogne, who upon occasion of the King's first absence in Normandy, attempted to surprize the castle at Dover, he embraced afterwards with great show of love and respect. Waltheof son to Earl Siward, who, in defending the city of York against him, had slain many Normans, as they essayed to enter a breach, he joined in marriage to his niece Judith Edgar, who was the ground and hope of all conspiracies; who, after his first submission to the King, fled into Scotland, and maintained open hostility against him; who pretended title to the crown, as next heir to

[107] And to make the same more effectual, this 'great charter', raised on this basis, is, by act of parliament in Edward the First's time, commanded to be allowed by the justices in their judgments and resolutions, as the common law of England.

[108] Nicet. pag. 19. ἔτω χρόνῳ κραίενθὲν ἔθος γένες κ᾽ θρεσκείας ἐςιν ὀχυρότερον.

[109] Chrys. Orat. 76, περὶ ἐθῶς. Suid. dict. ἐθος.

[110] Agath. lib. ii. εὔδηλον μὲν ὅτι δὴ τῶν ἀνθροπείων ἐθνῶν ὡς ἕκαςος εἴγε ὁτοδηην νόμῳ ἐν πολείῳ νενικηκότι ἐμβιοτεύσαιεν, τὸτον δὴ ἄριςον ἡγέντται κ᾽ δεσπέσιον.

[111] *Temperatus enim timor est qui cohibet, assiduus & acer ad vindictam excitat.* Senec. i. de Clemen.

[112] He published the laws of Edward the Confessor, as such; and confirms them to be the laws of England, and commands them to be kept under severe penalties; himself, at the same time, taking an oath to keep inviolable those good and approved, ancient laws of the realm, enacted and set forth by the holy and pious Kings of England, his ancestors, and especially by King Edward. See the preface by John Fortescue Aland, to Sir John Fortescue's Treatise of Monarchy, p. 26.

[113] *Nihil gloriosius est principe impunè læso.* Senec. i. de Clem.

[114] Surnamed Sylvaticus, a man of great spirit and power, and had done him much harm by joining with Blethyn and Rywallon Kings of Wales, who made an incursion into Herefordshire.

the Saxon kings; he not only received to favour, but honoured with fair entertainments. He furnished him to the war of Palestine, where he attained an honourable estimation with the emperors of Almaigne[115] and of Greece. After his return, he was allowed twenty shillings a day by way of pension, and large livings in the country besides, where he mellowed to old age in pleasure and vacancy of affairs; preferring safe subjection, before ambitious rule, accompanied both with danger and disquiet.

Thus was no man more mild to a relenting and vanquished enemy; as far from cruelty, as he was from cowardice; the height of his spirit overlooking all casual, all doubtful and uncertain dangers. Other great offenders he punished commonly by exile or imprisonment, seldom by death[116]. Only among the English nobility, Waltheof Earl of Northampton, Northumberland, and Huntington[117], was put to death; for that, after twice breaking allegiance, he conspired the third time, with divers both English and Normans, to receive the Danes into England, whilst the King was absent in Normandy. And for the same conspiracy Ralph Fitz-Aubert, a Norman, was also executed, who had furnished forty ships for the King in his voyage for England; for which, and for his other services in that war, he was afterward created Earl of Hereford. But present injures do always overbalance benefits that are past.

He much delighted in hunting and in feasting. For the first, he inclosed many forests and parks, and filled them with deer; which he so dearly loved, that he ordained great penalties for such as should kill those or any other beasts of game. For the second, he made many sumptuous feasts, especially upon the high festival days in the year. His Christmas he often kept at Gloucester, his Easter at Winchester, his Whitsuntide at Westminster; and was crowned once in the year at one of these places, so long as he continued in England. To these feasts he invited all his nobility, and did then principally compose himself to courtesy, as well in familiar conversation, as in facility to grant suits, and to give pardon to such as had offended. At other times he was more majestical and severe; and employed himself both to much exercise and great moderation in diet; whereby he preserved his body in good state, both of health and strength, and was easily able to endure travel, hunger, heat, cold, and all other hardness both of labour and of want.

Many wrongs he would not see, of many smarts he would not complain; he was absolute master of himself, and thereby learned to subdue others. He was much commended for chastity of body; by which his princely actions were much advanced. And albeit the beginning of his reign was pestered with such routs of outlaws and robbers, that the peaceable people could not account themselves in surety within their own doors[118]; he so well provided for execution of justice upon offenders, or rather for cutting off the causes of offence, that a young maiden, well charged with gold, might travel in any part of the realm, without any offer of injury unto her. For, if any man had slain another upon any cause, he was put to death; and, if he could not be found, the hundred paid a fine to the King; sometimes twenty-eight, and sometimes thirty-six pounds, according to the largeness of the hundred in extent. If a man had oppressed[119] any woman, he was deprived of his privy parts. As the people by arms, so arms by laws, were held in restraint.

He talked little and bragged less, a most assured performer of his word: in prosecution of his purposes constant and strong[120], and yet not obstinate; but always appliable to the change of occasions; earnest, yea violent, both to resist his enemies, and to exact duties

[115] Germany.

[116] *Principi non minùs turpia multa supplicia, quàm medico funera.* Senec. de Clem. i.

[117] Besides it is thought that those courtiers, who envied his esteem with the King, and sought to obtain part of his great possessions, could they ruin him; and above all, the intrigues of his wife Judith, who was niece to the King, and wanted to get another husband, contrived and chiefly affected his death.

[118] There were obliged to be placed guards between town and town.

[119] Deflowered.

[120] Οἱ ἀνδρεῖοι ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ὀξεῖς, πρότερον δὲ ἡσύχιοι. *Fortes, in opere acres, ante id placidi.* Arist. iii. Eth.

of his subjects. He neither loved much speech, nor gave credit to fair; but trusted truly to himself, to others so far as he might not be abused by credulity[121].

His expedition (the spirit of actions and affairs) may hereby appear. He invaded England about the beginning of October; he subdued all resistance, he suppressed all rising rebellions, and returned into Normandy in March following. So as, (the time of the year considered) a man should hardly travel through the land, in so short a time as he did win it. A greater exploit than Julius Cæsar or any other stranger could ever achieve upon that place.

He gave many testimonies of a religious mind[122]. For he did often frequent divine service in the church, he gave much alms, he held the clergy in great estimation, and highly honoured the prelates of the church. He sent many costly ornaments, many rich presents of gold and silver to the church of Rome; his Peter-payments[123] went more readily, more largely than ever before[124]. To divers churches in France, after his victory, he sent crosses of gold, vessels of gold, rich palls, or other ornaments of great beauty and price. He bare such reverence to Lanfrank, Archbishop of Canterbury, that he seemed to stand at his directions. At the request of Wolstane, Bishop of Worcester, he gave over a great advantage that he made by sale of prisoners taken in Ireland. He respected Aldred, Archbishop of York (by whom he had been crowned King of England) as his father. At a time upon the repulse of a certain suit, the Archbishop brake forth into discontentment, expostulated sharply against the King, and in a humorous heat offered to depart. But the King staid him, fell down at his feet, desired pardon, and promised satisfaction in the best manner that he could. The nobility, that were present, put the Archbishop in mind, that he should cause the King to arise. "Nay (answered the Archbishop) let him alone; let him still abide at St. Peter's feet"[125]. So, with much ado, he was appeased, and intreated to accept his suit. And so the name of St. Peter, and of the church, hath been often used as a mantle, to cover the pride, passions, and pleasures of disordered men.

He founded and enlarged many houses of religion. He furnished ecclesiastical dignities, with men of more sufficiency and worth, than had been usual in former times. And because within his own dominions studies did not flourish and thrive; by reason of the turbulent times, by reason of the often invasions of barbarous people, whose knowledge lay chiefly in their fists; he drew out of Italy and other places many famous men, both for learning and integrity of life; to wit, Lanfrank, Anselm, Durand, Trahern, and others. These he honoured, these he advanced, to these he expressed great testimonies, both of favour and regard.

And yet he preferred Odo, his brother by his mother's side, to the Bishoprick of Bayonne, and afterwards created him Earl of Kent: a man proud, vain, mutinous, ambitious; outrageous in oppression, cruelty, and lust; a profaner of religion, a manifest contemner of all virtue. The King, being called by occasions into Normandy, committed unto him the government of the realm: in which place of credit and command, he furnished himself so fully with treasure, that he aspired to the Papacy of Rome, upon a prediction, then cast abroad (which commonly deceive those that trust unto them) that the successor of Hildebrand was named Odo. So, filled with proud hopes, he purchased a palace and friends at Rome; he prepared for his journey, and drew many gentlemen to be of his train. But the King, returning suddenly out of Normandy, met with him in the Isle of Wight, as he was ready to take the seas. There he was arrested, and after-

[121] ——— σώφρονος δ' ἀπιστίας δδ' ἐστὶν ἄλλο χρησιμώτερον βροτοῖς. *Sapiente diffidentiâ non alia res utilior est mortalibus.* Eurip.

[122] *Romani non calliditate aut robore, sed pietate ac religione omnes gentes nationesque superavere.* Cic. Orat. de Arusp. Resp.

[123] See this explained in the 'Beggar's Petition to Henry the Eighth against Popery,' printed in this Volume.

[124] But, though Lanfrank the Archbishop endeavoured to persuade him to make allegiance to that See, he never could be brought to it, and said, that "he neither promised so much, neither could he find that any of his ancestors did perform it."

[125] Or, (as some authors more probably write) "at his father's feet."

wards charged with infinite oppressions; also, for seducing the King's subjects to forsake the realm; and, lastly, for sacrilegious spoiling of many churches. Hereupon his treasure was seized, and he committed to prison; not as Bishop of Bayonne, but as Earl of Kent, and as an accomptant to the King. And so he remained about four years, even until the death of the King. His servants, some in falsehood, and some for fear, discovered such hidden heaps of his gold, as did exceed all expectation: yea, many bags of grinded gold were drawn out of rivers, wherein the Bishop had caused them for a time to be buried. After this, he was called 'the King's Sponge;' as being preferred by him to that place of charge, wherein he might, in a long time, suck that from others, which should at once be pressed from himself. By this means, the King had the benefit of his oppression without the blame; and the people (being no deep searchers into secrets of state) were so well pleased with the present punishment, as they were thereby, although not satisfied, yet well quieted for all their wrongs.

Towards the end of his reign, he appointed his two sons, Robert and Henry, with joint authority, governors of Normandy; the one to suppress either the insolency, or levity of the other. These went together to visit the French King, lying at Constance: where, entertaining the time with variety of disports, Henry played with Lewis, then Dauphin of France, at chess; and did win of him very much. Hereat, Lewis began to grow warm in words, and was, therein, little respected by Henry. The great impatience of the one, and the small forbearance of the other, did strike, in the end, such a heat between them, that Lewis threw the chess-men at Henry's face, and called him the son of a bastard; Henry again struck Lewis with the chess-board, drew blood with the blow, and had presently slain him upon the place, had he not been staid by his brother Robert. Hereupon, they presently went to horse, and their spurs claimed so good haste, as they recovered Pontoise; albeit they were sharply pursued by the French.

It had been much for the French King to have remained quiet, albeit no provocations happened, in regard of his pretence to many pieces, which King William did possess in France. But, upon this occasion, he presently invaded Normandy, took the city of Vernon, and drew Robert, King William's eldest son, to combine with him, against his own father. On the other side, King William, who never lost any thing by losing of time, with incredible celerity passed into France, invaded the French King's dominions, wasted and took many principal places of Zantoigne and Poictou, returned to Roan, and there reconciled his son Robert unto him. The French King summoned him to do his homage for the kingdom of England. For the Duchy of Normandy he offered him homage; "but the kingdom of England (he said) he held of no man, but only of God, and by his sword." Hereupon, the French King came strongly upon him; but, finding him both ready and resolute to answer in the field; finding also, that his hazard was greater than his hope; that his loss, by overthrow, would far surmount his advantage by victory; after a few light encounters, he retired, preferring the care to preserve himself, before the desire to harm others.

King William, being then both corpulent and in years, was distempered in body, by means of those travels; and so retired to Roan, where he remained not perfectly in health. The French King, hearing of his sickness, pleasantly said, "That he lay in child-bed of his great belly." This would have been taken in mirth, if some other had spoken it; but, coming from an enemy, it was taken in scorn. And, as great personages are most sensible of reproach, and the least touch of honour maketh a wide and incurable wound, so King William was so nettled with this jest, that he swore "by God's resurrection, and his brightness, (for this was the usual form of his oath,) that so soon as he should be churched of that child, he would offer a thousand lights in France." So, presently after his recovery, he entered France in arms, took the city of Meaux[126], set many towns and villages, and corn-fields on fire; the people abandoning all places where he came, and giving forth, "that it was better the nests should be destroyed, than that the birds should

[126] And burnt its fine church.

be taken in them." At the last, he came before Paris, where Philip King of France did then abide; to whom he sent word, that he had recovered to be on foot, and was walking about, and would be glad, likewise, to find him abroad. This enterprise was acted in the month of August, wherein the King was so violent and sharp, that by reason both of his travel, and of the unreasonable heat, he fell into a relapse of his sickness: and, to accomplish his mishap, in leaping on horse-back, over a ditch, his fat belly did bear so hard upon the pommel of his saddle, that he took a rupture in his inner parts; and so, overcharged with sickness and pain, and disquietness of mind, he returned to Roan, where his sickness increased by such dangerous degrees, that in a short time it led him to the period of his days.

During the time of his sickness, he was much molested in conscience[127], for the blood which he had spilt, and for the severity, which he had used against the English; holding himself, for that cause, more guilty before God, than glorious among men. He spent many good speeches in reconciling himself to God and the world, and in exhorting others to virtue and religion. He gave great sums of money to the clergy of Meaux, and of some other places in France, to repair the churches which a little before he had defaced. To some monasteries he gave ten marks of gold, and to others six. To every parish church, he gave five shillings, and to every borough town, a hundred pounds, for relief of the poor. He gave his crown, with all the ornaments thereto belonging, to the church of St. Stephen, in Caen, which he had founded; for redeeming whereof, King Henry the First did afterwards give to the same church the manor of Brideton, in Dorsetshire. He retained perfect memory and speech, as long as he retained any breath. He ended his life upon the ninth day of September, full both of honour and of age, when he had reigned twenty years, eight months, and sixteen days, in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

So soon as he was dead, the chief men that were about him went to horse, and departed forthwith to their own dwellings, to provide for the safety of themselves, and of their families and estates; for all men were possessed with a marvellous fear, that some dangerous adventures would ensue. The servants and inferior officers also fled away; and, to double the baseness of their disposition, took with them whatsoever was portable about the King; his armour, plate, apparel, household stuff, all things were held as lawful booty. Thus the dead body was not only abandoned, but left almost naked upon the ground, where it remained from prime[128] until three of the clock, neither guarded nor regarded by any man. In the mean time, the religious persons went in procession to the church of St. Gervase, and there commended his soul to God. Then William, archbishop of Roan, commanded that his body should be carried to Caen, to be there buried in the church of St. Stephen. But he was so forsaken of all his followers, that there was not any found, who would undertake either the care or the charge. At the last, Herlwine, a country knight, upon his own cost, caused the body to be embalmed, and adorned for funeral pomp; then conveyed it by coach to the mouth of the river Soame, and so partly by land, and partly by sea, brought it to Caen.

Here the abbot, with the convent of monks, came forth, with all accustomed ceremonies, to meet the corpse, to whom the whole multitude of the clergy and lay-people did adjoin. But, when they were in the midst of their sad solemnities, a fire broke out of a certain house, and suddenly embraced a great part of the town. Hereupon, the King's body was once again abandoned; all the people running from it in a headlong haste, some to save their goods, others to repress the rage of the flame, others (as the latest novelty) to stand and look on. In the end, a few monks returned, and accompanied the hearse to the abbey church.

Afterward, all the bishops and abbots of Normandy assembled to solemnize the funeral. And when the divine office was ended, and the coffin of stone set into the earth, in the presbytery, between the choir and the altar, (but the body remained upon the hearse,) Guislebert, Bishop of Eureux, made a long sermon, wherein he bestowed much breath in

[127] *Perfecto demùm scelere, magnitudo ejus intelligitur.* Tacit. Annal. xv. [128] The morning.

extolling the honourable actions of the King. In the end, he concluded, 'That, forasmuch as it was impossible for a man to live, much less to govern without offence: first, 'by reason of the multitude of a Prince's affairs; secondly, for that he must commit the 'managing of many things to the conscience and courtesy of others; lastly, for that per-'sonal grievances are many times beneficial to the main body of a state; in which case, 'particular, either losses or harms, are more than manifoldly recompensed by the preser-'vation or quiet of the whole. If, therefore, any that were present did suppose they had 'received injury from the King, he desired that they would in charity forgive him.'

When the Bishop had finished his speech, one Anselm Fitz-Arthur stood up amongst the multitude, and with a high voice said; "This ground, whereupon we stand, was sometimes the floor of my father's house, which that man, of whom you have spoken, when he was Duke of Normandy, took violently from my father, and afterwards founded thereon this religious building. This injustice he did not by ignorance or oversight; not by any necessity of state; but to content his own covetous desire. Now, therefore, I do challenge this ground as my right; and do here charge you, as you will answer it before the fearful face of Almighty God, that the body of the spoiler be not covered with the earth of my inheritance."

When the bishops and noblemen that were present heard this, and understood by the testimony of many, that it was true; they agreed to give him three pounds presently for the ground that was broken for the place of burial; and, for the residue which he claimed, they undertook he should be fully satisfied. This promise was performed in a short time after, by Henry, the King's son, who only[129] was present at the funeral; at whose appointment, Fitz-Arthur received, for the price of the same ground, one-hundred pounds.

Now, when the body was to be put into the earth, the sepulchre of stone, which stood within the grave, was hewn somewhat too strait for his fat belly; whereupon they were constrained to press it down with much strength. By this violence, whether his bowels burst, or whether some excrements were forced out at their natural passage, such an intolerable stink proceeded from him, as neither the perfumes that smoaked in great abundance, nor any other means, were able to qualify. Wherefore, the priests hastened to finish their office, and the people departed in a sad silence; discoursing diversly afterwards, of all those extraordinary accidents.

A man would think, that a sepulchre, thus hardly attained, should not easily again be lost. But it happened otherwise to this unquiet King, not destined to rest, either in his life, or after his death. For, in the year 1562, when Castillion took the city of Caen, with those broken troops that escaped at the battle of Dreux; certain savage soldiers of divers nations, led by four dissolute captains, beat down the monument, which King William his son had built over him; and both curiously and richly adorned with gold and costly stones. Then they opened his tomb, and, not finding the treasure, which they expected, they threw forth his bones with very great derision and despite. Many English soldiers were then in the town, who were very curious to gather his bones; whereof some were afterwards brought into England. Hereby the report is convinced for vain, that his body was found uncorrupt, more than four-hundred years after it was buried. Hereby also it is found to be false, that his body was eight feet in length. For neither were his bones proportionable to that stature (as it is testified by those who saw them), and it is otherwise reported of him by some, who lived in his time; namely, that he was of a good stature, yet not exceeding the ordinary proportion of men.

And this was the last end of all his fortunes, of all that was mortal in him besides his fame; whose life is too much extolled by the Normans, and no less extenuated by the English. Verily, he was a very great Prince; full of hope to undertake great enterprises; full of courage to achieve them; in most of his actions commendable, and excusable in all. And this was not the least piece of his honour, that the Kings of England, which suc-

[129] Of his sons.

ceeded, did account their order only from him; not in regard of his victory in England, but generally in respect of his virtue and valour.

For his entrance was not by way of conquest, but with pretence of title to the crown; wherein he had both allowance and aid from divers Christian Princes in Europe. He had also his party within the realm, by whose means he prevailed against the opposite faction (as Cæsar did against Pompey) and not against the entire strength of the state.

Again, he did not settle himself in the chair of sovereignty, as one that had reduced all things to the proud power and pleasure of a conqueror; but as an universal successor of former Kings, in all the rights and privileges which they did enjoy. He was received for King by general consent; he was crowned with all ceremonies and solemnities then in use; he took an oath in the presence of the clergy, the nobility, and of much people, for defence of the church; for moderate and careful government, and for upright administration of justice.

Lastly, during the whole course of his government, the kingdom received no universal change, no loss or diminution of honour. For, neither were the old inhabitants expelled, as were the Britons; neither was the kingdom either subjected or annexed to a greater; but rather it received increase of honour, in that a less state was adjoined unto it. The change of customs was not violent, and at once, but by degrees, and with the silent approbation of the English; who have always been inclinable to accommodate themselves to the fashions of France. The grievances and oppressions were particular, and with some appearance either of justice, or of necessity for the common quiet; such as are not unusual in any government moderately severe. So the change was chiefly in the stem and family of the King; which, whether it be wrought by one of the same nation (as it was in France by Pepin and Capett), or by a stranger (as in the same country by Henry the Fifth, and Henry the Sixth, Kings of England), it bringeth no disparagement in honour; it worketh no essential change. The state still remained the same, the solid body of the state remained still English; the coming in of many Normans was but as rivers falling into the ocean; which change not the ocean, but are confounded with the waters thereof.

This King had by his wife, Matilda (daughter to Baldwin, Earl of Flanders), four sons; Robert, Richard, William, and Henry. He also had five daughters; Cicely, Constance, Adela, Margaret, and Eleanor[130].

Robert, his eldest son (surnamed Courtcuise, by reason of the shortness of his thighs,) succeeded him in the duchy of Normandy. He was a man of exceeding honourable courage and spirit; for which cause he was so esteemed by the Christian Princes in the great war against the Saracens, that when they had subdued the city and territory of Jerusalem, they offered the kingdom thereof first unto him. Yet afterwards, either by the malice of his fortune, or for that he was both sudden and obstinate in his own advice, (two great impediments that valour cannot thrive,) he received many foils of his enemies, which shall be declared in their proper place. Before the King made his descent into England, he gave the duchy of Normandy unto him. But whether he did this only to testify his confidence, or whether afterwards his purpose changed, being often demanded to perform this gift, he would neither deny, nor accomplish his word, but interposed many excuses and delays; affirming, that he was not so surely settled in England, but the duchy of Normandy was necessary unto him, both for supply for his services (which he found, like Hydra's heads, to multiply by cutting off), and also for an assured place for retreat, in case he should be overcharged with extremities. Hereupon Robert, unable to linger and pine in hopes, declared openly against him in arms. Philip, King of France, was ready to put fuel to the flame; who, as he never favoured in his own judgment the prosperous increases of the King of England, so then he was vigilant to embrace all occasions either

[130] To those should be added a sixth daughter, named Gundred, who was married to William de Warren, a nobleman of Normandy, and afterwards the first Earl of Surrey in England.

to abate, or limit the same. And thus Robert (both encouraged, and enabled by the King of France) invaded Normandy, and permitted his soldiers licentiously to waste; to satisfy those by spoil, which by pay he was not able to maintain. At the last he encountered the King, his father, in a sharp conflict, before the castle of Gerbery, wherein the King was unhorsed, and wounded in the arm; his second son, William, was also hurt, his soldiers defeated, and many of them slain. And albeit Robert, so soon as he knew his father by his voice, alighted forthwith, mounted him upon his own horse, and withdrew him out of the medley; yet did he cast upon his son a cruel curse, which lay so heavy upon him, that he never prospered afterward in any thing, which he undertook. And although after this he was reconciled to his father, and employed by him in services of credit and weight, yet did the King often bewray of him an unquiet conceit, often did he ominate evil unto him: yea, a little before his death he openly gave forth, "That it was a miserable country which should be subject to his dominions; for that he was a proud and foolish knave, and to be long scourged by cruel fortune."

Richard[131] had erected the good expectation of many, as well by his comely countenance and behaviour, as by his lively and generous spirit. But he died young by misadventure, as he was hunting within the New-forest, before he had made experiment of his worth. Some affirm, that he was gored to death by the deer of that forest, for whose walk his father had dispeopled that large compass of ground: others report, that he, as he rode in a chace, was hanged upon the bough of a tree by the chops; others more probably do write, that he perished by a fall from his horse. He was buried at Winchester, with this inscription: *Hic jacet Richardus, filius Willielmi senioris, Berniæ Dux.*

William did succeed next to his father in the kingdom of England. To Henry, the King gave, at the time of his death, five-thousand pounds out of his treasure; but he gave him neither dignity nor lands; foretelling, that he should enjoy the honour of both his brothers in time, and far excel them both in dominion and power. Whether this was devised upon event, or whether some do prophesy at their death, or whether it was conjecturally spoken, or whether to give contentment for the present; it fell out afterward to be true: for he succeeded William in the kingdom of England, and wrested Normandy out of the possession of Robert. Of these two I shall write more fully hereafter.

His daughter, Cicely, was Abbess of Caen in Normandy. Constance was married to Allen Fergant, Earl of Britain. Adela was wife to Stephen, Earl of Blois, to whom she bare Stephen; who, after the death of Henry, was King of England. Margaret was promised in marriage to Harold; she died before he attained the kingdom, for which cause he held himself discharged of that oath which he had made to the Duke her father. Eleanor was betrothed to Alphonso, King of Gallicia; but she desired much to die a virgin: for this she daily prayed, and this in the end she did obtain. After her death, her knees appeared brawny and hard, with much kneeling at her devotions. Assuredly it will be hard to find, in any one family, both greater valour in sons, and more virtue in daughters.

In the beginning of this King's reign, either no great accidents did fall, or else they were obscured with the greatness of the change: none are reported by the writers of that time.

In the fourth year of his reign, Lanfrank, abbot of Caen in Normandy, but born in Pavia, a city of Lombardy, was made Archbishop of Canterbury; and Thomas, a Norman, and canon, of Bayonne, was placed in the see of York. Between these two a controversy did arise, at the time of their consecration, for priority in place: but this contention was quieted by the King, and Thomas, for the time, subscribed obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury. After this they went to Rome for their palls, where the question for primacy was again renewed, or, as some affirm, first moved before Pope Alexander. The Pope used them both with honourable respect, and especially Lanfrank, to whom he gave two palls; one of honour, and the other of love: but the controversy he referred to be determined in England.

[131] The son of Robert.

About two years after, it was brought before the King and the clergy at Windsor. The Archbishop of York alleged, that when the Britons received the Christian faith, in the time of Lucius, their King, Eleutherius, then Bishop of Rome, sent Faganus and Damianus unto them, who ordained twenty-eight bishops, and two archbishops, within the realm, one of London, and the other of York. Under these the church of Britain was governed almost three-hundred years, until they were subdued by the Saxons. The Saxons remained infidels, until Gregory, Bishop of Rome, sent Augustine unto them. By his preaching, Ethelbert, King of Kent, was first converted to the Christian faith: by reason whereof Augustine was made Archbishop of Dover, by appointment of Pope Gregory, who sent unto him certain palls, with his letter from Rome. By this letter it is evident, that Gregory intended to reduce the church of the Saxons to the same order wherein it was among the Britons; namely, to be under twelve bishops, and two archbishops, one of London, and the other of York. Indeed he gave to Augustine, during his life, authority and jurisdiction over all bishops and priests in England: but after his decease he joineth these two metropolitans in equal degree, to constitute bishops to oversee the church, to consult and dispose of such things as appertain to the government thereof, as in former times among the Britons. Between these he put no distinction in honour, but only as they were in priority of time: and as he appointeth London to be consecrated by no bishop, but of his own synod; so he expresseth, that the Bishop of York should not be subject to the Bishop of London. And albeit Augustine, for the reason before-mentioned, translated the see from London to Dover; yet, if Gregory had intended to give the same authority to the successors of Augustine, which he gave unto him, he would have expressed it in his epistle: but, in that he maketh no mention of his successors, he concludeth, or rather excludeth, them by his silence.

The Archbishop of Canterbury alleged, that from the time of Augustine, until the time of Bede (which was about a hundred and forty years) the Bishops of Canterbury, which, in ancient time, said he, was called Dover, had the primacy over the whole land of Britain, and of Ireland; that they did call the Bishops of York to their councils, which divers times they kept within the province of York; that some Bishops of York they did constitute, some excommunicate, and some remove. He alleged also divers privileges, granted by Princes for the primacy of that see; divers granted from the Apostolick See, to confirm this dignity in the successors of Augustine; that it is reason to receive directions of well living, from whence we first received directions of right believing; and therefore as the Bishop of Canterbury was subject to the Bishop of Rome, because he had his faith from thence; for the very same cause the Bishop of York should be in subjection to the Bishop of Canterbury. That like as the Lord said that to all the Bishops of Rome, which he said to St. Peter: so that, which Gregory said to Augustine, he said likewise to all his successors. And whereas much is spoken of the Bishop of London, what is that to the Archbishop of Canterbury? For neither is it certain that Augustine was ever resident at London, neither that Gregory appointed him so to be.

In the end, it was decreed, that York, for that time, should be subject to Canterbury; that, wheresoever within England the Archbishop of Canterbury should hold his council, the Archbishop of York should come unto it, with the bishops of his province, and be obedient to his decrees: that, when the Archbishop of Canterbury should decease, the Archbishop of York should go to Canterbury, to consecrate him that should succeed; that, if the Archbishop of York should decease, his successor should go to Canterbury, or to such place as the Archbishop of Canterbury should appoint, there to receive his consecration, making first his oath of canonical obedience. And thus was the contention for this first time taken up; but in succeeding times it was often renewed, and much busied the clergy of the realm.

In the ninth year of the reign of King William, a council was holden at London, where another matter of like quality and nature was decreed; namely, that bishops should trenslate their sees from villages to cities; wherupon, in a short time after, bishops' sees were removed, from Selese to Chichester, from Cornwall to Exeter, from Wells to Bath,

from Sherbourn to Salisbury, from Dorchester to Lincoln, from Lichfield to Chester, and from thence again to Coventry. And albeit the Archbishop of York did oppose against the erecting of a cathedral church in Lincoln, because he challenged that city to be of his province; yet Remigius, Bishop of Dorchester, being strong both in resolution and in friends, did prosecute his purpose to effect. Not long before the bishoprick of Lindafferne, otherwise called Holy Land, upon the river Tweed, had been translated to Durham.

In the tenth year of his reign, the cold of winter was exceeding memorable, both for sharpness and for continuance: for the earth remained hard frozen from the beginning of November, until the midst of April then ensuing.

In the fifteenth year, a great earthquake happened in the month of April; strange for the strong trembling of the earth, but more strange for the doleful and hideous roaring which it yielded forth.

In the twentieth year there fell such abundance of rain, that the rivers did greatly overflow in all parts of the realm. The springs also, rising plentifully in diver hills, so softened and decayed the foundations of them, that they fell down; whereby some villages were overthrown. By this distemperature of weather much cattle perished, much corn upon the ground was either destroyed, or greatly impaired. Hereupon ensued first a famine, and afterwards a miserable mortality of men.

And, that all the elements might seem to have conspired the calamity of the realm, the same year most of the principal cities in England were lamentably deformed with fire. At London a fire began at the entry of the West-gate[132], which apprehending certain shops and ware-houses, wherein was merchandise apt to burn, it was at once begun and suddenly at the highest. Then being carried with a strong wind, and the city apt to maintain the flame, (as well by reason of the crooked and narrow streets, as for that the buildings at that time had open and wide windows, and were covered with base matter[133], fit to take fire,) the mischief spread more swiftly than the remedies could follow. So it raged until it came to the East-gate[134], and prostrated houses and churches all the way; being the most grievous that ever as yet[135] hath happened to that city. The church of St. Paul was at that time fired; whereupon Maurice, then Bishop of London, began the foundation of the new church of St. Paul: a work so admirable, that many did judge, it would never have been finished; yet all might easily esteem thereby his magnanimity, his high erected hopes, his generous love and honour to religion. The King gave, towards the building of the east end of this church, the choice stones of his castle[136], at the west end of the city, upon the bank of the river Thames; which castle at the same time was also fired; in place whereof Edward Killwarby, Archbishop of Canterbury, did afterwards found a monastery of Black Friars. The King also gave the castle of Storford, and all the lands which thereto belonged, to the same Maurice, and to his successors in that see. And doubtless, nothing more than either parsimonious or profane expending the treasures of the church hath, since those times, much dried up those fountains, which first did fill them.

After the death of Maurice, Richard his next successor, as well in virtue as in dignity, bestowed all the rents rising out of this bishoprick, to advance the building of this church; maintaining himself by his patrimony and friends; and yet all, which he could do, made no great show; so that the finishing of this work was left to many other succeeding bishops. He purchased the ground about the church, whereupon many buildings did stand; and inclosed the same with a strong wall of stone for a place of burial. It seemeth that this wall was afterwards either battered and torn in some civil wars, or else by negligence suffered to decay; for that a grant was made by King Edward the Second, that the churchyard of St. Paul's should be inclosed with a wall, because of the robberies and murders that were there committed. Many parts of this wall remain at this time[137], on both sides of the church, but covered for the most part with dwelling-houses.

[132] Called Ludgate. [133] Thatch, *viz.* straw, &c. [134] Aldgate. [135] *viz.* anno 1613.
[136] In the precinct now called Black-Friars. [137] Anno 1613.

The same year in Whitsun-week, the King honoured his son Henry with the order of knighthood. What ceremonies the King then used, it is not certainly known; but before his time the custom among the Saxons was thus:

First, He, who should receive the order of knighthood, confessed himself in the evening to a priest.

Secondly, Then he continued all that night in the church, watching and applying himself to his private devotions.

Thirdly, The next morning he heard mass, and offered his sword upon the altar.

Fourthly, After the Gospel was read, the sword was hallowed, and, with a benediction, put about his neck.

Fifthly and lastly, He communicated of the mysteries of the blessed body of Christ, and from that time remained a lawful soldier or knight. This custom of consecrating knights the Normans did not only abrogate, but abhor; not for any evil that was therein, but because it was not altogether their own.

This year in a province of Wales called Ross, the sepulchre of Wawyn, otherwise called Gawen, was found upon the sea-shore. He was sister's son to Arthur the Great, King of the Britons; a man famous in our British histories, both for civil courtesy, and for courage in the field. I cannot but esteem the report for fabulous, that his body was fourteen feet in length. I do rather conjecture, that one credulous writer did take that for the length of his body, which haply might be the length of his tomb.

It is constantly affirmed that the ground, whereon the English and the Normans did combate, doth shew, after every rain, manifest marks of blood upon the grass; which if it was not a propriety of the soil before[138], it is hard now to assign, either from what natural cause it doth proceed, or what it should supernaturally portend[139].

[138] For it is remarkable that some soils always look reddish after rain.

[139] [Sir John Hayward's Lives of William the Second and Henry the First, seem to have been undesignedly omitted by Mr. Oldys, and will therefore find a fit place in the supplemental volumes.]

An Answer to the French Declaration of War, in Alliance with the Dutch and Danes, in the Year 1665.

[London, printed for the Author, in 1665-6; on a Broad-side.]

THE heavens look big with wonder, and inform
Our expectations of some present storm.
French, Dutch, and Dane too, all at once? Why then
'Tis time to shew that we are Englishmen.
They say, at foot-ball, three to one is odds;
But this is nothing, for the cause is God's!
Have at them all, we care not where we come,
Since gracious Heaven is reconcil'd at home.
Courage, brave Britons, then; we do no more
But fight with those whom we have beat before:
And now, methinks, much better may we, since
We fight for such an all-accomplish'd Prince,
Who the world's conquest is as fair to get
As Alexander, like himself, the Great.

Talk not of ten to one, pitiful story,
Alas! the odds does but increase the glory:
Besides the English from their ancestry
Derive themselves the heirs of victory.
Where should the sons of honour, if they die,
But in the field, that bed of honour, lie?
The world will know, when time shall serve, we dare
Come out, and meet the prince of pitch and tar[1];
Bring your wind-selling Laplanders too, do,
Sure we shall *deal*[2] with you, and *board*[2] you too;
And you will tell us, when this comes to pass,
Your Bergen bus'ness no such bargain was.
Danes, we don't fear you; come: alas! ye know
Our women beat you once[3], and so may now.
Nor value we that kingdom of kick-shaws[4],
We come not to receive, but give them laws;
We shall provide 'em such a fricasee
Of legs and arms[5], they'll scarce be glad to see.
They must now understand with whom they cope,
A mighty Prince[6], and not a miter'd Pope[7];
One that will otherwise the matter handle,
With glitt'ring swords, and not bell, book, and candle;
One that shall anathematize you worse,
Not to pronounce, but execute your curse.
He'll bring you jeggery home to your door;
Instead of[8] bulls you'll hear his cannons roar;
And I make bold to tell you in the close,
Although no Popes, we'll make you kiss our toes.
An English Monarch[9] (Monsieur) no new thing,
Has sent his son to fetch him a French King;
If ye suspect, or scruple our report,
Enquire at Poictiers, Cressy, Agincourt[10],
That place[11] never to be forgotten, where
The prisoners more than we that took them were:
The French shall know it too, as we advance,
'Tis we, not they, fight for the King[12] of France.
Ye boast of gold and silver, and such stuff,
We'll bring you pockets for it sure enough.
And, if we meet ye on the foaming source[13],
We'll have a word or two of *deep*[14] discourse.
A fig for France, or any that accords
With those Low-country leather-apron[15] lords.

[1] The King of Denmark, to whom Norway is subject, from whence comes our pitch and tar.
[2] Two epithets intimating that, although we trade with him for deal and boards, yet we are able to *deal*, or behave manfully in fight with him; and, upon occasion, *board* his ships.
[3] *Viz.* when they in one night couspired to cut all the Danish men's throats throughout England, thereby to deliver their country from their government; upon which account it is said, that the Englishmen have ever since given the women the wall, and the most honourable places at all times.
[4] France. [5] Of soldiers slain in battle. [6] The King of Great Britain.
[7] Alluding to the dispute which then subsisted between the French King and the Pope.
[8] Pope's. [9] Henry V.
[10] At which place the English have given the French total overthrows in battle. [11] Agincourt.
[12] Because the King of Great Britain still maintains his title of King of France. [13] The sea.
[14] Equivocally signifying both *serious* and *on the sea*; for the *deep* is the *sea*. [15] The Dutch.

The Case of the Bishop of Ross[1], Resident of the Queen of Scots; who was seized and committed to the Tower by Queen Elizabeth, for traiterous Practices, and endeavouring to raise a Rebellion against her[2].

[Folio, containing Four Pages.]

RIDOLPHO, the Florentine, who was sent to solicit the Queen of Scots affairs beyond sea, had communicated to Charles Bayliff, a Netherlander, the Queen of Scots servant, all his transactions with the Duke d'Alva; and had given him letters, written in cyphers, for her, the Spanish Ambassador, the Duke of Norfolk, Ross, and the Baron of Lumley, made up in one packet; which Bayliff brought over himself, though Ross had ordered him to leave them with the Governor of Calais to be conveyed over.

But, as soon as Bayliff was arrived at Dover, he was apprehended and imprisoned, and the packet sent to the Lord Cobham, governor of the Cinque-ports. Ross was the first that had notice of it, who managed his business so industriously and cunningly with the Lord Cobham, that the packet was delivered to him, and another packet made up of other obsolete letters delivered to the council; and this Bayliff was acquainted with. But however, being put to the rack, he confessed some things, and amongst the rest, that a packet of letters was come to Ross's hands. Nor was Ross ignorant of this, who presently sent away Cuthbert his secretary, and left his cyphers and what else might do him any prejudice, among his friends; so that, when Sussex, Burleigh, Mildmay, and Sadler made a careful search in his house, they found nothing, nor could they get any thing out of him by questions, who stiffly maintained, 'that an ambassador was not to be accountable to any but his Prince.' However, the third day after, he was committed to the custody of the Bishop of Ely, and a while after conveyed to the Isle of Ely.

But since by the confession of all, even of the Duke of Norfolk himself, the Bishop of Ross was charged as principal contriver of the business, they entered into a serious consultation what should be done with him, being an ambassador? For, whilst he, after the manner of other ambassadors, thought he might lawfully promote the interest of his Prince by any methods; and that, by the sacred and inviolable privilege of ambassadors; he was not to be accountable to another's jurisdiction. He had already committed many irregularities, by raising rebellion, and holding nocturnal cabals with the Earl of Southampton and others; and now lately with the English fugitives in the Netherlands, the Duke d'Alva the Spaniard, and the Pope, for invading of England. It was therefore proposed to Daniel Lewis, Valentine Dale, William Drury, William Aubrey, and Henry Jones, learned civilians;

First, 'Whether an ambassador, that raises rebellion against the Prince to whom he is 'sent, should enjoy the privileges of an ambassador; and not rather be liable to punish-'ment as an enemy?'

They answered:

'That such an ambassador, by the law of nations, and the civil law of the Romans, 'has forfeited the privileges of an ambassador, and is liable to punishment.'

[1] [John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, had been many years in England, with the title of the Scotish Ambassador. His warm attachment to the Roman-catholic faith made him the confidant, secretary, and firm friend of Mary Queen of Scots. Upon the discovery of Ridolpho's plot, in 1571, he was committed to the Tower, from whence, after two years' imprisonment, he was sent out of England, and died at Brussels in 1596. His book "De origine, moribus, et gestis Scotorum," is of high repute. See Lodge's Illustr. and Andrews's contin. of Henry's Hist.]

[2] Which is in some measure applicable to the case of the Marquis de Botta and M. de Chetardie, Ambassador at the court of Russia from France, and detected of treasonable practices against the Czarina.

Secondly, 'Whether the minister or agent of a Prince deposed from his public authority, and in whose stead another is substituted, may enjoy the privileges of an ambassador?'

They answered:

'If such a Prince be lawfully deposed, his agent cannot challenge the privileges of an ambassador: since none but absolute Princes, and such as enjoy a royal prerogative, can constitute ambassadors.'

Thirdly, 'Whether a Prince, which comes into another Prince's kingdom, and is there kept prisoner, can have his agent; and whether that agent can be reputed an ambassador?'

They answered:

'If such a Prince have not forfeited his principality, he may have an agent; but, whether that agent may be reputed an ambassador, depended upon the authority of his commission.'

Fourthly, 'Whether, if a Prince declare to such an agent, and his Prince in custody' that he shall be no longer reputed an ambassador; that agent may, by law, challenge the privilege of an ambassador?'

They answered:

'That the Prince may forbid the ambassador entrance into his kingdom, and may command him to leave the kingdom, if he keep himself not within the bounds prescribed to an ambassador; yet in the mean time he may enjoy the privileges of an ambassador according to the authority deputed to him.'

According to these answers of the civilians, Ross being called up from the Isle of Ely, and receiving a sharp reprimand; it was declared by the council, that he should be no longer reputed an ambassador, but be severely punished, according to his demerits. He answered: "That he was the ambassador of an absolute Queen, that was unjustly deposed; and had, according to his duty, carefully endeavoured the delivery of his Princess, and the safety of both kingdoms; that he came into England with the full authority of an ambassador under public warrandise, which he had produced; and that the sacred privileges of ambassadors are by no means to be infringed."

Burleigh most gravely informed him, "That neither the privileges of an ambassage, nor letters of public warrandise, could protect ambassadors that offended against the public majesty of a Prince; but that they are liable to be punished for the same; else wicked ambassadors might plot against the life of Princes without any punishment."

On the other hand, he stiffly maintained, "That the privileges of ambassadors had never been violated (to use his own words) *viâ juris*, but *viâ facti*; and he pleasantly wished them not to shew him fouler play than the English Ambassadors, Throckmorton in France, and Randolph and Tamworth in Scotland, had found; who had raised rebellions and openly fomented them; and yet suffered no greater punishment, than the being commanded to depart within such a time."

When they began to urge him with testimonies of Englishmen, he gently desired them not to do it, since by a common received custom, which (as he said) was grown into a law, "the testimony of an Englishman against a Scotchman, or of a Scotchman against an Englishman, was not to be allowed."

After some debates whether this would hold good, unless betwixt the borders of both kingdoms, and that in cases relating to the frontiers; and whether the English ambassadors had raised rebellions; Ross was committed to the Tower of London; where being kept close prisoner, within a while he answered to all questions, with this proviso, that

his answers should not be prejudicial to any: "He excused the Queen of Scots, for that, she being a prisoner, in the flower of her age, could not but use her utmost endeavours to regain her freedom; since Queen Elizabeth denied her access to her presence, debarred her from all hope of her liberty, and openly relieved her enemies. The Duke of Norfolk he excused, in that he had done nothing as to the marriage with the Queen of Scots, but with the consent of many of the Queen's council; nor could he forsake her, though he had promised to do so under his hand and seal, since there was before a mutual engagement of marriage betwixt them. Lastly, he excused himself, for that, since he was an ambassador and a servant, he could not without a sin depart from his duty, and abandon his Princess in her distress. But that he proposed the design of seizing on the Queen, with no other intent, than to try whether the Duke had courage to undertake such an attempt." The crimes of the other conspirators he cunningly extenuated; but could by no means be brought to tell the names of the gentlemen who had devoted their service to the Duke in seizing the Queen. But he confessed, that by the Queen of Scots orders, he had, by servants employed betwixt them, treated with the Duke, Arundel, Lumley, and Throckmorton, and with the Lord Viscount Montacute by Lumley; about putting the castles in Scotland, the hostages, and the King of Scots into Englishmen's hands; about renouncing the title, and giving up the English rebels.

Thus far of these transactions for this year, extracted wholly out of the Duke of Norfolk's confession, and Ross's own account under his own hand to the Queen of Scots.

The Emperor's Concessions to his Protestant Subjects of Hungary; as they were sent from Vienna in Latin, and are now translated out of the original Copy.

London, printed in 1681.

[Folio, containing Two Pages.]

As our News-Papers often mention the Queen of Hungary's Ratification of the Privileges granted by her Imperial Ancestors to the Protestants in Hungary, I presume, that the following Specimens of them will be acceptable, and worthy to be preserved in this Collection.

The most gracious Resolution of His Sacred Imperial Majesty, our most benign Lord, in the Matters of Religion; obtained by the Mediation of his Excellency the Palatine of Hungary, the Eighth of this present Month of October, 1681. Exhibited by the Vice-Palatine to the Noble and Magnificent Lord, representing the Royal Person, and to all the Illustrious States and Orders of the Realm, in the State-house of that Kingdom; viz.

I. THAT all and singular the states and orders within that kingdom; whether they be peers or gentlemen, or free cities and privileged towns, that immediately relate to the crown; shall remain in their faith and religion.

II. That all the Hungarian soldiers, that inhabit on the frontiers of the kingdom, shall enjoy the same freedom of religion.

III. That not only the aforesaid liberty in religion shall be granted to them, but also

the free use and exercise thereof; saving to the several lords of the soil their rights and properties.

IV. That it shall not be lawful for either party, hereafter, to remove, or expel the ministers of the church for religion, in such places where the exercise of their religion is practised.

V. That there shall be no more seizures of churches.

VI. That those churches, which, in the time of the late troubles, from 1670 till now, have been seized, shall remain to the present possessors.

VII. That, in every county, those of the Augustan[1] confession, and all such as are comprehended under that name, shall have liberty to build a church for the excercise of their religion, if there be none there already.

VIII. That, if they have any churches there already, they shall be left to them, together with the revenues thereunto belonging.

IX. That it shall be lawful for the Peers and gentlemen, in the said counties, to erect and endow chapels, or places of worship, for the exercise of their religion, within their respective castles.

X. That all things, contained in the first article of the pacification at Vienna, shall be in force.

XI. That, in all parts of the kingdom of Hungary belonging to the Emperor, the Catholicks shall have the the free use and exercise of their religion.

XII. That particularly those of Posnia, that are of the Augustan confession, shall have power to build one church, in a convenient place to be appointed for that purpose: Also, that those of the city of Sopronia shall remain undisturbed in the possession of the exercise of their religion, which they now enjoy.

XIII. That the grievances, which hereafter arise, in matters of religion, shall not be determined by force of arms, but by the King only, after he hath heard both parties; and that the eighth article of the sixth decree of King Ladislaus shall be revived and observed.

XIV. That all the inhabitants of the kingdom, of what rank, order, or degree soever, shall abstain from reviling and reproaching each other's religion, or the professors thereof, upon pain of incurring his Majesty's highest displeasure.

Letters, which came by the same post with the foregoing concessions, add, 'That the 'Diet at Odenburg were then upon the point of restoring the goods and estates which had 'been taken from the malecontents, and to make satisfaction for damages sustained by 'them; and that there was no doubt but the grand affair of religion being adjusted, this 'and other points would soon be determined: Also that the peace between the Emperor 'and the Grand Seignior would be continued ten years longer. So that it was hoped that 'his Imperial Majesty, together with the States of Hungary, and the Princes and States 'of the Empire, would speedily unite against the French; whom they now look upon as 'the common enemy of Christendom, rather than the Turk.'

[1] Protestant.

A view of the Reign of King Charles the First; wherein the true Causes of the Civil War are impartially delineated, by Strokes borrowed from Lord Clarendon, Sir Philip Warwick, H. L'Estrange, and other most authentick and approved Historians.

[London, printed in Quarto; containing Twenty-eight Pages.]

IT is a melancholy reflection, that the best things, through the perverseness of our nature, are generally corrupted to the worst ends; and that the liberty we enjoy in England (under the best of Queens, and the best-constituted government) should, by some licentious and servile writers, be abused; to the defaming honest patriots, and branding public-spirited nations; which naturally tends to the bringing in slavery. For nothing can more effectually destroy our happy constitution, than the heats and animosities industriously raised and fomented amongst us by a party of designing men; who, under pretence of vindicating the memory of the Royal Martyr, asperse and calumniate those who endeavour to compose our differences.

A sad instance of this we find in the usage the Reverend Dr. Kennet,[1] Doctor in Divinity, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, and Minister of St. Botolph's without Aldgate, has lately met with; upon account of an excellent sermon by him preached before his parishioners, on the thirty-first of January last, and since made public in print, to clear the misapprehension of some few who heard it; and to silence the confident, though false report of a far greater number who did not hear it.

The publication of this sermon has, in a great measure, had a contrary effect to what that Reverend Divine ought reasonably to have expected. For, though it has undeceived many honest people; yet, at the same time, it has given birth to several libels, in which his innocent expressions are maliciously made to signify what the author never had in his thoughts.

The first thing, excepted against by the Doctor's unfair censurers, is the title, as well as the subject of his sermon, endeavouring to insinuate to the world, 'That civil war is 'an expression that palliates the crime, rather than any ways agreeable to the solemnities 'of the day.' How this can give offence to any, is hard to be imagined; since the word civil war was ever used as synonymous with rebellion, even by the warmest sticklers for that unfortunate Prince; as Dr. Kennet himself does, in several places in this very sermon.

However, which of the two words, Civil War or Rebellion, is the properest, history alone can determine; and therefore let us listen to historians.

'Things were now going fast on (says Dr. Welwood[2]) towards lessening the confidence 'betwixt the King and Parliament; and yet there were not wanting endeavours, on both 'sides, to accommodate matters by soft and healing methods, when the King's coming to 'the House of Commons in person, to demand five of their members, whom he had or-'dered the day before to be impeached of high-treason, did put all into combustion, and 'gave occasion to the House to assert their privileges. This was the most unlucky step 'King Charles could have made at that juncture; and the indiscretion of some, that at-'tended the King to the lobby of the House, was insisted upon, as an argument, that the 'King was resolved to use violence upon the Parliament; which, it is to be presumed, 'was a thing far from his thoughts. Whoever they were that advised the King to this 'rash attempt, are justly chargeable with all the blood that was afterwards spilt; for this

[1] [This was the celebrated White Kennet, afterward Bishop of Peterborough, and the continuator of a History of England, first collected by Hughes, and published in 1706. The sermon here cited, exposed him to much popular clamour, and gave occasion to many litigious pamphlets.]

[2] Welwood's Memoirs, p. 67. & seq.

'sudden action was the first and visible ground of all our following miseries. For, immediately upon it, there was nothing but confusion and tumults, fears and jealousies every where, which spread themselves to Whitehall in the rudest manner; so that, his Majesty thinking himself not safe there, he retired with his family to Hampton-Court. The King leaving the Parliament in this manner, there were scarce any hopes of a thorough reconciliation. But when, after a great many removes from place to place, his Majesty came to set up his standard at Nottingham, there ensued a fatal and blody war; which, it is reasonable to believe, was never designed by either side. Each party blamed the others for beginning this war; and it is not easy to determine, which of them began it. Though the King made the first steps that seemed to tend that way, such as, raising a troop for a guard to his person, summoning the gentlemen and freeholders of several counties to attend him in his progress to the North, and ordering arms and ammunition to be bought in Holland for his use; yet the Parliament did as much at the same time; for they likewise raised guards of their own, and took care that the magazine of Hull should not fall into the King's hands: so that the King and Parliament prepared themselves insensibly for war; without considering, that these preparations must gradually and inevitably come to blows in the end.——During the whole course of this unnatural war, it was hard to divine what would be the fate of England; whether an absolute, unlimited monarchy, a new huddled-up commonwealth, or a downright anarchy. If the King should prevail, the first was to be feared; if the Parliament, the second was to be apprehended; and, if the army should set up for themselves, as afterwards they did, the last was inevitably to follow. All which some of the best men about the King wisely foresaw, and trembled at the event of every battle that was fought, whoever happened to be the victors. It was the dread of these misfortunes, that hindered the Lords and Commons, whom the King called to Oxford, to assume to themselves the name of the Parliament of England, and from declaring those met at Westminster rebels; though the King again and again importuned them to it, and took their refusal so ill, that in one of his letters to the Queen, he called them in derision his 'Mungrel Parliament.'

Thus far Dr. Welwood. Let us now hear the account the Earl of Clarendon gives of the beginning of the civil war[3]: 'The rebellion of Ireland, (says that noble historian,) which was highly detrimental to the King's affairs that began to recover life, broke out in all parts of the kingdom, during his Majesty's stay in Scotland; and made a wonderful impression upon the minds of men, who were induced to believe, that it was influenced by the court; the scandal of which aspersion stuck upon the Queen's skirts. Some time after, the King commanded his Attorney-General to accuse the Lord Kimbolton, and five commoners, of high-treason; and the next day, his Majesty, attended by his ordinary guard and some few gentlemen, came to the House of Commons; and, commanding his attendants to wait without, himself, with the Prince Elector his nephew, went into the House, to the great astonishment of all, to demand the impeached members. But finding, as he said, the birds were all flown, he returned to Whitehall; and the House, in great disorder, adjourned till the next day. When the Lord Digby, the only person that gave the counsel, found the ill success of the impeachment in both Houses, he advised the King to go the next morning to the Guildhall, and acquaint the mayor and aldermen of the grounds of it. As he passed through the city, the rude people crouded together, crying out, "Privilege of Parliament, Privilege of Parliament!" However, the King, though much mortified, pursued his resolution, and having dined with one of the sheriffs, he returned to Whitehall; and, the next day, a proclamation came forth, for the apprehension of the accused members, forbidding any persons to conceal, or entertain them. These proceedings of the King created a wonderful change in the minds of all sorts of people; all the former noise of plots against the Parliament, which before had been laughed at, was now thought to be built upon good grounds; and what hitherto had been only whispered of Ireland, was now talked aloud, and published in print. They, who

[3] See Clarendon's History of the Rebellion.

'with the greatest courage had thwarted seditious practices, were now confounded with the 'thoughts of what had been done, and what was like to follow. Though they were far 'from imagining the accused members had been much wronged, yet they thought they 'had been called to an account at a very unseasonable time; and the exposing the dignity 'and safety of the King, in his coming in person, in that manner, to the House of Com-'mons, and going the next day to the Guildhall, where he met with such reproaches to 'his face, added to their anger and indignation. All which was justly charged upon the 'Lord Digby, who was before less beloved than he deserved, and was now the most uni-'versally hated of any man in the nation; and yet continued in his Majesty's confidence. '——When the King perceived how ill his accusation against the five members succeeded, 'and that all, who expressed any signal zeal to his service, would be removed from him, 'under the notion of delinquents; he resolved the Queen should remove to Portsmouth, 'and that himself would go to Hull (where his magazine lay); and that, being secured in 'those places of strength, whither his friends might resort and be protected; he would sit 'quiet, till the angry party could be brought to reason. But this resolution was disco-'vered to the leading members, who obtained orders from the Parliament, for securing Hull 'and Portsmouth; for which reason, and a promise from several lords, that they would 'vigorously unite to support the regal power, together with the extreme fear the Queen 'had of danger; that counsel was laid aside, and it was concluded the Queen should 'transport herself to Holland, there to provide arms and ammunition; and the King 'retire to York, and listen to no particulars, till he knew how far the alteration would ex-'tend. Hitherto the greatest acts of hostility (excepting Sir John Hotham's denying the 'King entrance into Hull) were no more than votes and orders; but now the King saw 'he was so far from having Hull restored, that the garrison there increased daily; so that 'Sir John Hotham was better able to take York, than his Majesty to recover Hull; and 'therefore he thought it now high time to follow their example, and put himself into a 'posture of defence. Hereupon, such gentlemen, as were willing, listed themselves, by 'his Majesty's appointment, into a troop of horse, of whom the Prince of Wales was 'made captain; which, with one regiment of trained-bands, was his body-guard. As 'soon as they heard at London, that the King actually had a guard, these votes were 'published by both Houses: "That the King, seduced by evil counsellors, intended to "make war against the Parliament: that, whensoever he did so, it would be a breach of "the trust reposed in him, contrary to his oath, and tending to the dissolution of the go-"vernment: and that whosoever shall serve him, or assist him in such wars, were traitors; "by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and had been so adjudged by two acts of par-"liament, 2 Rich. II. and 1 Hen. IV." These votes were sent to the King at York, with 'a petition, that he would disband his new-raised forces, and content himself with his 'ordinary guard; otherwise, they should hold themselves bound with their utmost care 'to serve the Parliament, and secure the public peace.'

Upon the King's denying their demand, they began to provide for the raising of an army. And here the same noble author thinks it not amiss to consider the method of God's justice, 'That the same principles should be used to the extorting all sovereign 'power from the crown, which the crown had a little before used to extend its authority 'beyond its bounds, to the prejudice of the just rights of the subject. A supposed ne-'cessity was then thought reason sufficient to create a power of taxing the subject, as they 'thought convenient, by writs of ship-money, never known before; and a supposed ne-'cessity is now more fatally concluded a good plea, to exclude the crown from the exercise 'of any power, by an ordinance of parliament, for ordering the militia, never before heard 'of; and the same maxim of *Salus populi suprema lex*, which had been used to break 'in upon the liberty of the people, was applied for the destroying the rights of the crown. 'The King (pursues our author) conceiving the rumours spread abroad might induce 'many to believe he intended to raise a war against his Parliament, he professed in coun-'cil, and said, "He declared to all the world, that he ever had an abhorrence to such "designs; but that all his endeavours aimed at a sure settlement of the Protestant reli-

" gion, the just privileges of Parliament, the liberty of the subject, the law, peace, and " prosperity of this kingdom." However, about this time, the King (by the advice of ' some eminent judges and lawyers) issued out a declaration concerning the militia; ' asserting the right of the crown in granting commissions of array for the better govern- ' ment thereof, and dispatched those commissions into all counties; expressly forbidding ' any obedience to be paid to the ordinance for the militia by both Houses, under the ' penalty of high-treason. This only exasperated the paper-combats in declarations, ' each party insisting the law was on their side; to which the people yielded obedience, ' as they saw it for their conveniency. Some men (well-affected to the crown, and averse ' to the extravagant carriage of the House of Commons,) could not conceal their aversion ' to the commission of array, as a thing unwarrantable by law; and many believed, if the ' King had applied himself to the old known way of lords-lieutenants, and their deputies, ' it had been more beneficial to his service: for the people, having never heard of a com- ' mission of array, were easily blown up to a jealousy by the specious suggestions of the ' Houses. Some time after, the King made a vain attempt upon Hull, and, upon his re- ' turn to York, found himself, by an accident that fell out, under an absolute necessity of ' declaring war. The accident was, that Colonel Goring, governor of Portsmouth, had ' declared for his Majesty, and refused to obey the Parliament; who had thereupon sent ' Sir William Waller, with an army under his command, to reduce that town. The King's ' affairs received a considerable reputation, in that so important a place as Portsmouth, ' and so good an officer as Goring was returned to his duty; whereupon, he forthwith pub- ' lished a declaration, in which he recited all the insolent rebellious actions of the two ' Houses against him, forbidding all his subjects to pay any obedience to them; and at ' the same time published his proclamation, " requiring all men, who could bear arms, to " come to him at Nottingham, where he intended to set up his royal standard; which all " his good subjects were obliged to attend." Thus far the Earl of Clarendon. By all which passages it appears, that after reciprocal provocations given, and many unwarrant- able things done on both sides; two contending parties, in the same nation, rose up in arms, endeavouring the one to conquer and destroy the other; and what is this but a civil war?

The authors of the libels published against Dr. Kennet are so unfair, as to suspect the praises he bestows, in the first page of his sermon, upon King Charles, whom he sincerely and justly calls 'the martyr of the day, and one of the most virtuous and ' most religious of our English princes;' as if, thereby, he only intended to convey the deadly poison more easily and effectually. But, to pass over these malicious slurs, let us proceed to the vindication of the Doctor's general positions; the first of which is, ' That a French interest and alliance was one of the leading causes of the King's murder.'

To prove this, Dr. Kennet justly[4] remarks, 'That there was that frame and constitu- ' tion in our ancestors, that their true English hearts had continually some secret aver- ' sion and antipathy to that neighbouring nation; and that England and France, like ' Rome and Carthage, stood always jealous and reviling one another. The old English ' aversation (continues he) seems to have begun with the Norman conquest; when our ' good fore-fathers, then lately secured by the best laws and liberties in the world, were ' invaded and subdued by a pretender from France; and they soon felt that foreign yoke ' to be so hard and grievous, that they would gladly have shaken it off; but the more ' patience they were forced to, the more they hated those insolent new lords and masters; ' calling often for their old liberties and the laws of King Edward. This anger, and sort ' of aversion to the French, did continue fixed and rooted in the minds of our right En- ' glish forefathers; and it was this inbred spirit of emulation, that so often led our English ' armies into the bowels of France; and, in the reprisals of honour, conquered that king- ' dom more than once, but never once more suffered this kingdom to be conquered by the

[4] See his Sermon, p. 7.

'French.' To deny this, would betray an absolute ignorance of our English history; and therefore I shall not go about to illustrate it by examples.

It is certain, that nothing could ever allay the natural aversion the English have to the French, but the conformity in religion with some of the latter; and it was only upon that score, that the nation was well-pleased with the seasonable assistance, which Queen Elizabeth yielded, from time to time, to the Reformed of France. And, by the succours that politic Princess was all along sending to the United Provinces, she put an invincible bar to the progress Spain and Rome were then making towards universal empire, and kept the balance of power even between the two great monarchies of Europe.

But the next prince[5], James the First, did not tread in her steps, while he governed: 'National, or the Protestant interest was nowhere pursued; secret negotiations were carried on with the Pope; the Protestants were not only oppressed in Germany, but reduced to the last extremity; and besieged in Montauban by Lewis the Thirteenth, and in Rochelle by Count Soissons and the Duke of Guise; and all that was done towards their relief from hence, was by a mediation carried on without any vigour: and, which gave the people dreadful apprehensions. Spain, in those days, was still formidable, and an over-balance for all the rest of Europe; whose designs, instead of being opposed, were promoted by England, and the King meanly courted an alliance with his greatest enemy. The fear of universal monarchy awakened the whole kingdom, and brought on that parliament, which was assembled in 1621; where very plain remonstrances were presented to the throne, setting forth the dangers that threatened the nation, who still had a fresh sense of the calamities their ancestors had suffered, under the reign of Queen Mary. But Spanish gold had charmed our court; and that parliament was dismissed in anger, and several of the principal members were imprisoned, who could not sit silently and see their country lost. Thus this old prince chose rather to follow the dictates of his own will, and the pernicious advice of his favourites and ministers, than the faithful and disinterested counsel of his Parliaments, who addressed to him to arm, and to enter into such leagues as might oppose the growth of the Spanish monarchy. But he entertained secret hopes, that so potent an alliance as that with Spain appeared to be, would make him more powerful over his own people; and so, notwithstanding the representations of his Lords and Commons, in order to accomplish this match, he broke some of those wholesome and necessary laws, made against Papists, which at last proved fatal to him and his posterity; for, by his rough dealings with the House of Commons, he then sowed the seed of that discontent, which ended in the ruin of his son. The general clamours of the people, and their fear of the power of Spain, produced in that reign another parliament, which sat in 1623; and then the Spanish match was broken off.'

Hereupon, the States-General of the United Provinces recommended a Protestant lady to King James; but that Prince, being resolved to have the daughter of a great King for his son, did fatally turn his eye to Henrietta Maria, daughter of France.

'The marriage-treaty was not so fair, smooth, and plausible in the progress, as in the entrance. For the French, perceiving that King James desired the match unmeasurably, abated of their forwardness, enlarged their demands in favour of the Papists, as the Spaniards had done before; and strained the King to the concession of such immunities, as he had promised to his Parliament he would never grant, upon the mediation of foreign princes[6].' Cardinal Richelieu, who began to have the sole management of the French King's affairs, (in concert with Spada, the Pope's nuncio,) took all imaginable precautions, by this treaty, to advance the Romish religion and interest; hoping, as indeed it proved, that the ecclesiastics the Queen was allowed to bring over with her, would propagate the Popish faith; and that the descendants of that marriage,

[5] See D'Avenant's Essay on Balance of Power, p. 8. sect. 7.
[6] See Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 52.

who were to be under the tuition and government of their mother, till they came to the full age of thirteen; would by that time have sufficiently imbibed her religion, and should in time sit upon the English throne; which the Protestants of this kingdom felt to their sorrow: for, of Henrietta's two sons[7], who reigned after their father[8], one[9] did all along secretly favour the Roman Catholicks, and, '[10] after a continued dissimulation, 'and a most scandalous life,' died in that [11] persuasion; and the other[12], 'though not so 'dissolute in his manners, did not scruple to own his true sentiments; and, notwithstanding his solemn promise to maintain the Protestant religion, by law established, endeavoured by open force to destroy it.'

The conclusion of the marriage-treaty was attended, in France, with many outward and voluntary expressions of joy, as bonfires and illuminations; but it was only by express orders from the privy-council, that the like was done in London. For, as Dr. Kennet says very justly, 'our English people never could heartily approve any royal match 'into the court of France; and wherever any such match was entered into by our 'former governors, it seems to have been against the genius of our people, and therefore fatally against the interest of these Princes.' He instances the two unfortunate reigns of Edward the Second, and Richard the Second; whose marriages into that court had the consequence of a calamitous life, and an untimely death, to these two monarchs.

'There was somewhat of the like pernicious influence, (adds Dr. Kennet,) that worked 'upon the tragedy of this day. Our royal martyr, by taking a royal consort from the 'Bourbon family, did apparently bring over some evils and mischiefs that disturbed his 'whole reign. For, within less than one year, the French servants of that Queen grew so 'imperious and insolent, that the King was forced to discharge them, and to humble them 'by a return into their own country.'

'A very sad doom it was certainly to the French, (says one of our[13] English historians;) 'but, as the animadversion was extreme severe, so their offences were in like degree 'heinous. The Bishop of Mende, the Queen's almoner, stood charged for putting in'tolerable scorn upon, and making religion itself do penance; by enjoining her Majesty, 'under the notion of penance, to go barefoot, to spin, and to wait upon her family-ser'vants at their ordinary repasts, to walk on foot in the mire on a rainy morning, from 'Somerset-House to St. James's; her confessor, mean while, like Lucifer himself, riding 'by her in his coach: but which is worst of all, to make a progress to Tyburn, there to 'present her devotions for the departed souls of the Papists, who had been executed 'at that place, on account of the Gunpowder-treason, and other enormous crimes. A 'most impious piaculary, whereof the King said acutely, "that the action can have no "greater invective than the relation." The other sex were accused of crimes of another 'nature, whereof Madam St. George was, as in dignity of office, so in guilt, the prin'cipal: culpable she was in many particulars, but her most notorious and unpardonable 'fault was, her being an accursed instrument of some unkindness between the King and 'Queen. These incendiaries once cashiered, the Queen, who formerly shewed so much 'waspish protervity, soon fell into a mode of loving compliance. But though this '*renvoy*[14] of her Majesty's servants imported domestic peace, yet was it attended with 'an ill aspect from France; though our King, studying to preserve fair correspondence 'with his brother, sent the Lord Carleton, with instructions to represent a true account 'of the action, with all the motives to it; but his reception was very coarse, being never 'admitted to audience. Lewis dispatched Monsieur the Marshal de Bassompierre, as ex'traordinary ambassador to our King, to demand the restitution of the Queen's domestics; 'which he at last obtained for most of them.'

'It[15] was this match, (adds Dr. Kennet,) that began to corrupt our nation with French

[7] Charles and James. [8] Charles I. [9] Charles II. [10] See Le Vassor Histoire de Louis XIII.
[11] Popish. [12] James II. [13] H. L'Estrange, in his reign of King Charles disposed into annals.
[14] [Dismissal.] [15] Dr. Kennet's Sermon, pages 9 and 10.

'modes and vanities; (which gave occasion to Mr. Prynn, to write that severe invective, 'called "Histrio-Mastix[16]," against the stage-plays;) to betray our counsels to the French 'court; to weaken the poor Protestants in France, by rendering ineffectual the relief of 'Rochelle; nay, and to lessen our own trade and navigation. These ill effects, beyond 'the King's intention, raised such a jealousy, and spread such a damp upon the English 'subjects, that it was unhappily turned into one of the unjust occasions of the civil 'war: which indeed began more out of hatred to that party, than out of any disaffection 'to the King. The people thought themselves too much under French counsels, and 'a French ministry; or else, they could never have been drawn aside into that great 'rebellion. This interest, when suspected to prevail, brought the King into urgent 'difficulties; and in the midst of them, the aid and assistance, which that interest of-'fered him, did but the more effectually weaken him. On this side the water, the French 'services betrayed him; and on the other side, the French policies were at work to de-'stroy him.'

And indeed, as Queen Henrietta had a mighty, if not a supreme influence, over King Charles's counsels; so did her mother, Mary de Medicis, who came over by her invitation, administer great cause of jealousy to this nation. 'The people (says the 'same[17] historian I mentioned before) were generally male-content at her coming, and 'wished her farther off. For they did not like her train and followers, which had often 'been observed to be the sword or pestilence; so that she was beheld as some me-'teor of ill signification. Nor was one of these calamities thought more the effect of 'her fortune than inclination; for her restless and unconstant spirit was prome to em-'broil all wheresoever she came. And besides, as Queen Henrietta was extraordinary 'active in raising money, among the Roman Catholicks of this kingdom, to enable 'King Charles to make war against his subjects of Scotland; so was she extreme busy in 'fomenting the unhappy differences between his Majesty and his English parliament.'

'The French, (says the Earl of Clarendon[18],) according to their nature, were much 'more active and more intent upon blowing the fire. The former commotions in Scot-'land had been raised by the special encouragement, if not contrivance of the Cardinal 'Richelieu; and by his activity all these distempers were carried on till his death, and 'by his rules and principles afterwards. Since the beginning of this parliament (in 1640) 'the French ambassador, Monsieur la Ferté, dissembled not to have notable familiarity 'with those who governed most in the two Houses, discovered to them whatsoever he 'knew, or could reasonably devise, to the prejudice of the King's counsels and resolu-'tions; and took all opportunities to lessen and undervalue the King's regal power, by 'applying himself on public occasions of state, and in his Majesty's name, and to im-'prove his interest to the two Houses of Parliament, which had in no age before been 'ever known.——Besides these indirect artifices in the French ambassador, very many 'of the Hugonots in France were declared enemies to the King: and, as this animosity 'proved of unspeakable inconvenience and damage to the King, so the occasion, from 'whence these disaffections grew, was very imprudently administered by the state here. 'Not to speak of the business of Rochelle, which, though it stuck deep in all, yet most 'imputed the counsels of that time to men that were dead, and not to a fixed design of 'the court; they had a great quarrel, which made them believe, that their very reli-'gion was persecuted by the Church of England. Queen Elizabeth, finding and well-'knowing what notable uses might be made of the French, Dutch, and Walloons; who, 'in the time of King Edward the Sixth, transplanted themselves into England, enlarged 'their privileges by new concessions; drawing by this means great numbers over, and 'suffering them to enjoy the exercise of the Reformed Religion after their own manner:

[16] [Or "the Player's Scourge, &c. against the intolerable mischief and abuses of common plays and play-houses:" for which the author suffered a severe prosecution and a lingering imprisonment.]

[17] H. L'Estrange's Annals of King Charles, page 158.

[18] History of the Rebellion, vol. ii. pages 71, 72, 73, 74.

'And so they had churches in Norwich, Canterbury, and other places, as well as in 'London; whereby the wealth of those places marvellously increased. The same char- 'ters of liberty were continued to them, during the peaceable reign of King James, and 'in the beginning of this King's reign. Some few years before these troubles, when the 'power of church-men grew more transcendent, and indeed the faculties and understand- 'ings of lay-counsellors more dull, lazy, and unactive, upon pretence that the French, 'Dutch, and Walloons exceeded the liberties which were granted to them; and that, 'under the notion of foreigners, many English separated from the church, the council- 'board connived at, whilst the bishops did some acts of restraint, with which these con- 'gregations grew generally discontented, and thought the liberty of their consciences to 'be taken from them; which caused in London much complaining of this kind, but 'much more in the diocess of Norwich, where Dr. Wren, the Bishop there[19], passion- 'ately and warmly proceeded against them; so that many left the kingdom, to the 'lessening the wealthy manufacture there of kerseys and narrow cloths.——And, whereas 'in all former times, the ambassadors, and all foreign ministers of state, employed from 'England, into any parts where the Reformed Religion was exercised, frequented their 'churches; gave all possible countenance to their profession; and, particularly, the 'ambassador Lieger at Paris, had diligently and constantly frequented the church at 'Charenton; and held a fair intercourse with those of that religion throughout the king- 'dom, by which they had still received advantage. The contrary to this was now with 'great industry practised; and some advertisements, if not instructions, given to the am- 'bassador there, to forbear any extraordinary commerce with the men of that profession. 'And the Lord Scudamore (who was the last ordinary ambassador there, before the be- 'ginning of this parliament) not only declined going to Charenton, but furnished his 'own chapel with such ornaments as gave great offence and umbrage to those of the Re- 'formation there, who had not seen the like. Besides, that he was careful to publish 'upon all occasions, that the Church of England looked not on the Hugonots as a part 'of their communion: which was likewise too much and too industriously discoursed at 'home.——They of the Church of England, who committed the greatest errors this way, 'had undoubtedly not the least thoughts of making alterations in it, towards the coun- 'tenancing of popery, as has been uncharitably conceived; but unskilfully believed, 'that the total declining the interest of that party, where it exceeded the necessary 'bounds of reformation, would make this Church of England looked upon with more 'reverence. And so the Church of England, not giving the same countenance to 'those of the religion in foreign parts, which it had formerly done, no sooner was 'discerned to be under a cloud at home, but those of the religion abroad were glad 'of the occasion to publish their malice against her, and to enter into the same con- 'spiracy against the crown, without which they could have done little hurt to the 'Church.'

'Many tender lovers of their faith and country (says Dr. Kennet[20]) might well de- 'plore the unhappiness of that alliance with France, which gave no small occasion to the 'calamity and the curse of this day; for it was from thence, that did arise the appre- 'hensions and fears of popery; popery, that irreconcileable enemy, not only to our Re- 'formed faith and worship, but to our civil rights, liberties, and properties, to our establish- 'ed laws, and to our settled constitution. It was for this wise and good reason, that our 'first reformers would never bear with any express toleration of popery, nor with any long 'connivance at it. That excellent young Josiah, King Edward VI. would not dispense 'with his own sister to have public mass in her own family. Queen Elizabeth indulged 'them no longer than while there were some hopes to reclaim them. Her next successor, 'King James, was a champion against popery, and strenuously opposed it, both as a wise

[19] [Afterward Bishop of Ely; and so sturdy a loyalist, as to refuse a liberation from the Tower, which was tendered by the usurpation-rulers, until he was freed by the restoration of Charles the Second.]

[20] Dr. Kennet's Sermon, pages 11, 12, 13, 14.

'governor, and a learned writer; and this gave peace and happiness to the greatest part of 'his administration; but, when toward the decline of it, he fell into a treaty for a match 'with Spain; and, during that treaty, did in a manner suspend the laws against the Pa-'pist, and gave his subjects an occasion to believe, that one article of that match was to 'be a toleration of popery; this gave such universal jealousy and discontent to his people, 'and the parliaments of them, that it threatened apparent danger; and, if that treaty had 'not broke off, and thereby eased the minds of people, we know not what might have been 'in the end thereof. For certainly his royal son, the martyr of this day, might justly im-'pute many of his troubles to these fears and jealousies of popery: and they really began 'with the French alliance, where one article was to have a public chapel, and priests and 'mass for the Queen and her household. This gave an opportunity of open resort to all 'Papists, foreigners and natives; this gave shelter and protection to swarms of Jesuits and 'other emissaries from Rome; this gained an interest at court for pardons and for patents 'of profit and preferment to the leading Roman Catholicks; this brought over one or two 'nuncios from the Pope, to attend upon the Queen. In short, this did give counte-'nance to popery; and therefore did cast a damp and dread upon many sincere Pro-'testants; and did put them into such terrible apprehensions of the Romans coming to 'take away their place and nation; that this strength of fear too much began the civil 'war, and helped to carry it forward to the innocent and sacred blood shed upon this 'day.'

In all these, Dr. Kennet speaks with the most authentic and faithful historians: 'The 'Jesuits, seminary priests, and other recusants, (says [21]H. L'Estrange;) presuming protec-'tion, by reason of the late match; contracted so much insolence, that at Winchester, 'and many other places, they frequently passed through the churches in time of divine 'service, houting and ho-lo-ing, not only to the disturbance of that duty, but scorn of our 'religion; yea, and one popish lord, when the King was at chapel, was heard to prate on 'purpose louder, in a gallery adjoining, than the chaplain prayed; whereat the King was 'so moved, that he sent this message to him: "Either let him come and do as we do, "or else I will make him prate further off."

In the year 1627, a notable discovery was made of a college of Jesuits at Clerkenwell, of which the same[22] author gives us this account. 'The first information was given by 'one Crosse, a messenger to Secretary Coke, whereupon he sent the sheriff to attack them; 'who, coming with a formidable power, found all the holy foxes retired, and sneaked 'away: but, after a long search, their place of security was found out, it being a lobby be-'hind a new brick wall wainscoted over; which being demolished, they were presently 'unkennelled, to the number of ten. They found also divers letters from the Pope to 'them, impowering them to erect this college, under the name of *Domus Probationis* (but 'it proved *reprobationis) Sancti Ignatii;* and their books of accounts, whereby it appear-'ed they had five-hundred pounds per annum contribution from their benefactors, and 'had purchased four-hundred and fifty pounds, per annum.'

Among their papers, says[23] Mr. Rushworth, was found a copy of a letter written to their father-rector at Brussels, discovering their designs upon this state; of which I shall tran-scribe these remarkable passages: 'Let not the damp of astonishment seize upon your 'ardent and zealous souls, in the apprehending the sudden calling of a parliament. We 'have not opposed, but rather furthered it. You must know, the council is engaged to 'assist the King by way of prerogative, in case the parliamentary way should fail. You 'shall see this Parliament will resemble the pelican, which takes a pleasure to dig out with 'her beak her own bowels. The election of knights and burgesses has been in such con-'fusion of apparent faction, as that which we were wont to procure heretofore, with much 'art and industry (when the Spanish match was in treaty) now breaks out naturally, as a 'botch or boil, and spits and spews out its own rancour and venom. That great states-

[21] Annals of King Charles's Reign, in the year 1625, page 19. [22] Page 75.
[23] Rushworth's Collections, part 1. page 474.

'man, the Count of Gundomar, had but one principal means to further his great and good 'designs, which was to set on King James, that none but the Puritan faction, which 'plotted nothing but anarchy, and his confusion, were averse to this most happy alliance 'and union. We steered on the same course, and have made great use of this anarchical 'election, and have prejudicated and anticipated the great one, that none but the King's 'enemies, and his, are chosen of this Parliament. We have now many strings to our bow, 'and have strongly fortified our faction, and have added two bulwarks more. Now we 'have planted that sovereign drug Arminianism, which we hope will purge the Protestants 'from their heresy. The materials, which build up our bulwark, are the projectors and 'beggars of all ranks and qualities. Howsoever, both these factions co-operate to destroy 'the Parliament, and to introduce a new species and form of government, which is 'oligarchy. These serve as direct mediums and instruments to our end, which is the 'universal catholick monarchy. Our foundation must be mutation, and mutation will 'cause a relaxation which will serve as so many violent diseases, to the speedy destruction 'of our perpetual and insufferable anguish of body. The Arminians and projectors affect 'mutation; this we second, and enforce by probable arguments. In the first place, we take 'into consideration the King's honour, and present necessity; and we shew how the King 'may free himself of his ward, as Lewis the Eleventh did. And for his great splendour 'and lustre he may raise a vast revenue, and not be beholden to his subjects, which is by 'way of imposition of excise. Then our Church Catholicks proceed to shew the means 'how to settle this excise; which must be by a mercenary army of horse and foot. For 'the horse, we have made that sure; they shall be foreigners and Germans, who will eat 'up the King's revenues, and spoil the country, though they should be well paid. In 'forming the excise, the country is most likely to rise; if the mercenary army subjugate 'the country, then the soldiers and projectors shall be paid out of the confiscations, if the 'country be too hard for the soldiers, then they must consequently mutiny, which is 'equally advantageous to us: our superlative design is, to work the Protestants as well as 'the Roman Catholicks to welcome in a conqueror.'

All this is confirmed by the testimony of the Earl of Clarendon: 'The Papists[24], (says 'that illustrious historian,) who had for many years enjoyed a great calm, grew unthrifty 'managers of their prosperity. They appeared more publicly; entertained and forced 'conference more avowedly, than had been known before. They were known not only 'secret authors, but open promoters of the most grievous projects. The priests had forgot 'their former modesty and fear, and were as willing to be known, as listened to: insomuch 'as a Jesuit at Paris, designing for England, had the impudence to visit the ambassador 'there, and offering his service, acquainted him with his intended journey, as if there had 'been no laws for his reception. And, shamefully to countenance the whole party, an 'agent from Rome resided at London in great state. They had publicly collected 'money to a considerable sum, to be by the Queen presented, as a free gift from his Catho-'lick subjects to the King, toward carrying on the war against the Scots, which drew 'upon them the rage of that nation. In a word, they behaved themselves so, as if they had 'been suborned by the Scots, to destroy their own religion.'

Let us now listen to a foreign[25] historian, who has published his 'Revolutions of Eng-'land,' with the particular approbation of the late King James; and who, being a Jesuit, cannot be suspected of partiality to the Protestants. 'The Scots, (says he,) finding them-'selves so strongly supported, had no sooner received an answer from the court, than there 'arose a thousand confused voices, crying out that all was lost; that the King, not con-'tented with having taken away from the two nations both their liberties and goods, de-'signed to lay a yoke on their consciences, and make an absolute change in religion. 'These complaints had not moved the generality of people, nor rendered the government 'sufficiently odious, according to the wishes of the discontented; had it not been insinu-

[24] History of the Rebellion, part i. book 2.
[25] Father D'Orleans, his Revolutions of England. Vol. iii. pag. 29.

'ated besides, that the King made great advances to popery, and resolved to make his 'subjects embrace it. Nothing was more false than this report. Charles was a Protes-'tant by inclination, and never loved the Roman Catholicks; but that very report, though 'false, had such appearances of truth, as made it easily believed. We must do the Queen 'the justice to say, that she had, during all her life, a true zeal for the restoration of the 'Catholick faith in England, and for the honour of the King her husband. But it cannot 'be denied, that sometimes she practised that zeal with somewhat more imperiousness, 'than the time allowed. Acted by that spirit, which results from the blood of those abso-'lute monarchs, of whom their subjects require no other reason for their commands, than 'their will; she did not sufficiently consider, that she reigned in a country, where the 'most solid reasons are not always able to make the people follow the opinion of those 'who govern them. So limited an authority, and which must be managed with art, was 'looked on by the Queen as a slavery, from which she used all her endeavours to free the 'King her husband and herself. Therefore, without much regarding the nicety of the 'nation, she had constantly near her a nuncio from the Pope, of whose character and func-'tions none at court were ignorant. She entertained an open correspondence with the 'popish lords; she loudly, and sometimes roughly, made herself a party in any thing 'wherein the Romish church was concerned; and having with her a great number of ec-'clesiasticks, who had been restored to her by the peace, and who, some of them, had 'more piety than prudence; she had frequent disputes with the most zealous Protestants, 'wherein the King, who loved her tenderly, indulged her humour, and even took her part, 'when she desired it of him. This conduct of Charles, in relation to his Queen, had al-'ready made him suspected of not being too good a Protestant, whatever he did to appear 'such, when the zeal he shewed for the undertaking of Archbishop Laud, viz. the intro-'ducing the English Liturgy in Scotland, increasing that suspicion, gave occasion to his 'enemies to publish, that he was a Roman Catholick; and that, in concert with that pre-'late, he made it his business to reconcile England to the See of Rome. The conduct of 'Laud was such as made these suspicions probable. For though every body agrees now, 'that (like the King his master) he was a zealous stickler for the Protestant sect; yet 'there was then reason not to think so of him, by the fondness that prelate had for cere-'monies; by the advice he gave to young students, to read the Fathers, rather than the 'Protestant divines; by his denial to admit the decisions of the Synod of Dort; and much 'more than all this, by the conduct of the Earl of Strafford, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 'his intimate friend, and confident of all his designs.——That prelate had procured him 'the government of Ireland, in hopes he should second his projects; and that lord, 'wisely foreseeing that Laud would raise all the Presbyterians against the King, raised an 'army in that island, to maintain the royal authority; and though he was a Protestant, 'as well as his master and friend, he had done the Roman Catholicks the honour to believe 'them better affected to their Prince, than the rest; and therefore had composed his army 'of them.'

What the Jesuit advances concerning Archbishop Laud, may be further illustrated by what Dr. Welwood says[26] of that prelate; 'That scarce any age has produced a man, 'whose actions and conduct have been more obnoxious to obloquy, or given greater occa-'sion for it. There was (adds the Doctor) one thread that run through his whole accu-'sation, and upon which most of the articles of his impeachment turned: and that was, 'his inclination to popery, and his design to introduce the Romish religion; of which his 'immortal book against Fisher, and his declaration at his death, do sufficiently acquit him. 'And yet, not Protestants only, but even Roman Catholicks themselves, were led into 'this mistake; otherwise they would not have dared to offer one in his post a Cardinal's 'cap, as he confesses in his diary they did twice. The introduction of a great many 'pompous ceremonies into the church; the licensing some books that spoke favourably of 'the church of Rome, and the refusing to license others that were writ against it, were

[26] Welwood's Memoirs, p. 61.

'the principal causes of his being thus misrepresented. And, indeed, his behaviour in 'some of these matters, as likewise in the Star-chamber, and High-Commission-Court, 'can hardly be accounted for; and particularly his theatrical manner of consecrating 'Catharine-Creed Church, in London; which is related at length by Mr. Rushworth, in 'the second part of his Historical Collections, Vol. I. p. 72.'

By all these it plainly appears, that the doubts and fears of popery were not groundless, and according to Dr. Kennet's assertion, 'That they lost an orthodox and most regular 'Prince the hearts of too many of his people; and almost robbed him of the next 'valuable blessing, his good name. For, upon his tender compliance with his entirely 'beloved royal consort, his enemies took advantage to misrepresent him for a Papist; 'though this was a calumny false and malicious.'

In the third place[27], Dr. Kennet mentions the jealousies, the thoughts and dread of oppression and illegal power, among the leading causes of the King's murder. For, as he wisely remarks, 'Tyranny and oppression seem in their nature made to hate, and yet to 'help forward one another. And former princes did rarely infringe the charter of public 'liberties, without hurting themselves, and leaving a wound upon monarchy itself. For 'the least attempts towards slavery and exorbitant power, raised up the appearance of a 'yoke, that our forefathers were not able to bear; and we are their off-spring. Doctor 'Kennet is far from thinking, that King Charles ever proposed to injure the birth-right 'of his subjects: But (adds he) how happy had it been for the peace of that reign, if 'even doubts and suspicions had been wanting; if the body of a good-natured English 'people had but thought themselves secure in their legal rights and tenures; for then they 'could never have been seduced into that unnatural rebellion. They must of necessity 'first believe, that their liberties and estates were in some danger, and, under that prospect 'and persuasion, they must have been drawn in, for the meaning, at least, of self-pre-'servation. How happy, if no tonnage or customs had been exacted, without a bill to 'be easily obtained for them! If no awing into loans and benevolence, if no projecting 'extraordinary supplies, without the readier aid of Parliament; and especially if no 'levying of ship-money to the surprise and burthen of the people, who never had a notion 'of taxes, but as of money given by their own consent! These hardships (to call them 'by that name only) did serve to exasperate the minds of the people, and did prepare 'them by degrees to be led out first in riots and tumults, and then in troops and armies, 'against their lawful Sovereign. And though it is certain, that the King himself did not 'hastily contrive or command any of those hard measures; but he had his ministers to 'propose them, and his very judges to approve them: yet, good Prince, he answered for 'the account, and at the foot of it, with invincible patience, paid down his royalty and 'his life.'

In all this the Reverend Divine speaks with the most faithful and impartial historians. In this perplexed difficulty, says[28] one of these: 'At length his council agree to set that 'great engine his prerogative on work. Many projects were hammered on that forge; 'but that which the council struck closest to, was the issuing of a commission, dated the 'thirteenth of October 1626, for raising of almost two-hundred thousand pounds by way 'of loan; and, the more to expedite this levy, the commissioners were instructed to re-'present to the subjects the deplorable estate of Rochelle. These were plausible insi-'nuations: but all would not smooth the asperity of this illegal tax: Rochelle and all 'other foreign considerations must stand by, when inbred liberty is disputed; so that the 'almost moiety of the kingdom opposed it to durance. Upon this account of refusal, 'prisoners, some of the nobility, and most of the prime gentry, were daily brought in 'by scores; I might almost say by counties; so that the council-table had almost as much 'work to provide prisons, as to supply the King's necessities.' 'The assessment of the 'general loan (says[29] Mr. Rushworth) did not pass currently with the people; for some

[27] See his Sermon, p. 15. & seq. [28] H. L'Estrange's Reign of King Charles, p. 63, 64.
[29] Historical Collections, pt. 1. vol. I. p. 422.

'persons absolutely refused to subscribe their names, or to say, they were willing to lend, 'if able. Whereupon the council directed their warrant to the commissioners of the 'navy, to impress those men to serve in the ships ready to go out in his Majesty's service. '——The non-subscribers of high rank and right, in all the counties, were bound over 'by recognisance, to tender their appearance, at the council-table, and performed the 'same accordingly, and divers of them were committed to prison; but the common sort, 'to appear in the Military Yard near St. Martin's in the Fields; before the Lieutenant of 'the Tower of London; by him to be there enrolled among the companies of soldiers; 'that they, who refused to assist with their purses, should serve in their persons.' 'Among 'the rest[30], Sir Peter Hayman[31], refusing to part with loan-money, was called before 'the Lords of the Council, and commanded to go into his Majesty's service into the 'Palatinate.

'Among other means of raising money (says Dr. Welwood[32]), that of loan was fallen 'upon; which met with great difficulties, and was generally taken to be illegal. One 'Sibthorp, an obscure person[33], in a sermon preached at the assizes of Northampton, 'would make his court by asserting, not only the lawfulness of this way of imposing 'money by loan, but that it was the indispensable duty of the subject to comply with it. 'At the same time Dr. Manwaring, another divine[34], preached two sermons before the 'King at Whitehall, in which he advanced these doctrines, viz. "That the King is not "bound to observe the laws of the realm, concerning the subject's rights and liberties; "but that his royal word and command, in imposing loans and taxes without consent of "Parliament, does oblige the subject's conscience, upon pain of eternal damnation. That "those, who refused to pay this loan, did offend against the law of God, and became "guilty of impiety, disloyalty, and rebellion: and that the authority of Parliaments is "not necessary for raising of aids and subsidies."

'Every body knew that Abbot[35] was averse to such doctrines: and, to seek an ad-'vantage against him, Sibthorp's sermon, with a dedication to the King, was sent him 'by order of his Majesty to license. Abbot refused, and gave his reasons in writing; 'which Bishop Laud answered; and with his own hand licensed both Sibthorp's and 'Manwaring's sermons. Upon this, Archbishop Abbot was confined to his country-'house, and suspended from his function; the administration of which was committed to 'Bishop Laud and some others of his recommendation.'

How happy had it been for King Charles, if in his time, instead of such divines as Sibthorp and Manwaring, none had ascended the pulpits, but men of the principles of Dr. Kennet, who has a right notion of our English constitution; 'which, if carefully 'preserved, holds out in the most regular health and safety; but, if once put out of order, 'it is hard to set right again.'

Let us now attend how the Earl of Clarendon relates[36] the grievances and oppression of this reign: 'The proclamation (says he) issued out at the dissolution of the second parlia-'ment, afflicted many good men so far, that it laid their ears open to the insinuations of 'those who made it their business to infuse an ill opinion into men, that by it the King 'declared, he really intended we should have no more parliaments; and the danger of such 'an inquisition being by this notion removed, ill men were not only encouraged to all 'license, but even those who had no propensity to ill, imagining themselves above the 'reach of ordinary justice, learned by degrees to look on that as no fault, which was like

[30] Historical Collections, pt. 1. vol. I. pag. 431.

[31] [Father to Sir Henry Heyman, of Somerfield, who was advanced to the dignity of a baronet in 1641?]

[32] Welwood's Memoirs, p. 44.

[33] [According to Wood, Sibthorp was not so obscure a person as Welwood pronounces him. Through the interest of his father-in-law, Sir John Lamb, he was made vicar of Brackley, became D. D. and rector of Burton Latimers in Northamptonshire. Vid. Athenæ ii. 275.]

[34] [Then vicar of St. Giles's in the Fields, and afterwards promoted to the see of St. David.]

[35] [Archbishop of Canterbury. He was suspected of being a Puritan, says Rapin, because he would not, like his predecessor Bancroft, persecute that sect.]

[36] History of the Rebellion, part 1. book I.

'to find no punishment. Provisional acts of state were formed to supply defect of laws; 'so tonnage and poundage, which had absolutely been refused to be settled by Parliament, 'were collected upon merchandise by order of the council-board; antiquated laws were 'revived, and with rigour executed.—The law of knighthood, which, though founded 'in right, was in the method of its execution very grievous; the laws of the forest, by 'virtue of which, not only great fines were imposed, but yearly rents designed, and like 'to have been settled by contract; and lastly, for an everlasting supply upon all occa- 'sions, a writ directed in form of law to the sheriff of every county in England, to send a 'ship amply provided for the King's service; and with an instruction, that instead of a 'ship, such a sum of money should be levied upon each county; with directions, how 'those that were refractory should be proceeded against, from whence that tax was called 'Ship-money; were not the only unjust, scandalous, and ridiculous projects at that time 'set on foot.——And here, the use the judges were put to in this, and like acts of power, 'redound much to the mischief and damage of the crown and state, in whose integrity 'and innocence the dignity of the laws mainly resided; the mysteries of which, when 'they had measured by the standard of what they called general reason, and explained 'by the wisdom of state, they justly deserved that irreverence and scorn, with which the 'House of Peers afterward used them.

'Though the nation, in general, bore no ill-will to the Church, either in the point of 'doctrine or discipline; yet were they jealous that popery was not sufficiently discouraged, 'and were easily persuaded to believe any thing they had not been used to, and which 'they called Innovation, was admitted purely to please the Papists. The Archbishop[37] had 'all his life-time vigorously opposed Calvin's doctrine, and thereupon his enemies called 'him a Papist.——He retained, when he came into authority, too sharp a memory of 'those by whom he had been persecuted; and was but too guilty himself of the same 'passion he complained of in his adversaries: that, as they accused him of popery, for 'maintaining some doctrinal points they disliked; so he looked on some persons as ene- 'mies to the discipline of the Church, because they agreed with Calvin in some points of 'doctrine. He was a man of great courage and resolution, and resolved to make the dis- 'cipline of the Church felt, as well as spoken of; applying it without any respect of per- 'sons, as much to the greatest, as meanest offenders. There were three persons, Prynne, 'Burton, and Bastwick, most notorious for their avowed malice to the government of the 'Church, which in their several writings they had published. One of them was a divine, 'the other a common lawyer, and the third a doctor of physick: and though neither of 'them had any interest or esteem with the worthy part of their several professions; yet, 'when they were all sentenced and exposed like common rogues upon scaffolds, to have 'their ears cut off, and their faces and foreheads branded with red-hot irons; men began 'no longer to consider their manners, but the men; and each profession imagined their 'education, degree and quality, had raised them above the reach of such infamous judg- 'ments, and treasured up wrath for the time to come.'

'The convocation (says the same author in another place[38]) was, after the dissolution 'of the last parliament, continued by a new writ, and sat under the proper name of a 'Synod; made canons, which men thought it might do; and gave subsidies, and enjoined 'oaths, which, without doubt, it could not do: in a word, did several things, which, in 'the best of times, might have been questioned, and were therefore certain to be con- 'demned in the worst; and drew the same prejudice upon the whole body; to which 'only some particular clergymen were before exposed.

'The High-Commission-Court was erected in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, and 'was of great use for the maintaining the peace and dignity of the Church, whilst it was 'exercised with moderation. But, of late, the great power of some Bishops at court 'had made it overflow its banks, and thereupon gained it many enemies.——The Star- 'Chamber-Court was of late grown so exorbitant, that there were few persons, who had

[37] Laud.

[38] History of the Rebellion, Book II.

'not suffered by it. For they had enlarged their jurisdiction, from the cognizance of 'plot, perjury, and the most notorious misdemeanours, to the vindicating all proclama-'tions and orders of state; to the maintaining illegal commissions and grants of mono-'polies; so that no man was free from the lash of it, any longer than he resolved to 'submit to those, and such like extraordinary courses.'

Fourthly, among the causes that conspired in the murder of King Charles the First[39], 'Dr. Kennet mentions the growth of immorality and profaneness, which were unhap-'pily objected to the reign of this Prince; though he was himself a very devout and 'conscientious Prince. And, really, (adds that Reverend Divine) it was no wonder, if un-'der the covert of popery, a spirit of profaneness did more sensibly obtain. It is not 'want of charity to say, what we see with our eyes, that the principles of popery are 'adapted to a looseness in morals; and that therefore the general practice of the mem-'bers of that church is strict in nothing but little outward observations. We are not to 'believe all the complaints that serious persons made of the dissoluteness of the King's 'army at that time. It was a juster objection, that the profaneness of the English stage 'began then to be more scandalous, than it had been in former times: so very scandalous, 'that, in pure indignation, a learned tract[40] was written against this growing evil; or '(as in its own title) "against the intolerable mischiefs and abuses of common plays 'and play-houses." But this reproof of impiety did so offend the French party, and 'made them so incense the Queen[41]; that the author, Mr. Prynne, was prosecuted and 'stigmatized for it, with a severity that was thought to be cruel.'

All this is confirmed by the testimonies of historians: 'In the year 1618, (says H. 'L'Estrange, (in his Annals[42] of King Charles's reign) King James published a declara-'tion, tolerating sports on the Lord's day, called Sunday. This declaration then caused 'so many impetuous clamours against it, as it was soon after called in: and was, this 'October (1633) revived and ratified by King Charles. The express design of this was, 'to restore the feasts and dedications of churches, commonly called Wakes, to their 'ancient solemnity; and to allow the use of lawful pastimes in the lower row upon that 'day. It was also argued in favour of it, that there was in the kingdom a potent ten-'dency in many to Judaism, occasioned by the dangerous doctrine of several Puritans; 'especially of one Theophilus Brabourn, an obscure and ignorant school-master, assert-'ing the perpetual and indispensable morality of the Sabbath of the Fourth Command-'ment. Again, in others no small inclination to popery, occasioned by the rigour and 'strictness of Sabbatharian ministers, in denying people recreations on the Sunday. But 'all these plausible insinuations operated little to a welcome entertainment. Nor was 'there any one royal edict, during all King Charles's reign, resented with equal regret. 'The fault was least his Majesty's, and not only ill counsel, but ill custom was to blame. 'For, too true it is, the divinity of the Lord's day was then new divinity at court, where 'the public assemblies once over, the indulgence of secular employment and recreations 'was thought so little disservice to God, as not only civil affairs were usually debated at 'the council-table, but also representations of masques were rarely on no other than Sab-'bath-nights. And all this fomented by both doctrine and practice of men very eminent 'in the church; which seemed the greater prodigy, that men, who so eagerly cried up 'their own orders and revenues, for divine; should so much decry the Lord's day for 'being such, when they had no other existence, than in relation to this.'

'Profaneness (says[43] another author) too much abounded every where. Luxury in 'diet, and excess, both in meat and drink, was crept into the kingdom in an high de-'gree, not only in the quantity, but in the wanton curiosity. And, in the abuse of those

[39] See his Sermon, p. 22, 23.

[40] [Histrio-Mastix; printed in 1633.]

[41] [Whitelocke tells us, that after the Queen had acted a part in a Pastoral at Somerset-house, the prelates pointed out that passage in Prynne's book to the King, which terms 'Women actors notorious whores;' and this they affirmed was written against the Queen and her Pastoral, although the book had been published six weeks before the Pastoral was performed. Memorials, &c. anno 1632.]

[42] p. 128, 129.

[43] King's History of the Parliament of England, book i. p. 19.

'good creatures which God had bestowed upon this plentiful land, they mixed the 'vices of divers nations; catching at every thing that was new and foreign. As much 'pride and excess was in apparel, almost among all degrees of people, in new fangled 'and various fashioned attire: they not only imitated, but excelled their foreign pat-'terns; and, in fantastical gestures and behaviours, the petulances of most nations in 'Europe.

'The clergy (says[44] the same writer) were wholly taken up in admiration of the King's 'happy government, which they never concealed from himself, as the pulpit gave them 'access to his ear; and not only there, but at all meetings, they discoursed with joy 'upon that theme: affirming confidently, that no prince in Europe was so great a friend 'to the Church as King Charles; that religion flourished no where but in England; 'and no Reformed Church retained the face and dignity of a church but that. Many of 'them used to deliver their opinion, that God had therefore severely punished the Pala-'tinate, because their sacrilege had been so great in taking away the endowments of 'bishopricks. Queen Elizabeth herself, who had reformed religion, was but coldly 'praised, and all her virtues forgotten, when they remembered how she cut short the 'bishoprick of Ely[45]. Henry the Eighth was much condemned by them, for seizing upon 'the abbeys, and taking so much out of the several bishopricks. To maintain therefore 'that splendour of a church, which so much pleased them, was become their highest 'endeavour; especially after they had gotten, in the year 1633, an archbishop after their 'own heart, Dr. Laud. Not only the pomp of ceremonies was daily increased, and in-'novations of great scandal brought into the church; but, in point of doctrine, many 'fair approaches were made towards Rome: as he, that pleases to search, may find in 'the books of Bishop Laud, Montague, Heylyn, Pocklington, and the rest. And, as 'their friendship to Rome increased, so did their scorn to the Reformed churches beyond 'the seas; whom, instead of sending that relief and succour to them, which God had 'enabled this rich island to do; they failed in their greatest extremities, and, instead of 'harbours, became rocks to split them. Archbishop Laud, who was now grown into 'great favour with the King, made use of it especially to advance the pomp and temporal 'honours of the clergy, procuring the Lord Treasurer's place for Doctor Juxon, bishop 'of London; and endeavouring (as the general report went) to fix the greatest temporal 'preferment upon others of that coat: insomuch, as the people, merrily, when they saw 'that Treasurer with the other bishops riding to Westminster, called it the "church trium-'phant." Doctors, and parsons of parishes, were made every where justices of peace; 'to the great grievance of the country in civil affairs, and depriving them of their spi-'ritual edification. The Archbishop, by the same means which he used to preserve his 'clergy from contempt, exposed them to envy; and, as the wisest could then prophesy, 'to a more than probability of losing all: as we read of some men, who, being fore-'doomed by an oracle to a bad fortune, have run into it by the same means they used 'to prevent it. The like unhappy course did the clergy then take to depress Puritanism, 'which was to set up irreligion itself against it; the worst weapon which they could 'have chosen to beat it down: which appeared especially in point of keeping the Lord's 'day; when not only books were written to shake the morality of it, as that of "Sunday 'no Sabbath," but sports and pastimes of jollity and lightness permitted to the country 'people, upon that day, by public authority; and the warrant commanded to be read 'in churches; which, instead of producing the intended effect, may credibly be thought 'to have been one motive to a stricter observance of that day; and many men who had 'before been loose and careless, began, upon that occasion, to enter into a more serious 'consideration of it, and were ashamed to be invited by the authority of churchmen, to

[44] Book I. p. 22, 23, 24.

[45] [Sir John Harrington says, "I must confess that it was held for one of the blemishes of Queen Elizabeth's virgin raigne: first, to keep the See of Ely vacant so long after Bishop Coxe's death; and after, to take away so large a portion from it as is generallie spoken." Vid. Nugæ Antiquæ, ii. 108.]

'that which themselves, at the best, could but have pardoned in themselves, as a thing 'of infirmity. The example of the court, where plays were usually presented on Sun- 'days, did not so much draw the country to imitation, as reflect, with disadvantage, 'upon the court itself; and sour those other court-pastimes, and jollities, which would 'have relished better without that, in the eyes of all the people; as things ever allowed 'to the delights of great princes. The countenancing of looseness and irreligion was, no 'doubt, a great preparative to the introducing of another religion: and, the power of 'godliness being beaten down, popery might more easily by degrees enter. And though 'it were questionable, whether the Bishops and great clergy of England aimed at popery; 'it is too apparent, such was the design of Romish agents; and the English clergy, if 'they did not their own work, did theirs. A stranger of that religion, a Venetian gen- 'tleman, out of his own observations in England, will tell you, how far they were 'going in this kind; his words are: "The universities, bishops, and divines of England "do daily embrace Catholic opinions, though they profess it not with open mouth, for "fear of the Puritans: for example, they hold that the Church of Rome is a true church; "that the Pope is superior to all bishops; that to him it appertains to call general "councils; that it is lawful to pray for souls departed; that altars ought to be erected: "in fine, they believe all that is taught by the church, but not by the court of "Rome."

'By all these it is very [46]evident that the liberty, and the delight, then taken in plays 'and operas, did help sadly to corrupt the minds and manners of our people; and to let in 'that looseness and irreligion, which served to suggest the wickedness and villainies, soon 'after acted in the civil war.'

Fifthly, and lastly, 'Dr. Kennet justly[47] reckons hypocrisy as another lamentable cause 'of King Charles's murder. For, no doubt, many sincere Christians came in with a good 'meaning to one side of the unhappy quarrel, as well as to the other. But the prime 'engines, and the workers of them, on the prevailing side, were most of them men 'of craft, and dreadful dissemblers with God and Heaven. What artificial fasts! what 'procuring prayers! what deluding speeches! what abuse of holy Scripture! what 'a noise of 'Cursing Meroz, of fighting the Lord's battles, of binding Kings in 'chains,' &c.! Nay, and how, at last, was the fatal blow given, by an utmost stretch 'in hypocrisy; by one[48] commander putting off [49]another, more tender and loyal, with 'a sham pretence of seeking God in prayer; while, in the mean time, the royal blood 'was shed, and the other's plea, to spare it, was then to no purpose.'

All parties allow, that Cromwell was the chief promoter of the King's murder; and that hypocrisy was his characteristical quality, is also acknowledged by all. 'His whole 'army (says Sir Philip Warwick, in his [50]Memoirs,) was of men who had all either natu- 'rally the Fanatic humour, or soon imbibed it. A herd of this sort of men, being by him 'drawn together; he himself, like Mahomet, having transports of fancy, and withal a 'crafty understanding; knowing, that natural principles, though not morally good, will 'conduce to the attainment of natural and politic ends; made use of the zeal and cre- 'dulity of these persons, teaching them that they engaged for God, when he led them 'against the King. And these men, habited more to spiritual pride than carnal riot or 'intemperance; so, consequently, having been industrious and active in their former 'professions, where natural courage wanted, zeal supplied its place; at first, they 'chose rather to die than fly; and custom removed fear of danger: and afterwards finding 'the sweet of good pay, and of opulent plunder, and of preferment; the lucrative part 'made gain seem to them a natural member of godliness.'

'The bloody Independents (says the same[51] author) drew the curtain, and shewed how 'tragical their design had been from the beginning. There are no words in the army,

[46] Dr. Kennet's Sermon, p. 23. [47] See his Sermon, p. 23, 24, 25. [48] Cromwell.
[49] Lord Fairfax. [50] p. 252. [51] p. 309.

'but "that the King had been a man of blood, and therefore must be presented to 'blood."

'If the Puritans (says the [52]French historian, I quoted before,) adventured on this 'blow, it was only in expectation of an occasion to attempt a more decisive one, by ex- 'tinguishing the royal authority, with which episcopacy should fall. I say, the royal 'authority, not the King's person and dignity. For we must do the Puritans the justice 'to own, that they never intended to carry their crime so far; and that they only prepared 'the victim, which a more bloody sect sacrificed.———It is hard[53] to determine when this 'inhuman design was formed by the sect of the Independents; for so they were called, 'because they pretended to carry the Evangelical liberty further than the Puritans. These 'new sectaries were at first no otherwise distinguished from the Presbyterians, than (as, 'in all religious societies, the zealous and fervent are distinguished from the lukewarm, 'and the strict from the remiss) by a greater averseness to pompous ceremonies and pre- 'eminences in church and state; by a greater zeal to reduce the practice of the Gospel 'to its pristine purity; by prayers, conversations, and discourses, which seemed to be 'the result of enthusiasm and inspiration. Their opinions about Independency (for they 'rejected not only bishops, but even synods) procured them a peculiar appellation, and 'rendered them suspected to the Presbyterians, with whom they had some disputes. 'But notwithstanding this opposition, the Independents, adding artifice, flattery, pro- 'mises, and good offices to their affected air of sanctity; made such a progress, that they 'formed a numerous sect of those that had been imposed upon by their hypocrisy; and 'a formidable faction of ambitious and mercenary men, whom they gained in all the other 'sects, by their address and policy. It was one among the latter, who afterwards became 'the chief of the whole cabal; and who was so already, without being taken notice of: 'a man born without any natural propensity to evil, or any inclination to virtue; having 'an equal facility to practise all virtues, and to commit all crimes; according as either 'suited with his designs. By this stroke, Oliver Cromwell will easily be known. His ex- 'cellent talent for war, already so fatal to the King's party, having added much lustre to 'his qualification for business; gained him such ascendant over all those of his faction, 'that he was become the very soul of it. Modesty and devotion (which of all the vir- 'tues he wanted, were those he could best dissemble,) had the more solidly established 'that superiority; as it gave the least offence to the independency professed by that 'sect, in a man who seemed not to affect it; but rather to have nothing in view, besides 'the good of religion and the publick.'

Thus it appears, from all the irrefragable testimonies already cited, that, with plainness of truth, the Reverend Dr. Kennet has enquired into, and marked the most visible causes of the civil war, which ended in the murder of King Charles.

Since, by laying before us the true causes of that unnatural civil war, which terminated in the destruction of the monarchy, and the martyrdom of the monarch; he wisely cautions both those who govern, and those who are governed, carefully to avoid any thing that might tend to break, or hurt, our present happy constitution; which God preserve!

[52] Father D'Orleans's Revolutions of England, Vol. III. p. 42. [53] p. 112, 113.

A true Account of a late horrid Conspiracy to betray Holland to the French. And of the Trial, Confession, Condemnation, and Execution of Jacob Martinet, Sheriff of the Town of Sluys; and Cornelius Reolands, Master of the Ship called the Argle of Amsterdam, who were executed for the said Conspiracy, the Sixth of this Instant May, 1690. Translated from the Dutch Copy.

London, printed in 1690.

[Quarto, containing Ten Pages.]

THE unwearied aims of the French, for a great many years, to swallow up the States of Holland, are sufficiently known to all the world; and, by their intrigues with the late unhappy pensioner de Wit[1], they were once within an ace of overturning this commonwealth for good and all. That the French continue in their former methods of bribing with their money, such villains as are destitute of all love to their country, and who are willing to sacrifice every thing to their accursed greediness of money, we have a fresh example in the treason and trial of these two miscreants, Jacob Martinet, sheriff or scapen of the town of Sluys; and Cornelius Reolands, master of the ship, called the Argle of Amsterdam; which was as follows.

On the third day of April last, there was intercepted a pacquet of letters sewed within the waistcoat of a seaman, going from Sluys to Ostend by land: which being opened by one of the magistrates of Ostend, before whom the fellow was brought, they were found to contain a dangerous conspiracy to betray to the French the strong town of Sluys, and thereby a chief key of Holland. Upon which the seaman, being examined, declared 'that he came from Sluys the day before, and was designed to find some way to get 'thence to Dunkirk; and that he had received the letters found about him from Cornelius Reolands, his master at Sluys; and was to deliver them to one Monsieur Rayon, a 'colonel of a regiment of French, lying in the town of Dunkirk.' He further confessed, 'That he had been three weeks before with letters from his master to the same 'colonel, and that he had returned with letters from the said colonel, directed to his 'master.'

The fellow, after this confession, was kept close prisoner, and an express immediately dispatched to acquaint the States with it; who thereupon ordered the magistrates of Sluys to secure the said Cornelius Reolands in close prison, and to examine him secretly about this treason. Reolands, being taken, denied all at first; but the letter he had written to Monsieur Rayon, being produced against him, (which had been taken at Ostend about his servant,) he not only confessed it was his, but also that Jacob Martinet, the sheriff of the town, was concerned in the affair more than he: and that the letter written in cyphers, found about his man, was written by Martinet's own hand.

Upon this, Martinet being secured, there was one letter immediately directed to the Marquess of Castanage, General Governor of the Netherlands, from the Assembly of the States of Holland; to desire his Excellency would be pleased to send the seaman taken in Ostend with the foresaid letters, immediately under a guard to the town of Sluys, which his Excellency was pleased to do.

[1] [Cornelius and John de Wit, the first grand-bailiff of Putten, and the other pensionary of Holland, had aggravated discontent into sedition, and were torn in pieces by a mob assembled at the Hague, in 1672.]

All things being ready for the trial of these two traitors, Count Horne, Governor of Sluys, was ordered to repair to the town to be present at, and to hasten the trial. Upon the first day of this instant (May), the prisoners, Jacob Martinet and Cornelius Reolands, were brought to their trial in the Town-house of Sluys, before judges appointed for that effect, of whom Count Horne was one. Cornelius Reolands, being confronted with his own servant, acknowledged, 'That he and the other prisoner had kept correspondence 'with one Monsieur Rayon, colonel of a French regiment in Dunkirk; and by his means 'and mediation, with one Monsieur de Terry, secretary of war under the Duke of Lux-'emburgh, who was to command the French army in the frontiers of Flanders this sum-'mer. And that he, and the said other prisoner, had received several letters from the 'said Monsieur Rayon, upon the same subject; and in one of them, a line from the said 'Monsieur de Terry, directed to him, and the other prisoner, wherein he assured them, 'if they would promise to accomplish the design in hand, he should cause to be paid 'them in hand, each of them, ten-thousand livres; and, upon the performing of it, they 'should receive, each of them, twenty-thousand more; with an honourable retreat and 'employment in any place of France they pleased.' He likewise acknowledged, That 'they were to receive the first ten-thousand livres a-piece, at the return of his servant 'they had sent upon that errand, when he was taken beside Ostend; and that the way of 'returning the money, was by a bill of exchange from a banker of Paris upon a Jew in 'Amsterdam, payable to the said other prisoner Jacob Martinet.' Adding, 'That his 'servant knew nothing of the secret, but only was employed to carry the letters betwixt 'Martinet and him, and the said Monsieur Rayon. And that he knew nothing of the de-'sign till Martinet drew him into it; and assured him, that there was the like design in 'most of the towns of Holland.'

Being desired to give account of the design itself, he gave it thus: 'That the said Mar-'tinet and he were to let in a great many French by threes and fours, under the notion of 'deserters from the French army; and that, before-hand, they were to provide several 'private lodgings for them to be ready upon call. In the mean time, he and Martinet 'were to provide a great many firelocks, under the pretence of buying them; in order 'to sell them again to the new-raised regiments in Flanders. That, when they had got 'into town a competent number of French, in the manner above-mentioned; they were 'to concert with the said Monsieur Rayon a particular night, in which he, with other 'two regiments, should be in readiness to march from the nearest places of the French 'conquests, to Sluys; by such ways as were laid down in a plan agreed betwixt them. 'That, at the night and hour appointed, the said Martinet and he were to have all the 'French in readiness with their arms, to fall upon the garrison, there being ordinarily but 'two-hundred men upon duty at a time; and, having cut them off, they were at the same 'time to open the east-gate to the other French, under the command of Monsieur Rayon; 'and being joined together, to take possession of, and keep the town for the French 'King; whose army, at the same time, was to fall down with all diligence and force 'upon the frontiers of Holland.' He further acknowledged, 'that he doubted not but 'the French were tampering with some, in most of the towns of Holland to the same 'effect; and that he knew, there were several great sums of money returned by bill to 'Amsterdam to this end; and that there were several agents up and down Amsterdam, 'Rotterdam, Bergen, Upsom, the Bush, Utrecht, Leyden, and all other towns in Hol-'land, who were busy in making intrigues to betray the respective towns to the French, 'for several sums of money, and promises of great preferment.'

Cornelius Reolands, being found guilty upon his confession, was removed; and immediately thereafter Jacob Martinet, the other prisoner, was brought to his trial: who stoutly denied he knew any thing of a design to betray the town of Sluys into the hands of the French, or that he had ever entertained correspondence with Monsieur Rayon, or Monsieur de Terry, to that or any other effect. Whereupon Reoland's servant, with whom the above written letters were found, was produced against him as an evidence; who, being sworn, deposed, 'That he had received the letters, which had been taken

'about him at Ostend, from his master Reolands; and that he the said Jacob Martinet 'was present, when his master gave them him; and that Martinet desired him to return 'as soon as possible, giving him a half pistole to drink, saying, "that, if he got a good "answer of some money-business he had written about, he, the deponent, should be well "paid."

Martinet briskly denied that he ever had seen this witness, or had been in company with Reolands but once in his life, about six years ago. The evidence, immediately in open court, required two men, whom he knew, to declare, if they did not several times see his master Reolands and Martinet together at the Maurice Head Tavern in Sluys; who upon oath declared, 'they had often seen them both go into, and come out from that tavern, 'they two all alone, and that within less than these two months.' Notwithstanding all which, Martinet stood firmly to his denial.

At length the declaration and confession of his accomplice Reolands was read before him, whereat he seemed to be much stunned; having often changed colour, the time of the reading it. But, insisting in his denial, and the law not allowing the confession of one accomplice to be sufficient proof, he was adjudged to be put to the torture. Whereupon, all things being ready for it, his courage failed him; and he told the people appointed to put it in execution, that he would confess all he knew of the affair he was charged with, before the judges.

Being thereupon called into court, he freely confessed, 'His being upon a plot with 'Reolands to deliver up the town of Sluys to the French, after the manner contained in 'Reolands's confession; with this particular circumstance, that in a letter, written to him 'by Monsieur de Terry, secretary of war under the Duke of Luxemburgh, he was pro-'mised ten-thousand livres more than was to be given to Reolands; together with a place 'in the presidial court of Sedan, worth three-thousand livres per annum.' And, thereafter, being desired to decypher the letter written in cyphers found about Reolands's man: he freely did it in these words, as was dictated by him from the letter given him in open court.

'SIR;

'WE have fully concerted the manner we are to act here, in delivering up the town; 'and it rests only, that you be as ready to effectuate your part at a precise time to be 'appointed, which both Mr. Reolands and I think to be most proper some time in the 'middle of May next; because the army of the States will not be in the field till the 'end of that month at soonest. You see what I venture, to serve so great and generous 'a Prince; and it is but a small part of what I would do to serve him. Be sure you, by 'the bearer, adtuse the exact time and way of your being in a readiness to accomplish 'your part of the design; and I think it were time, that some of these soldiers should be 'stealing in, as you know. After receipt of yours, we will be every day making one step 'or other to forward the thing: and though I doubt not but by the same bearer you will 'send the bill as you promised; so I assure you, I am more persuaded of the reasonable-'ness of having a greater sum ready in some hand, to make use of for gaining others to 'our interest, as perhaps the affairs will require. I need not say more, but commit my 'fortune to your conduct; who am,

'SIR,

'Sluys, April 1, 1690. 'Your faithful and humble Servant,

'JACOB MARTINET.'

These Confessions of both Jacob Martinet, and of Cornelius Reolands, being again read in open court; they both of them received sentence in these words:

'Forasmuch as you Jacob Martinet, and you Cornelius Reolands, are by your own 'confession, and other legal proofs and letters, found guilty of holding a correspondence 'with Monsieur Rayon, colonel of a French regiment in the French King's army; and 'with Monsieur de Terry, secretary of war under the Marshal Duke of Luxemburgh;

'in order to betray the garrison and town of Sluys to the French for a sum of money, 'agreed to be paid by the said Monsieur de Terry, to you Jacob Martinet, and to you 'Cornelius Reolands, for doing thereof. By which action, the whole province of Hol- 'land, and neighbouring provinces, would have been in eminent hazards of being there- 'upon ruined by the French army; therefore, the court does hereby adjudge you, the 'said Jacob Martinet, to be taken back to prison, and thence, upon the sixth of May 'instant, to be drawn upon a cart to the public market-place of this town, and there 'to be hanged up by the neck on a gibbet; and, being near dead, to have your 'bowels ripped up; and thereafter being fully dead, to have your body divided into four 'quarters; to be disposed of, as the court shall afterwards think fit; and your head to be 'severed from your body, and affixed upon the very same gate of this town which you 'designed to open to the enemy. Likewise, the court adjudges you, the said Cornelius 'Reolands, to be taken back to the prison; and upon the said sixth of this instant May, 'to be taken to the said market-place of this town of Sluys, and there to be hanged up 'by the neck upon a gibbet, until you be dead. And this we give for a final sentence 'against you both, wishing God may shew mercy to your souls!'

According to this sentence, upon the said sixth day of May instant, the said Jacob Martinet was brought to the place of execution, where he behaved himself very impenitently, and refused to speak to the people, and had the sentence executed upon him as aforesaid.

After him came Cornelius Reolands, who, both in prison, and at the place of execution, carried himself very devoutly and penitently: and, asking leave if he might speak to the people, he expressed himself in words to this purpose, a copy whereof he had given before-hand to the sheriff or scapen that attended him.

'Good Christian People,

'I AM brought here justly, for designing to betray my country to a foreign enemy for 'a sum of money: I confess myself guilty of the crime, and I beg God's forgiveness 'and your forgiveness for it, and am willing to die for it, as I justly deserve. I must say, I 'did for some months resist the offers that were made me by the unhappy man that is gone 'before me; but at length my wants prevailed with me to accept what I thought would 'rid me out of them. This I do not say to excuse myself in the least; God forbid I 'should. And as I consented to betray this town, so I did promise to do another villainy, 'which indeed I forgot to tell my judges at my trial; and it was, to see if I could prevail 'with any captains of ships, to betray their ships to the French; for which I was to re- 'ceive money from the French secretary of war, to give to those captains. I hope your 'displeasure against me for so villainous designs will end, when I have satisfied justice 'with my blood. I earnestly beg the assistance of your prayers for me, in this my agony; 'and I commit my soul to God, hoping to be saved by the merits of Christ, my Re- 'deemer.'

Having delivered himself thus, and heard the minister that waited on him pray, and having prayed himself, he was just going to be turned off; when, pulling up the handkerchief that was over his eyes, he said, 'Good people, there is one thing my conscience 'obliges me to tell you with my last breath, and it is this: I am afraid there are many 'such designs in hand, up and down this country, like this, for which I suffer; and I wish 'there may be some effectual means to prevent them; for I assure you the French agents 'are very busy every where, and they spare no money to obtain their ends. I have no 'more to say, but again beg earnestly the assistance of your prayers: And I commit my 'soul to God.'

Having thus said, he was turned over the ladder, and his body afterwards, by order of the magistrates, was given to his friends to be buried.

Thus we have one sad example more of the ill effects of the French money towards our country and commonwealth; but we hope God will disappoint all their designs, and bring their accomplices to just punishment.

A Proposal for an equal Land-Tax; humbly submitted to Consideration.

London, printed in the Year 1691.

[Quarto, containing Fourteen Pages.]

The inequality of the Land-tax presently appeared, even at a time when the Legislature, by a Pound-rate, thought to have remedied all the inconveniencies, which afore-time had attended that assessment upon the subject; and that, which was calculated for the good of the whole, was by the zealous loyalty of one part, and the crafty reservedness of the party that opposed the Revolution, turned to the greatest oppression of the true-hearted Protestants; and to the real advantage of those, who, rather than fairly contribute, in proportion, with their fellow-subjects, to withstand our common enemy, would risk the loss of their all by a passive concurrence to ruin our religion, laws, and liberties. For, upon so fair a proposal to settle the Land-tax by a Pound-rate, they who wished well to their Country and the Protestant Establishment, gave in a just estimate of the intrinsic value of their estates, and were assessed according to their said valuation, and continue so to be even to this day; though in many places, through various accidents, (as, the falling of rents, and the want of tenants,) they are obliged, by a re-assessment, to raise a fourth or a fifth more than the current assessment is enacted for. But those that waited an opportunity to recall a popish governor, gave in, some a half, others a third, and some only a quarter of the intrinsic value of their estates; and were, and continue to be assessed only according to that fallacious valuation: and it is against this grievance, which was early perceived, though not yet remedied, that this Pamphlet was written; and, I think, proposes a good method to settle it upon a better footing.

THERE is a great and urgent necessity, at present, of raising great sums of money; to which the common people of England, we may safely presume, would willingly contribute their utmost; and matters might be so ordered, that their assistance would be very considerable. But some would have the gentry take the whole burthen upon themselves and a few others; and would have this money raised by a Land-tax, which way will very probably be followed. Here it is confessed, that though this tax prove heavy, yet upon this great occasion it would be borne with cheerfulness, if it were made equal; but the monstrous inequality of it, as the rates are now, is more grievous than the tax itself. What can be a greater heart-breaking, than to pay double and treble, in proportion to other people? And many a poor gentleman must be ruined, if these rates continue.

A remedy for this evil hath been nobly attempted already, in parliament, by bringing the payments to a pound-rate. And surely it cannot be denied, but that the taxes of two shillings in the pound, and three shillings in the pound, were the fairest that ever were granted. Nor hath there been any thing done in England more becoming a parliament. But that, which was well designed, was so villainously executed (I mean in the assessing) that even those taxes proved shamefully unequal. So that, notwithstanding all the care that was taken, some men paid double and treble to others. Not that much land was assessed above the true value, for that is not complained of; but while some were assessed to the full, others were assessed at the half or third part, by which means they, that were assessed to the full, paid double or treble. For example: If there be three farms of equal value, that is, each of them worth three-score pounds a year; and one of these is duly rated at three-score pounds, the second unduly at thirty, and the third at twenty; in this case the first pays double to the second, and treble to the third.

You will say, that, to rectify this matter, we must raise all those that are under-rated, and thereby have all lands assessed at their just and full value. In answer whereunto, I confess, that if this thing were done, we might easily have equal taxes; whether they were laid by the pound-rate, or by a sum certain upon each county. But all the skill, and all the difficulty is, to get this thing done. The ordinary assessors will never do it; for experience hath taught us, that men will strangely swear and forswear, to save themselves and their neighbours from being screwed up. And it hath been proposed already to take a more effectual course by rewarding informers; but that way doth not please. Some would have a tax by the pound-rate, and the King to name the commissioners; but I doubt it will not be convenient for his Majesty, or men deputed by him, to have any hand in screwing up people: others would have such a tax farmed out, and the farmers to try their skill; but a tax fit to be farmed out should be of some continuance; whereas this must be paid at once, or within a short time. Besides, these farmers and commissioners must do their work by the help of informers; who, as I have said before, are not pleasing. Moreover, go which way you will, this raising and screwing of people is a harsh and odious business, and goes against the hair, so that it will be found extremely difficult.

But the design of the proposal, here offered, is not to raise any body; but only to ease those that are overcharged, and who pay above their portion. Which is a thing so equitable and so favourable, that there is good reason to hope that no man will be so inhuman to oppose it. Considering withal, that none are to have this easement, unless they make their case so plain that no doubt can be made of it.

The proposal hath been briefly mentioned already in the ‘ Project of a Descent upon ‘ France,’ and more at large it is this:

I. That a land-tax be granted, the same with that which was granted this last year (the amount whereof is, we know, about seventeen-hundred thousand pounds), and that the same proportions be laid upon the several counties, and upon each particular man.

II. Provided, nevertheless, that no man be obliged to pay above two shillings in the pound, of the true and full yearly value of his land.

III. That, in order hereunto, all persons aggrieved, that is, all that are to pay above that proportion, may complain to such commissioners as the Parliament shall please to nominate for each county.

IV. That these commissioners, upon clear proofs in writing of the true value of the land, shall make just abatements, and shall settle the complainants' tax at the said proportion of two shillings in the pound.

V. That the commissioners cause all these depositions, and their orders upon them, to be fairly transcribed into a book, and so transmit them to the committee, which the Parliament shall please to appoint for this service.

VI. That this committee of Parliament shall inspect the said depositions and orders, and shall disallow the orders, if the evidence seem not clear; or alter them as they see cause.

VII. All orders and abatements made by the commissioners to stand good, unless and until they are disallowed by the committee of Parliament.

VIII. No proof to be admitted, but by written depositions; even the quality and credit of the witnesses, if there be occasion for it, to be proved in writing.

Thus I have laid open the whole design; which aims at nothing but to relieve the oppressed. Here will be good store of informers, but, of all that ever were, they will be the most innocent; for every man must inform for himself. And he may easily do it with effect; for there is nothing more easy, than for any man to shew plainly the true value of his land.

If the land be let, or have been lately, at a rack-rent, it is easy to shew what that rent is or was; and the tenant's own oath will be good evidence, if he can also swear, that the

whole tax must be allowed by the landlord, which the law directs, if there be no covenants to the contrary. Also the same thing may be proved by the landlord's steward or bailiff, or any servant that knows.

If the land be let for lives or years, and at an under-rent; it may be shewed what the rent is, and, likewise, what fine was paid, and for what term.

But if the land be a man's own, and was never let, there must be more ado, though even then the thing will not be greatly difficult. It will give a great light, if a surveyor swear to the quantity; shewing also how much of it is common field, and how much inclosure; likewise, how much is meadow, arable, pasture, and wood. Then others must prove the common rate of those sorts of land, in that place and neighbourhood. And substantial neighbours may make oath, what they believe and judge to be the true value of the particular land in question. Also the party may shew, at what rate he bought the land, if he hath lately bought it; or at what rate he hath offered it to be let or sold. In short, there are many ways to make out a thing of this nature, if it be true. But to palliate a false value is very difficult, so as to give clear and full satisfaction; without which, there must no relief be expected by the complainants.

I must now answer a question concerning this matter; and likewise two objections.

The question that may be asked is this:

What is the meaning of this committee of Parliament, which, according to these proposals, must controul the commissioners of the counties?

And I answer, that the meaning is:

That the commissioners may take greater care to do equal and righteous things, when they find that their proceedings must be seen and examined by others; whereas they would be apt to take too much liberty, if it should be only known to themselves, what methods they follow, and upon what grounds they go. But yet, in all likelihood, the committee will not much alter what the commissioners have done.

The first of the objections is:

That the thing here proposed is exceeding laborious.

I answer:

That the bringing taxes to an equality is so glorious an achievement, that we ought to spare for no pains to compass it. Nor is it only noble and beneficial, but also of absolute necessity. 'If the equal dividing the common booty be necessary to pirates and buccaneers, the equal distribution of the public burthens is much more to a state;' saith a late author. But, moreover, as this work is great, so there will be many hands to do it. The country-commissioners will divide themselves, as they used to do in the case of assessments: and the committee of Parliament, which will be numerous, will name several sub-committees out of their own number, and share the work to them, who, amongst them, must peruse the books sent from the counties; and report to the whole committee, what they disallow and what they doubt of. The transcribing the depositions into these books may seem a tedious business, and of too much time. But even here so many hands may be employed, as will make quick work. For several men may be at the same time transcribing upon loose sheets, and then those sheets be made up in a book. Indeed, there should be two books, one to be sent to the Parliament, the other to be kept in the county. All this writing to be paid for, by those for whose benefit it is done, according to the length and depositions that concern them. And it is much if it cost any man five shillings.

The second objection is:

That by these abatements, according to the proposals here offered, the tax will fall short.

In answer to which I must acknowledge, that the tax will fall short, at least, half a million; but if the public occasions require it, this may and must be made good by a farther tax; which by this time will be pretty equal. And, surely, it is much fitter, that the whole nation should bear this further burthen by an equal tax, than that part of the nation should bear it, by having the inequality continued upon them, and by paying above their proportion.

It is confessed, that when all is done that hath been here proposed, there will still remain some inequality; for, as the rates are now, there are many that, to the last great tax, pay under two shillings in the pound; and there is nothing here offered to raise them. We must therefore be content, at least at present, to let them enjoy this advantage. Let them pay twenty pence, or eighteen pence, or less, while others pay two shillings. But that some should pay but twenty pence, or eighteen pence, while others pay four, five, or six shillings, or more; so that some are at ease, whilst others are destroyed, is too unreasonable, and ought to be endured no longer.

You will ask, 'What injury is it to me, if my neighbour be eased?' I answer, 'the injury is, that I am not eased to.' And if he pay below his proportion, I must pay above mine. And, by the undue easing of him and others, the tax falls short of what it would otherwise be; so that the public occasions call for further taxes, of which I shall bear part, and still above my proportion. If some part-owners should pay less in proportion than others toward the ship's charge, it would be a plain wrong to those others: and so it would be, if some lands in a marsh should, for maintaining the sea-walls, pay but six pence an acre, when other lands pay twelve pence.

It hath been said, that, though a tax were laid, as hath been here proposed, yet there would be still some inequality. But the next tax after might bring things more even. For it might be granted for the same gross sum, with this proviso, that none pay above one shilling in the pound; with the same methods for giving ease. And this tax would make good what the other falls short; for both these taxes will amount to three shillings in the pound; which is very near the true proportion, that all lands should pay the tax now on foot.

Thus, by the way that hath been here proposed, there must be two steps to arrive at the reformation intended. But I conceive, upon further consideration, that the thing may be done at once, and that the first new tax may be at the former rates, provided that none pay above one shilling in the pound: which will be the same thing in effect, as a tax of twelve pence in the pound, with a new and sure method to have it equally assessed. This tax may, by the good old word, be called 'a Subsidy;' and the Parliament, now, and at other times, may please to grant either one subsidy, or part of one, or a subsidy and a half, or two or three subsidies or more, according as the public occasions require.

But still, after all hath been done, the taxes will not yet be exactly equal. For there are divers, as I am well informed, that do not pay six pence a pound to the great tax[1] now upon us. I leave these to be further considered; and, in the mean time, though they do not pay to the full, yet they will pay three times as much in proportion, as they did formerly.

I have all this while been driving at equality: but there is an equality so unequal, that I cannot but declare my sense against it; and that is, that houses should bear equal proportion with lands, for which there is no reason, as every man's reason, will tell him. They ought, therefore, to be abated a fourth or a fifth part.

If the Parliament shall not think fit to enter upon this great work at present (though it is every man's work, and would be soon done), they may however, by a shorter way, give

[1] Three shillings in the pound.

some relief (if they please) to those that are oppressed in the land-tax; that is, to those that pay plainly above their proportion. And this may be done, by making the sum of the tax, next granted, to be something less than the last; and then distributing this abatement among the counties, that are now notoriously overcharged, the other counties continuing as they are. Thus, whereas the last tax was for about seventeen-hundred thousands pounds, the next may be for fifteen or fourteen hundred thousand; which is two or three hundred thousand pounds less. And then the oppressed counties (which counties are well known) may have their monthly payments abated, in such proportions as the Parliament shall find meet. The raising either of men, or counties, is such a *noli me tangere*, that there is no meddling with it; but there is great reason to hope, that the giving just ease to those that want it, will meet with no opposition. For my own part, I have no particular concern in this matter. I am in a county that is not like to be eased; and I pay about three shillings in the pound; which is near the true proportion: but I wonder the counties, that are concerned, have not petitioned all this while. In such a case as this, even clamorous petitions would be excusable.

There is another consideration about taxes, which I recommend to those worthy persons who have a hand in granting them; and that is, that the payments be not made too quick. We know that the present great tax (to say nothing of those precedents) is paid with exceeding difficulty. And such another tax in the neck of it, to be paid likewise forthwith, it is doubted would occasion extreme distresses. When a man hath bled much, if you go to take a further great quantity from him, at once, and presently; it may prove fatal, his body cannot bear it. But, after a while, his blood being recruited, and supplied, you may take more without hurt or danger; especially if you do it by degrees: and it is just so with our nation in point of taxes. We could pay a moderate tax for many years, and be little the worse; and people would have room, and time, to supply all by industry and parsimony; the two great promoters both of private and public riches. But our money, of late, hath been swept away so fast from us; little of it returning; that it hath not only sheared from the landlord a good part of his rent, but also disabled the tenant from paying the rest, the market being dead, and no money stirring; and then the cities, and towns, must needs, as they do, find a grievous deadness of trade; so that a general poverty hath suddenly overwhelmed us.

We could better pay two millions in four years, than a million and a half in one year. In which first way, the war might be maintained by taxes, that probably would be paid in time of peace, when we shall be better able to do it. Also his Majesty's present occasions will be as well provided for this way, if there be a credit given upon those future payments. You will say, this will draw on interest. But I answer, that the interest will not do us so much harm, as the respite will do us good.

In this affair we must consider not only what is best to be done, but also, and more especially, what we are able to do. Perhaps, it were best to pay ready money down: but, if we cannot do it, we must be glad to take time, and allow interest: and it is better to have upon us, for some years, a burthen we can bear, than to be crushed at once by a burthen we cannot bear,

If it be an advantage to lend money to the public above the common interest, it is among ourselves, and any one that will may have it. There is also this convenience, that all those lenders will be firmly engaged to wish well to the government.

I would not have us follow the example of Holland, where their whole standing revenue is anticipated for a great many years, by vast sums of money taken up at interest; and there are many families, that live upon the constant interest of monies lent to the state. But I hope we shall never be brought to such necessities; and I would have our dealings, in this kind, to be for moderate sums, and a moderate number of years.

We may remember, that in King Charles's first Dutch war, the Parliament gave at once two millions and a half; but to be paid in some years. So that what is here offered, in this matter, is, even in England, no new thing.

But, what if this war continue next year, and we must raise more money? How, and upon what, shall the tax be laid? My answer is, "That, if there be a necessity for it, it

may be a concurrent land-tax; or the tax may be pushed further on, upon some years to come: that is, after the end of the four years before-mentioned."

It cannot be denied, but that the ways now mentioned, and especially the last, will draw on more interest. But, to make this interest easy, it is further humbly proposed:

1. That a land-tax be granted; suppose for a million of pounds, payable at the end of five years.
2. That upon the credit of it, the King be enabled to give tallies, or tickets, of one hundred pounds each; amounting in the whole to ten-thousand.
3. That these tickets be made current, according to their value, by act of parliament.
4. That these tickets be pieces, or plates, or medals of silver, coined or stamped in the best manner, to avoid counterfeiting; and each having its number fairly stamped upon it.
5. That each of them be affixed, or appended, under a seal, to a pocket-book.
6. In this book shall be written, to whom, and by whom, the ticket was first delivered; with all the assignments afterward.
7. That no man shall be obliged to take them at first from the King, but with the allowance of five per cent. nor shall the King's receivers be obliged to take them back at their full value, till after a year from their first delivery.
8. That when these tickets are brought in, at the end of the five years, they that bring them in, shall likewise have the allowance of five per cent. So that they are first taken at ninety-five pounds, and paid back at last at a hundred and five.
9. If any of those tickets be lost, yet he that had it, to have the benefit of it at the five years end; he proving that it was delivered or assigned to him, and there being no proof that it was further assigned.
10. The form of the pocket-book may be this:

Number One.

March 1, 1691. Delivered to A. B. of the city of London, merchant. By me C. D. (the officer's name.)

April 17, 1692. Assigned to Sir E. F. of S. in the county of Kent, Knight. By me A. B.

June 24, 1692. Assigned to G. H. of the city of London, goldsmith. By me J. K. executor of Sir E. F.

Here now is money taken up for the public service, at ten per cent. for five years, which is two per cent. yearly.

The first five per cent. will take the tickets cleverly out of the King's hands, without any appearance of hardship to the subject, and it will set them fairly a-float. The five per cent. at last, will secure those that take them from being left in the lurch; it will make them not afraid, but desirous to have them at the five years end; and it will keep up their value and reputation during the whole time.

These tickets will be a treasure that can be neither stolen, nor lost; for they will be of no value more than the medal, save only to those who have the right to them.

They will be a good supply for the money we have lately lost, and money will then be less needful. Great sums will be paid with tickets, and lesser sums with money.

Perhaps, hereafter, when we have seen the way of it, we may, in the same manner, take up greater sums, at easier interest, and for more years.

But, I doubt, it will not be convenient, that the amount of these tickets should ever exceed the half of our running cash, though we could have them without interest. A moderate quantity of them will impede our money; but too great a quantity would drive it quite away.

I must add one thing more to the foregoing part of this discourse; and that is, that when a land-tax is granted, there should a poll-tax go along with it: that so, the whole kingdom being concerned, every man in it may contribute something. The land-tax draws hard from those that have estates, and the poll-tax will draw something (though a general excise would

insensibly draw more) from those that have them not. And surely, when the men of estates bear the main of the burthen, and put their shoulders to it; it is but reasonable, that the common people also should each of them lend a finger. They ought not therefore to complain, if, for every shilling in the pound which the land-tax rises to, there be twelve pence a head laid upon men, and upon the women six pence. Thus a great difference is here made (as it ought) between women and men. For there is no reason that women should pay equal, when they do not get half so much. And I have the rather designed them some little ease in this matter; because, I think our nation hath been too valiant, in making hard laws against women.

When I speak of so much a head, my meaning is, that it should be upon all alike, both high and low. Or, if any difference be made, it should be only some such difference as this; that gentlemen, and all so reputed, should pay double or treble to common men.

It seems a great mistake, that a poll-tax should run high upon degrees, and titles and dignities, especially if a land-tax likewise be then on foot; for, generally, they that have titles, have also estates, which pay to the land tax. If a land-tax come to two shillings in the pound, and there be a poll-tax proportionable; a common person pays two shillings for his head, and a knight of a thousand a year pays a hundred pounds for his estate; and it seems very hard, that he should pay ten pounds more for his title. Why should we lay more upon those, that have their load already?

And though there were no land-tax on foot, yet a poll-tax, that runs upon titles and dignities, is of all others the most unjust, because it is the most unequal. It is very unequal and unjust, that an esquire, not worth a hundred pounds, should pay as much as one worth five-thousand a year.

The Designs of France against England and Holland discovered: Or the Intrigues of that Crown, for the utter Ruin of both those Nations laid open. With Allowance.

Supposed to be printed Anno 1686.

[Quarto, containing Twelve Pages.]

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

THESE papers (which were intended to be published before this time, had the press been open for such truths) plainly discover the cunning intrigues, wicked designs, and unchristian practices of the French King; for the overthrow of England and Holland, and with them the Protestant Religion. If this account be (as it is hoped) approved of, a further information may be expected from the same hand.

HENRY the Eighth, King of England, did, in his time, cause a medal to be stamped with a hand stretched out of a cloud, holding a balance in equal poise, whereof both the scales represented Spain and France, with this motto: *Cui adhæreo præest;* i. e. 'My alliance weighs it down.' It seems, that Prince well knew his own might; whereas now England may be compared to an ox, who, being insensible of his own strength, quietly submits himself to the yoke. Evident it is, that England has many advantages beyond other kingdoms, but especially this; that being an island, it can easily secure itself against any foreign force; they, that intend an invasion against it, must be obliged to cross the seas, and truggle with the winds and waves, and all the hazards and dangers of that

unstable element; besides a very potent fleet, which alone is sufficient to deter their hardiest enemy from any such design. Now, this being so, it is manifest that the King of England (having peace, and a strict alliance, with Holland) can over-balance the party he designs against.

This is a truth France is so fully convinced of, that notwithstanding the great antipathy there is between both nations, he has hitherto spared nothing, and is still turning every stone, to take off England from its true interest, and to engage it on his side; or, at least, to oblige it to stand neuter, and to be an idle, unconcerned spectator of the horrid tragedy the French King acts upon the theatre of Europe; because he well knows that England is better able to prevent it, and spoil his sport, than any other state or kingdom whatsoever, and rescue Europe from the universal slavery he prepares for it.

Would the King of England only be pleased to open his eyes, (fast closed with the inchanted slumbers of the French Dalilah,) to take a view of his own strength, and true interest; he should soon find himself making another figure amongst the princes of Europe, than of late years he hath done; and with ease mount that high degree of power and glory, of being the professed umpire of the universe, the sovereign mediator and decider of controversies, and the giver of peace to all Europe; which France, in a vain bravado, pretends to, when indeed he is the sole troubler of it.

To arrive at this transcendant pitch of grandeur and authority, two things only (which the King of England may do when he pleases) are requisite. The first is, that his Majesty do comport himself so, as to engage the love of his people, and keep a right understanding between him and his parliament. And the second, that he enter into a strict alliance with Holland, living in sincere amity, perfect union, and good correspondence with them, in order to their common defence and security. The former of these is very easy, and the King will do it, as soon as he shall resolve to desire nothing of his Parliament, but what is agreeable with the laws of the realm, which, by his coronation-oath, he is obliged to observe and maintain; and the latter will be found to be of absolute necessity, as soon as the King of England shall please to stop his ears to the false suggestions of France, and stifle those jealousies and resentments, which his emissaries daily buz into his head; there being nothing to fear for England from the States, whose desire is not to enlarge their dominions (as France does) by invading those of their neighbours; but only to keep what God has given them, and to maintain their subjects in the liberty they now enjoy.

This France so well knows, that he leaves no stone unturned to prevent it, and continually sends forth some crafty turbulent spirits to sow the seeds of division and misunderstanding between the King and his Parliament. Thus the spirit of France was at work, to exasperate the Episcopal party against the Presbyterians, and again, the Presbyterians and other Nonconformists, against them; making them believe that the bishops favoured popery, and would not fail to prove turncoats, as soon as a favourable opportunity should be offered them, and that the King did incline the same way, with a thousand like suggestions; which so set the people against the King, and filled the Parliament with such jealousies, that they often granted his then Majesty but very little of what he demanded, and gave him so much work at home, that he had no leisure to consider what was doing abroad. It was France that first kindled the civil wars in the time of Charles the First, which cost England so much blood; the French Ambassador, that was then at that court, boasting at his return from thence, "That he had kindled a fire in England, which should not be quenched of a long time, and that the English, for twenty years to come, would not be in a condition to claim any thing of France."

To the kindling of this unhappy flame, one Father Joseph, a Capuchine friar, did much contribute under-hand, by means of the Papists, especially those that were in the Parliament's army. But now, since the King[1] of England has thought good to change his religion, France also has altered his battery, and turned all his great guns against the

[1] King James the Second.

Church of England; and so far are the minds of men irritated against one another, that his British Majesty will not, this good while, be in a condition to look any where else but at home; where he is like to meet with so many crossings and thwartings of the designs he is carrying on, that he will find it a hard matter to break through them, and accomplish the thing he aims at, and so zealously affects. And, whilst these heart-burnings continue between the King and his people, he will be forced to be continually upon his guard, and to keep his forces about him; and cast about his thoughts how to raise a fund to maintain them, and thereby give an opportunity to France to possess himself of the Low-countries, and of Spain[2] too, in case that King should chance to die; which happy hour, France, with a great deal of impatience, looks for.

As for the second point, viz. a league with the United Provinces, and a right understanding and good correspondence between those two governments, to oppose all powers that would invade and trouble the peace of Christendom; it is certain, that the States, for their parts, would most gladly embrace the proposal, if they saw any likelihood of engaging therein with safety, and being seconded upon occasion; of which, indeed, there is but little probability, as long as affairs shall continue in the condition wherein they are at present. This indeed is the thing, which, of all others, France would be very loth to see; because the hearty union of these two governments would, in all probability, put a stop to the French King's undertakings, overturn all his designs, and put him into an utter incapacity of attempting any thing against the peace of Nimeguen, or the truce with the Emperor. But France carries a watchful eye to prevent this capital inconvenience; and that, by an assiduous fomenting and cherishing feuds, and animosities, between those two nations, and improving every occurrence to this purpose; of which we have a fresh instance in the business of Bantam, which had been long ago made up, but that France (who finds it best fishing in troubled waters) thinks it more for his interest, that it should remain undetermined; which is the very reason why it was never made an end of, but kept as a reserve for a quarrel upon occasion. That there can be nothing so evidently destructive of the French designs, as this union between England and Holland, is very apparent; England can, when it pleases, overturn the projects of France against the Spanish Netherlands: neither could that King ever have taken Luxemburg, if the late King of England had had the least inclination to oppose him in that attempt; but the French King so well knew how to take him by the blind side, that he did not perceive the mischief till the city was taken. It was a capital error for England to part with Dunkirk, a place that opened a passage for them to France and the Low-countries; but it would make the matter much worse, if all those countries should be fain to submit to the tyranny of Lewis the Great, and he, by this means, should join Newport and Ostend[3] to Dunkirk: for then would Flushing follow by consequence, and that King be put into a condition to dispute the sovereignty of the sea with his British Majesty, and destroy the navigation and commerce of this flourishing kingdom. Having got thus far, he would proceed to an entire conquest of the United Provinces; which point being once gained by him, England would have but little reason to flatter itself with the hopes of a better lot. Renowned Queen Elizabeth, of happy memory, was so sensible of what is here alleged, that she told Monsieur de Sully, the French King's ambassador at her Majesty's court, "That neither France, nor England, nor any other prince, or state whatsoever, ought to lay any claim to the Low-countries; and that she would never suffer the King, his master, to make the least attempt that way." Upon which Monsieur de Sully sent word to his master, Henry the Fourth, 'That, notwithstanding the opposite sentiments of the Queen, his Majesty 'might, by means of great forces, keep his friends within their own bounds, and possess 'himself of such territories and cities in the Low-countries, as should be necessary to 'join France and the United Provinces wholly and inseparably together: which was (said 'he) the only way to restore France to its primitive grandeur and glory, and pitch it above

[2] This came to pass in regard to Spain, as here prophesied.
[3] As the scheme was laid by the French King this summer, 1744.

'the rest of Christendom; for if, by any means, the provinces of Luxemburg, Juliers, 'Mark, Mons, Aix, and Cleves, were once united to France, there was no doubt, but 'the rest of the country would be forced to follow their example, being deprived of all 'communication and correspondence with the rest of the world.'

Sure it is, France has always inclined this way, since they have observed, that they could not compass their design by Italy, as the Romans of old; which conquest, though it be the interest of all princes of Europe to prevent, as much as in them lies; yet it is evident that these two states, who are nearer at hand, and can better do it, are the most of all concerned to put a stop to the progress of the French in the Low-countries; which would not fail to be attended with dismal consequences to them, as before mentioned. As for Spain, it is a body deprived of the use of its limbs, and to which nothing remains but that of its tongue, viz. to pray and intreat its good friends and allies not to forsake it. But none can do more than England, towards the preservation of the Low-countries; and, if his British Majesty had not promised to stand still, Luxemburg would still be in the state wherein it was formerly, and a bone for France to pick. The French King is so well aware of this, that he takes all the care he can to keep the King of England on his side; or, at least, to remain neuter, in case he will not declare himself for him. To which purpose he spares nothing; neither presents, pensions, nor arts, to keep all safe on that side. But, alas! this money, and those presents of France, are like a snake hid under rose-leaves. This is a smiling lip, which hereafter will prove a deadly sting. They are iron chains, gilded over to deceive the eyes of those who now admire what hereafter they will have occasion to lament, if they do not betimes discover the cheat of him, who designs to enslave them. England subsists by balancing the crown of France and Spain, and keeping them in equal poise; wherefore it must needs be the interest of that kingdom, by all means possible to prevent the Low-countries from becoming an occasion to the over-weight of France; lest, by this means, it should be incapacitated to maintain the balance of Europe for time to come. For if ever, by ill fortune, the French King should make himself master of all the Seventeen Provinces, (as it is his great aim, and may easily be brought to pass, if the States be not seconded,) What condition will England then be in? France will be stronger than they at sea, and in the Indies; and consequently interrupt their commerce and navigation, by keeping a great fleet abroad, especially in the channel, so that nothing shall be able to stir out of the English havens, but by their leave; and, upon the least occasion, the total conquest of England must needs ensue, and that without remedy, there being no-body in a condition to stave off their final ruin.

Moreover, the true interest of England is to keep France low; as well to preserve the dominion of the sea, as to find a favourable occasion to recover those ancient dominions the French King keeps from them; as are the dukedoms of Bretagne, Normandy, Poictou, Languedoc, nay France itself: for of the marriage of the King of England with Margaret, daughter to Philip the Fair, was born Henry the Fifth, King of England, who had the same right to France as the Dauphin has to Spain. The three sons of King Philip the Fair, viz. Lewis Hutin, Philip the Tall, and Charles the Fair, died all without issue male; and it was not till after this, when the King of England prosecuted his right to the kingdom of France, that the Salick law was made; upon a speech of the Bishop of Beauvais's in the assembly of the States, in which he endeavoured to make out from an allusion to that place of the Gospel, 'The lilies spin not:' that the crown of France ought not to fall to the distaff. But that law could not prescribe to time past, but only to that which was to come; and consequently could not invalidate the King of England's pretensions. After this, Henry the Fifth, entering France with a powerful army, and having defeated the French in several battles, married Catharine, daughter to Charles the Sixth; and, in the year 1441, it was concluded, that Henry should be King of France. Isabella also, who was Queen of France, and mother to Catharine Queen of England, made her last will in favour of her son-in-law; declaring him therein the sole heir of all her estate and of the crown; which increases the just pretensions, and strengthens the rights of England to the kingdom of France.

Had the French King but half the pretensions to England, which the King of England has to France; the world would soon hear of nothing but manifests to prove them just, as he calls all he does.

So that the King of England ought upon all occasions, and in all respects, to suspect France, and to beware of him as a most dangerous enemy, who flattered and humoured his late Majesty[4], only to lull him asleep, that he might play his game without being disturbed or interrupted by him; who, whenever it shall please him to mind and be true to his own interest, will undoubtedly carry the greatest stroke in the affairs of Europe.

It is therefore no wonder, that King Lewis the Fourteenth spared nothing that might supply the necessities or provide for the pleasures of the late King Charles the Second, as Monsieur Barillon and the Duchess of Portsmouth can witness. But I must tell you, that the French King considers nobody, whether prince or private person, any further than as they may be serviceable to promote his own ends; yea, virtue itself is not esteemed by him, except it go hand in hand with his interest. Do but consider what account he made of the Princes and Princesses of England in Cromwell's time. Were they not obliged to quit France, and to seek for entertainment elsewhere? And it is notorious, that he never contributed any thing towards the late King's restoration, till it was past his skill to hinder it.

So that, upon the whole, neither the resentment of the royal family, nor the interest of England, will allow of such strict alliances with France, as might tie up the King of England's hands, and make him an idle spectator, whilst Lewis the Great makes himself master of the Low-countries; but on the contrary, he must always be ready to oppose any the least attempt he shall make toward it; making use in the mean time of the six regiments he has in Holland, which the States will not deny him on that account, till he can send some other troops over to Flanders. I am persuaded that those six regiments will be able to make head against double the number of Frenchmen; and, when England shall thus be pleased but to shew its teeth, all Europe will thereby be safe. 'Resist the 'Devil, and he will fly from you; but, if you fear him, he will make you his slaves.' France has cut out work enough for King James the Second, and the business that he hath taken in hand is so great, that many people fear, and others hope, he will never compass it. It is not a time to alter old laws, when the enemy is at the gates; it is not always seasonable for a King to act the missionary[5]; but much more requisite, that he shew himself a brave soldier and a good politician. All the world was in expectation of great things from his Majesty; his courage put all Europe in hopes of an universal relief, and some respite for Spain; but how has he frustrated and befooled their hopes, whilst his sole study is to please the Jesuits, and to kindle a fire in his own kingdom; which probably he will never be able to quench, when he would, as long as he dares not convene a free Parliament.

As Spain became depopulated by the departure of the Moors, so is France greatly weakened and impoverished by the dragoon conversion, and flight of the Protestants; and the French King would fain see England brought to the same pass. It is a presumption to rob God of his right, it is to him the honour of converting does belong, that work surpassing the power and activity of a creature. So, leaving that care to God, the King of England ought to lay out his endeavours about preserving his dominion from becoming a prey to that ambitious Prince, by obliging him to keep within his own bounds, and not to incroach upon his neighbours' territories; and in so doing, the King will make good the hopes and expectation Europe had conceived of him.

The Designs of France against the United Provinces.

AFTER the States of the United Provinces had, by their powerful arms, constrained Spain to acknowledge them a free state, who owed allegiance to none but God alone;

[4] King Charles the Second.

[5] To preach religion to his subjects.

they were, for a time, the object of their neighbours' admiration and envy, every one endeavouring to court and make alliances with this growing state, which began to be looked upon as the umpire of Europe; but this high reputation of theirs has suffered a notable eclipse since the war of 1672, when France, having brought them to the very brink of destruction, pleased himself with the thoughts of seeing them tumble headlong into the pit he had digged for them: neither would he have been mistaken in his hopes, had not the people given a sudden and unlooked-for turn to the face of affairs, by declaring the Prince of Orange Stadtholder; the Providence of Almighty God, at the same time, concurring with their endeavours, to preserve that small spot of ground, by confounding and daunting their enemies, who, after the taking of Naerden, were struck with such a panick fear, that they ran away, none pursuing them.

Now, what contributed most to the mischiefs they were involved in at that time, was, that besides the treasonable correspondences which France held with some principal members of that government, they had neither any good troops, nor a commander in chief; and, relying on the peace and fair promises of France, they were well nigh lulled asleep by that fatal melody, whilst their King was hard at work to undermine the foundation of their dear-bought liberties and government. We find in time of peace the soldiers grow idle, as well as their arms rusty. Ease pleaseth and flatters us, and men are soon persuaded to lay aside the exercise of arms, to betake themselves to a more gainful way of living; so that, when the enemy approached, they are readier to embrace shame, when joined with profit and pleasure, than to strive for glory, surrounded with difficulties and dangers.

France knew very well, that so long as the United Provinces had no general, that soldiery could not be but in a very bad condition, and incapable of defending them from the attempts of a powerful enemy; wherefore he took special care, by cunning practices and false suggestions (exasperating the minds of the opposite party) to prevent the Prince of Orange's being advanced to those places of trust and dignity, his Royal Highness is now so deservedly possessed of[6]. By this means, the States grew daily weaker and weaker; their troops were dissipated, their fortifications neglected, their strongest holds went to decay, their magazines were unfurnished; whilst France was raising troops under-hand, and making secret alliances with England, the Elector of Cologne, and Bishop of Munster, in order to their final ruin. Du Plessis is much in the right, when he says, 'That a 'state is not to be judged strong or weak, but with relation to the strength or weakness 'of its neighbours; and that it is upon that score, that wise princes endeavour to keep 'themselves, as much as they can, in equal poise with their neighbours; to the end, they 'continue in peace and amity together: for, as soon as this fails, all peace and good cor-'respondence are dissolved, as being only grounded upon a mutual fear or esteem for one 'another.' Which is so true, that a prudent prince is always jealous of the least advance or motion of his neighbour, though in a time of truce or peace; and is continually upon his watch, endeavouring to be informed of his designs before they be brought forth: for, by this means, he puts him by his measures, and frustrates his purposes. In which point, many princes and states, who are too saving, fail very oft; and this covetousness of theirs costs them and their people very dear, by occasioning a most expensive war; which, at the first, by precaution, might have been prevented with a small matter. France is so well informed of this truth, that they neglect nothing in such cases, and their ambassadors in all the courts of Europe are supplied with money for that very purpose; who, knowing they cannot please their master better, than by corrupting one or more of the ministers of the prince or state at whose court they reside, are day and night contriving for it, and spare nothing to bring it about. Yea, when it happens that they cannot prevail with the man himself they aim at, they endeavour to gain his wife; or, in case they chance to be so unhappy as to fail there also, they condescend to make their application to some of their children; nay, so humble are they, and such slaves to their master's am-

[6] What clearer memorial would the Dutch have to bring them out of their present lethargy, when almost under the same delusion?

bition, that they will not stick to bribe their servants, and furnish them with money proportionable to the service they are able and willing to do them.

These are the maxims that speed their designs wonderfully well in such states as are governed by many heads, as the United Provinces; which are a great bar to the French King in his aim of conquering the Spanish Netherlands, who very well knows, that being master of the one, he cannot miss of the other. His great business therefore is, to lull the States of the United Provinces asleep with a truce, which he will break, when he pleases; being in hopes that their forces will, in the mean time, be neglected, in laying out themselves wholly to propagate and encourage trade and navigation. For that King is well aware, that the States, being awake and standing on their guard, will never consent to his possessing himself of the Spanish Netherlands; at least they ought not to do it; since that is the only bar and rampart which hinders France from overwhelming them, which they ought, therefore, by all means to endeavour to preserve whole and entire, as one would his neighbour's house from being set on fire.

What pains did not Count D'Avaux take to set one province against the other, and to sow divisions among the cities of Holland? How busy was he at Amsterdam! what proffers or promises did he spare to bring it about! Which is a thing so publicly known from that ambassador's frequent journeys to that great city, that the very children were not ignorant of it. We must not imagine that Mombas was alone engaged in this[7] treason against the state, but rather, that he, escaping into France, has left several behind him, that walk in the dark, and are not yet discovered. The best of it is, that Count D'Avaux begins to be known, and his insinuations not believed; he having but too long imposed upon the credulity and good-nature of many, who, now perceiving the cheat, will scarcely suffer themselves to be decoyed a second time. And, as France was diligent to sow these divisions and jealousies amongst them at home, so was he no less industrious in fomenting differences between England and them; as knowing very well, that these neighbouring powers, when joined together, are able to give check to his pride, and set bounds to his ambition. How pleasing a sight is it to the French King to see them engaged one against each other, and pursuing his interest at so vast an expence of their own blood and treasure! The last war between those two states was some difference about matters of commerce, and, whilst the King of England was arming, the French King offered to engage in a treaty with Holland; on purpose to amuse and divert them from putting themselves in a posture of defence, as they soon after perceived; when France, instead of concluding the treaty, begun with them, and declared himself for England; and, whilst the latter attacked them by sea, he invaded their country with a puissant army; and, supposing the conquest of those provinces indubitable, they had before-hand divided them amongst themselves, England being to have for his share all the maritime places, and France all the rest; Amsterdam only proved a bone of contention, and occasioned some difference between them, both the one and the other desiring it for his share; though indeed they had no reason to be in a heat about it, seeing all this was but reckoning without their host, God preserving it from falling into either of their hands. Thus, a peace being at last concluded with England, the spirit of France was at work again, to withdraw the states from their allies; and, finding that things were about to change face, and that the Dutch, being roused by a discovery of the artifices and treachery of France, began to look about them, and their troops, having a good general[8] at the head of them, became considerable and formidable; he thought fit, for a while, to dismiss the lion and act the fox; restoring Maestricht unto them, in order to obtain the peace of Nimeguen. Since which time, that King has contented himself to bark afar off, and was so apprehensive of the States raising the last six-thousand men, that Count D'Avaux spared nothing to prevent it[9], and will do so still, as often as the States shall go about to arm themselves;

[7] And whoever reads of the negociations of Mr. Belisle in Germany, and the intrigues of Mr. Chetardie of late in Muscovy, cannot think that these two Ministers fall any wise short in the art of lying, treachery, corruption and treason.

[8] William, Prince of Orange.

[9] Did not Mr. Fenelon do the same lately?

because that would stop the great Lewis in the full career of his conquests, and make his designs to prove abortive. I say again, that it is the great concern of Holland, not to suffer the Spanish Netherlands to be lost, except they desire, at the same time, to become a prey to the usurper. For, how easily will he find an occasion of quarrel with them? And, if all else fail, he will make out his pretensions and right to those provinces; for that they formerly belonged to Mary of Burgundy, Philip the First, Charles the Fifth, and afterwards to Philip the Second; who were, without contest, the lawful possessors thereof; and that (afterwards rebelling) they obtained, by force, an acknowledgment of their being a free state. He will proffer to maintain them in all their liberties and privileges, and the free exercise of their religion, in case they willingly submit to him; which if they should hearken to, he will by little and little clip their franchises, and remove all Protestants from places of trust, as he has done at home; and, if they yield not willingly, he will attack them with an armed hand, as he did in 1672; being sure the Roman Catholick princes will not oppose him, because he has blinded their eyes with the false pretence of religion. But, if the House of Austria be not aware betimes of the snares he lays for them under these specious pretexts, they will find themselves deceived, when it is too late to recall their inadvertency.

To return to the United Provinces; I say, they ought, next to God, not to rely upon any thing so much as their own forces; and having nothing so much to fear as France, they ought to provide and strengthen themselves against his power chiefly, who has, for this great while, been plotting and contriving their final overthrow; or, at least, the bringing of them so low, as to be forced to depend solely upon, and truckle under him. It has some time since been observed, that France has had a strong desire to make Holland listen to the proposal and treaty, which the wolf in the fable made with the sheep: "Put away from you (said the wolf to those harmless creatures) your shepherd and dog; and we will make an alliance, and live in love and amity together." In like manner says Lewis the Great, "Dismiss your General, and disband your old troops; for, to what purpose those unnecessary charges in a time of peace: especially, being so well assured of our friendship, by the truce I am engaged in, and the word of a King, which you may safely rely on, that we will live in all amity and good correspondence with you?" But what says the Italian: 'Trust not, if thou wouldst not be cheated.' So that it is still safest for Holland to rely wholly on its own strength, and to have always a good fleet at sea, to serve for convoy and cruising, besides a reserve in readiness to join with them, in case of need. A good navy may well be called, 'the right hand of that government;' being of great use in dispelling many clouds and ill designs which France hatcheth against his neighbours. And, if ever the States should come to a resolution, continually to keep in pay a certain number of seamen, to be ready to be put a-board their men of war, at any time; this would produce a double effect.

The first is, that the States would always have men ready at hand, upon occasion, (without the expence of trouble and time in raising of them,) who, by their continual employment, would be trained up, and well used to the sea, and naval conflicts.

The second is, that by this means they would not fail to draw a great number of seamen from the neighbouring coasts; continual pay being no small encouragement to mariners, to betake themselves to the service of those that offer it; but more especially the States' subjects, in foreign service, would not fail to return to their own country, to enjoy the benefit of being maintained all the year round.

To effect which, the States need only to publish a placart, strictly enjoining all seamen, their subjects, in foreign service, to return home. True indeed it is, that the navy of France will but be little the better for it; for I dare affirm, they can fit out very few men of war, without putting some Dutch mariners, especially pilots, a-board them; as trusting more to their knowledge and experience than their own, who are often at a loss in long voyages. Which good and wholesome resolution, whenever the States shall be pleased to take, you will presently see the spirit of France strangely exasperated and disturbed, and

his ambassador running from one city to another, to represent his master's just reasons against it. But it is hoped, that as Count D'Avaux has much laid open himself to an obvious discovery, by the small effects his promises have had hitherto, as not being seasoned with the salt of truth and honesty (the main thing that keeps up the credit and reputation of a minister in foreign countries), so he will do nothing but catch cold. However, I cannot deny, but the French King is beholden to that great minister, for his having inspired a fondness for France into the minds of several of the States' subjects, which their Lordships have no reason to thank him for. Besides this, France receives no small service from the Jesuits, and other foreign priests, residing in the United Provinces; who have pensions allowed them, to pry into, and engage the inclinations of many there. These spies are in the prince's court, where they have friends, by whose means they make a shift to pry into the very secrets of the cabinet. How many of this sort of cattle are there in the States' troops and garrisons, who have their correspondents at the Hague, where the general office of intelligence is kept, as being the center of that government? This is a thing that ought to be more narrowly looked to, these spies being no other but the emissaries of France, who is always restless, and spared nothing that may further his designs. I remember, that not long since, four ducatoons a week were proffered a servant of a deputy of the States, only to report what he heard from his master, at table, or in conversation with others; but the servant, with sharp words, rejected the proffer, as became an honest man.

This instance shews, that France sets upon people every way; and that, therefore, one had need always to stand upon his guard to avoid the blow. I have also observed, that there are another sort of petty spies, that run up and down the chief towns, especially the Hague, daily shifting their ordinaries, except they find occasion to stay longer, and are in prospect of some advantage to be reaped there; of whom those, who are obliged to frequent such houses, ought to beware. Others intrude themselves into companies, or resort to the court, and go to see the prince and princess at dinner and supper, to hear and see what is said or done there; and, as soon as they have heard or seen any thing of concern, you see them run like foot-boys to the French ambassador; who, for a reward, invites them to stay and eat with him, he now entertaining scarce any but such at his table. I could name a dozen of them, who, to my knowledge, are employed in this way, besides those that do it more secretly, and go to the offering only at night, and through the stable-door.

Count de Caravas, one of these spies of great note, (though, in my judgment, of as little use,) was not so cautious; who, coming from court, would go into the ambassador's at the fore-door, in the middle of the day, to communicate to him his collections. Two persons, whom I know to be Jesuits, though in the garb of officers, resort every day to the prince's rising, dinner, and supper; and continually attend the court, where they have so many friends, or at least so much cunning, as to be able to procure their Catholic friends some employment; who are all emissaries of France, and wholly devoted to the service of that King. Others have put themselves to serve even in the kitchen, where such sort of cattle are very dangerous. Therefore, I conclude, that both the States and Prince of Orange ought even in all respects, and at all times, to be very cautious of the wicked and unchristian maxims and designs of France; the King himself being a false and perjured person, who, under pretence of establishing the Roman Catholic religion every where (though by his wicked life and breach of faith he denies all religion) has no other aim, but to extend his dominion to the uttermost bounds of Europe, and to that end to destroy first all the Protestant princes, and then the Roman Catholic too; that so he may cause himself to be proclaimed not the Emperor of the Romans only, but of all Europe: and certain it is, that nothing can serve him as a bridge to the universal monarchy, but Holland; which, from his Versailles, he looks upon with a most envious eye. So that the States and people of those provinces have great reason to mind the advice of our Saviour to the Jews: 'Watch, for you know not what hour the thief will come.' To

which I add: 'Be ready, therefore, to oppose him when he shall come to break into the house, and usurp his neighbour's territories; and be sure to look upon France as a sworn enemy to republics, and the plague and scourge of all, that will not yield their liberties up to him.'

True it is, he fears the States more than he loves them; care, therefore, must be taken, to be always in such a condition as may still keep him so; and to make him know himself, whenever he shall so far forget himself, as to meddle with what he has nothing to do. All the remonstrances made by Count d'Avaux, as soon as he sees the States putting themselves in a posture of defence, must not be minded, as being merely upon design; for we may be sure that minister would not make them, were it not for the promoting of his master's interests.

A short History of the English Rebellion. Completed in Verse, by Marchamont Nedham, and formerly extant in his weekly Mercurius Pragmaticus.

London, printed in 1661[1].

[Quarto, containing Fifty Pages.]

WHEN as we liv'd in peace (God wot)
A King would not content us;
But we, forsooth, must hire the Scot,
To all-be-Parliament us.

Then down went King and Bishops too;
On goes the holy wirk,
Betwixt them and the Brethren blue,
T' advance the Crown and Kirk.

But when that these had reign'd a time,
Robb'd Kirk, and sold the Crown;
A more religious sort up climbe,
And crush the Jockies down.

But now we must have peace again,
Let none with fear be vext;
For, if without the King these reign,
Then heigh down they go next.

A peace, a peace, the Country cries,
Or else we shall be undone;
For this brave war we thank the wise
Confiding men of London.

Sure now they may, as well as we,
Know how to value quiet,
When th' Army comes their guests to be,
For a twelvemonth's cash and diet.

Free-quarter is a tedious thing,
And so is the Excise.
None can deliver us but the King,
From this damn'd Dutch device.

The Parliament hath serv'd seven years;
True vengeance then we see,
Upon feign'd jealousies and fears;
For yet they are not free.

Long peace a plenty did beget,
And plenty brought forth pride:
Through pride to faction men were set
In parties to divide.

The new-form'd Priests first led the way,
And said it was no sin
By force to drive the King away,
And draw the City in.

The Lords and Commons they consent
To what each Rabbi saith;
And so the Catholic down went,
T' advance the public faith.

This brought a war and taxes on,
T' enslave a free-born people:
And now the work is thus far gone,
Next have at Crown and Steeple.

[1] [At the end of 'A true Character of a rigid Presbyter,' in prose, and called 'the *second* edition'.]

Our wise Reformers, brave and gay,
Have ta'en a goodly course,
To fight, to feast, to fast and pray,
And milk each honest purse.

The Crown's revenue goes to wrack,
While they sing hymns and psalms;
And, rather than themselves will lack,
The King must live on alms.

'We are (the learned Synod says)
The Church of England's nurse,
Who make them bless the Sabbath-days,
And all the week to curse.'

The plough stands still, and trade is small;
For goods, lands, towns, and cities,
Nay, I dare say, the Devil and all,
Pays tribute to Committees.

A Scot and Jesuit, join'd in hand,
First taught the world to say,
That Subjects ought to have command,
And Princes to obey.

These both agreed to have no King;
The Scotchman he cries further,
"No Bishop;" 'tis a godly thing
States to reform by murther.

Then th' Independent, meek and sly,
Most lowly lies at lurch,
And so, to put poor Jocky by,
Resolves to have no Church.

The King dethron'd, the Subjects bleed!
The Church hath no abode;
Let us conclude they 're all agreed,
That sure there is no GOD.

Our States-men (though no lunatics,
No wizards, nor buffoons)
Have shewn a hundred changeling tricks,
In less than three new-moons.

The Devil's foot is cleft (men speak)
And so (God knows) are they:
The Factions rule by fits, then take
Their turns, and run away.

They vote, unvote, and vote with noise
What they cry'd down before,
As ready as if London boys[a]
Were knocking at the door.

To-day an Independ outside;
And then a Scotch to-morrow;
Thus shuffle and cut, they do divide
Our wealth, whilst we know sorrow.

O happy treason! See how wealth
Is made their heaven! They swell
With pride; and live by blood and stealth,
As if there were no hell!

No Sadducees but must confess,
Those monsters, which are told
In story, are risen now no less
Prodigious than of old.

Both Cain and Judas back are come,
In vizards most divine;
God bless us from a pulpit-drum,
And a preaching Catiline.

They feed upon a kingdom's curse,
And prey upon a King!
The Dev'l provide a second course,
And then a voider bring.

Now, Charles, thy conquest is compleat,
And all the world shall see,
That God, which guides the Royal Scot,
Will thy avenger be.

O House of Commons, House of Lords,
Amend before September:
For 'tis decreed, your souldiers' swords
Shall then you all dismember.

But like fair chapmen 'twas well done,
To give you time and day
To cast accompts; for, one by one,
They will you soundly pay.

The kingdom all in pieces torn!
Your time is fairly spent;
To make yourselves a very scorn,
Your King but Jack-a-Lent.

Now, now, we see 'twas for the crown
The Houses both did fight:
For, since the Cavaliers are down,
They put the King to flight.

[a] This refers to the petition of the tumultuous rabble of the London apprentices against the King and Bishops.

The Adjutators, stern and proud,
Said, he should have no quarter,
Because he is a King; and vow'd
To make the Saint a Martyr[3].

Their officers cry'd, " Hail, O King;"
The rest made mocks and scorns;
The Houses vinegar did bring,
And all did plat the thorns.

Thus crucify'd, Great Charles did live
As dead, is gone away:
For Resurrection, God will give
A new cor'nation-day.

Rouse up! King Charles hath miss'd the snare
Laid for his royal feet;
Let th' Adjutators now take care
Each for his winding-sheet.

The Army rendezvoused are,
And do they know not what;
The Scots and they are like to jar,
Let us thank God for that.

The Houses know not what to think;
The Cits horn-madded be:
They must be whipt, until they stink,
A joyful sight to see!

Thus, Cavaliers, cast up your caps,
And tell the Rebels plain,
That Charles, in spite of all their traps,
Shall shortly rule again.

For liberty, and priviledge,
Religion, and the King,
We fought; but O! the golden wedge!
That is the only thing.

There lies the cream of all the cause;
Religion is but Whig;
Pure privilege eats up the laws,
And cries, ' For Kings a fig.'

The Houses may a Christmas keep,
The Countrymen a Lent;
The Citizens (like silly sheep)
Must fast, and be content.

Then where is liberty (I pray)
With justice, truth, and right?
Sure they and conscience fled away
With Charles, to th' Isle of Wight.

Gape, gape for peace, poor Countrymen;
The Members mean to treat:
And we shall see fair play agen,
When they no more can cheat.

The King shall come to Westminster,
It may be to his grave;
Or, of a glorious Prince, must there
Be made a royal slave.

But 'twere more wise to let him reign
Out of his people's sight,
For fear he should bring peace again,
And put them in a fright.

Sure Martin lay in of a clap,
And Say himself did dote;
The Devill too wore a sick cap,
When th' Houses pass'd this vote.

Come, let us live, and laugh away
The follies of this age;
Treason breeds care; we'll sing and play
Like birds within a cage.

Fetters are th' only favors now
The Houses give (we see:)
And, since the King them wears, I vow,
'Twere baseness to be free.

Then let us all our sorrows drown
In sack and merry glee:
Ye Citizens of London town,
What jolly slaves are we!

For Common-prayer, ye have Excise;
Free-quarter too is coming
To pay you for your mutinies,
Feasts, covenants, and drumming.

No Puritan, no Popish Priest,
Nor Protestant now shall be;
Nor law, but to live as we list,
'Tis heaven thus to be free.

Could Babylon's great King now sit
In council with our nation,
He were the only man to fit
Us with a reformation.

[3] See the ' Dissenting Ministers' Vindication of themselves from the horrid and detestable Murder of King Charles the First,' as it immediately follows this history.

The glorious golden idol then
Might shine in each dominion;
Both factions and their brethren
Would soon be one opinion.

Away, thou Pagan-cavalier,
This god must not be thine;
But, for the Saints at Westminster,
Whose souls are more divine.

Live, drink, and laugh, our worthies may,
And kindly take their fills;
The Subjects must their reckonings pay,
The King must pass their bills.

No Princes now, but they; the crown
Is vanish'd with our quiet;
Nor will they let us use our own
Devotions and diet.

All plums the prophets' sons defy,
And spice-broths are too hot;
Treason's in a December-pye,
And death within the pot.

Christmas, farewell; thy day (I fear)
And merry days are done:
So they may keep feasts all the year,
Our Saviour shall have none.

O happy nation heretofore,
When seas our walls have been;
Unhappy now we see no shore,
But are all sea within.

Factions, like billows, rage and toss,
And death mounts ev'ry wave;
Yet in this storm we are so cross,
We will no pilot have.

Just such a tempest seiz'd upon
Bless'd Paul, the Scripture says,
When he had seen no sun nor moon,
Nor stars, for many days.

Our sun and moon no beams create,
Our stars dispers'd we see:
Such as was his, will be our fate,
We must all shipwreck'd be.

A glorious Prince this Parliament,
The King should be, did swear;
But now we understand they meant
In heaven, and not here.

Let them invade the throne, and part
His crown, and vote his fate;
Yet know, in each true noble heart,
He keeps his chair of state.

Princes may be, like other men,
Imprison'd, and kept under
A while, as fire in clouds, but then
At length appear in thunder.

And, as in hidden caves the wind
Sad tremblings doth create,
So Monarchs, by their own confin'd,
Cause earthquakes in the state.

Farewell the glory of our land;
For, now, the free-born blades
Our lives and our estates command,
And ride us all like jades.

Faith and religion bleeding lie,
And liberty grows faint:
No gospel, but pure treachery
And treason make the saint.

Oh! 'tis a heavenly cause (I trow)
Which first baptiz'd the Round-head
In noble Strafford's blood! but now
Must on the King's be founded.

Yet know, that Kings are gods on earth;
And those, that pull them down,
Shall find it is no less than death
To tamper with a crown.

'Tis true, as Harry Martin said,
The Scots away must pack;
The Cov'nant shall aside be laid,
Like an old almanack.

Come then, and buy my new, true, new,
New almanack most true,
Such accidents of state to shew,
The like no age e'er knew.

Since that we lost our King and laws,
Since jealousies and fears,
Since peace, pure truth, and this foul cause,
It is full seven years.

Poor Charles pursu'd in forty-one,
Unking'd in forty-seven;
The eighth will place him on his throne,
In earth, or else in heaven.

Three kingdoms brought to a fine pass,
Whilst that our saviours rule,
The Country is become an ass,
The City but a mule.

Each University now pines,
The Church may hang and rot;
They banish all our true divines,
The lawyers too must trot.

Come, Sirs, more sacks unto the mill,
More taxes, more free-quarter;
'Tis fit our Laws be your bare will,
And the Excise our charter.

God speed the plough; plague rooks and crows,
And send us years more cheap:
For, I am sure, whoever sows,
The Houses[4] mean to reap.

Money, the soul of man and wit,
But yet no saint of mine!
While th' Houses vote, and Synod sit,
Thou ne'er shalt want a shrine.

Reforming is a dull device,
Dreads nought but strife and rage;
Thou putt'st us into Paradise,
And bring'st the golden age.

Thou art religion, god, and all
That we may call divine;
Thy temple in Westminster-hall.
And all our priests are thine.

Tush, tell not us the way to heav'n,
Thou juggling clergy-elf,
That sett'st the world at six and seven;
Money is heav'n itself.

Betwixt those Atheists feign'd of old,
And ours, there is no odds;
For both this one opinion hold,
That fear did first make gods.

Hell now is thought an idle dream,
To fright men from their crimes;
Religion but a crafty theme,
Made to bug-bear the times.

The Bible and great Babel's whore
May both together burn;
For the religious fit is o'er,
Now they have serv'd their turn.

Only one text may 'scape their hands,
Since they have ta'en such pains
To lay their 'Lords in iron bands,'
And bind their 'King in chains.'

Copernicus, thy learned skill
We praise, since we have found
The truth; for now doth heav'n stand still,
Whilst that the earth runs round.

See how the wheel of Providence
Back old confusion brings!
Cashiers us once more of a Prince,
To plague 's with petty Kings.

They say, the Saints all rule must take,
And others must have none;
Their privilege it is to make
A footstool of the throne.

The laws o' th' land say, Charles must reign;
And conscience pleads his cause;
But conscience is a thing most vain,
Their gospel eats up laws.

Never such rebels have been seen,
As since we led this dance;
So we may feast, let Prince and Queen
Beg, a-la-mode de France.

Let conscience pine, and cry, 'Tis strange;
We'll say, 'Tis bravely done;
To make the King take, in exchange,
A dungeon for a throne.

Away with justice, laws, and fear;
When men resolve to rise,
Brave souls must scorn all scruples, where
A kingdom is the prize.

Then let us what our labours gain
Enjoy, and bless our chance;
Like Kings, let's domineer and reign,
Thus a-la-mode de France.

'King and no King' was once a play
Or fable on the stage;
But see! it is become this day
The moral of our age.

[4] Of Parliament.

Newcastle was the first best scene;
Then Holmby, Hampton-Court;
Next, from a palace to a den
Translated, to make sport.

Each state-buffoon a part did take;
Some play'd the fool, some knave;
But still the plot was laid to make
Their King a royal slave.

Brave actors! we admire your skill;
Your play none understands;
Yet, make an exit when you will,
We all shall clap our hands.

At Westminster two wond'rous beasts,
This day[5], are to be seen,
Call'd Liberty and Privilege;
(God save the King and Queen.)

Say, monsters strange, what kin are ye
To tygers, or the lion?
For shame, boast not your pedigree
From the sweet sons of Zion.

This Liberty first whelp'd the Cause;
The Cause then lay at lurch,
To gull the City, damn the Laws,
And quite cashier the Church.

But Privilege (O monstrous thing!)
Eats up poor Cavaliers;
Feeds on the Gentry and the King;
But next have at the Peers.

Once more the kingdom lies at stake;
No matter, then, who wins:
Two Schismaticks the wagers make,
And now the game begins.

The Scots and Sects, two godly cheats,
Debar both ace and sice;
To rook each other with fine feats,
They both bring in false dice.

The first throws for the Covenant;
Next, who shall rule and sway;
For Jocky now doth swear and rant,
He'll have no more foul play.

The sectaries cry'd, 'Have at all,'
When first the dice were thrown;
But, rather than the Scots shall brawl,
They'll part stakes in the crown.

The Devil's reign is short, though fierce;
Then let our musick sound;
The drawers all the hogsheads pierce,
And make the healths go round.

Here's a health to the King in sack,
To the Houses in small-beer;
In vinegar to the crabbed pack[6]
Of Priests at Westminster.

Next, to revive our fainting states,
Fill out some aqua-vitæ;
'Twere pity on the bridge such pates
Should meet in a committee.

Let 's water th' royal plants with tears
Of rich, divine Canary;
Drink on, Cav'liers, t' all loyal Peers;
Then end with Charles and Mary.

Full forty thousand Scots, by vote,
Must visit us ere long;
Brave army, sure! when ev'ry Scot
Is forty thousand strong!

Though th' Houses have deserv'd these plagues,
God keep our nation free;
Like Egypt, let not us by rags
And vermin conquer'd be.

For shame, for shame, call home your King,
With honour let him treat;
His nature is without a sting;
His motto, *To forget.*

Return, return, disloyal crew
Of men forsworn; if not,
Rather than thus we'll stoop to you,
We'll idolize the Scot.

Come, Mahomet, thy turn is next;
Now Gospel 's out of date,
The Alcoran may prove good text,
In our new Turkish state.

Thou dost unto thy priests allow
The sin of full four wives;
Ours scarce will be content with, now,
Five livings and nine lives.

[5] March 14, 1648.

[6] Synod of Divines.

Thy saints and ours are all alike,
Their virtues flow from vice;
No bliss they do believe, and seek,
But an earthly Paradice.

A Heav'n on earth they hope to gain;
But, we do know full well,
Could they their glorious ends attain,
This kingdom must be Hell.

From prison now return the King,
The Queen and Prince from France;
For chosen Charles the Welshmen sing,
And stoutly lead the dance.

The Scotch bag-pipes, the pulpit-drums,
And priests sound high and big;
Once more the Cause and Cov'nant comes,
To shew's a Scotish jig.

The Irish will a voyage take,
To join their force in one;
And, whilst they frisk a galliard, make
The Houses sing, 'O Hone.'

Three kingdoms thus must dance the hay;
But, ere the members run,
We'll see they shall the musick pay;
And then the dance is done.

Seven years, by phrentic votes and fits,
Our worthies bore command;
Then did they run out of their wits,
But now out of the land.

No more shall they the City ride,
Like a fine golden ass:
The Navy's rigg'd with wind and tide,
They stay but for a *pass*.

But, if they linger long behind,
And keep their King in bands,
I'll undertake, it shall be sign'd
By a hundred-thousand hands.

For prosp'rous gales then, on the deep,
Let their priests prate and pray
By order, and at Margaret's keep
An Humiliation-day.

The factious now each other rout,
With jealousies and fear;
The Independents face-about;
The rest cry, 'As you were.'

The Presbyters put forth their horns,
To guard their goods and homes;
The she-militia likewise scorns
Their cocks should lose their combs.

Then toll (I pray) the passing-bell
For our new State-committee; [swell,
These monstrous votes, which made them
Are cow'd down by the City.

Sweet John-a-Nokes, and John-a-Styles,
And worshipful Jack-Straws,
Of both the Juntos, leave your wiles,
And give's our King and laws.

Betwixt two thieves our Saviour once
Suffer'd for us, and dy'd;
So 'twixt two thievish factions
Our King is crucify'd.

Cæsar, not Christ, the ancient Jews
Pay'd tribute of their treasure;
Our Jews no King but Christ will chuse,
And rob, and cry down Cæsar.

Now for the King the zealous Kirk
'Gainst th' Independent bleats;
Whenas (alas!) their only wirk
Is to renew old cheats.

If they can sit, vote what they list,
And crush the new States down;
Then up go they; but neither Christ,
Nor King, shall have his own.

The p-x, the plague, and each disease,
Are cur'd, though they invade us;
But never look for health and peace,
If once Presbytery jade us.

When ev'ry Priest becomes a Pope,
Then tinkers and sow-gelders
May, if they can but 'scape the rope,
Be Princes and Lay-elders.

If once the Kirk-men pitch their tents
Without our Assembly-asses,
Synods will eat up Parliaments,
Courts be devour'd by classes.

Look to't, ye gentry, else be slaves
To slaves that can't abide you:
Though ye have been cow'd down by knaves,
Oh! let not fools now ride you.

But sev'n years (of a thousand 'tis)
Our Saints must Rulers be:
So they shall lose, in years of bliss,
Nine hundred ninety-three.

No more then let these Rabbies trust
Unto the Revelation;
For their interpreter is lust,
And pride makes application.

Religion but a pack-horse is,
To carry their designs;
The Bible like a juggler's box,
Us'd by our State-Divines.

Texts are tormented one by one,
Like votes, now here, now there:
Thus hocus-pocus is out-done
By them at Westminster.

The banes are ask'd, the marriage next
Goes forward in the City:
For now the match is made betwixt
Them and the State-Committee.

Thou, strumpet (London) tell not us
Of Babel any more;
If from thy King thou partest thus,
Thou art the greater whore.

Thy bags their portion now are meant,
As well as Crown and Church;
But, when that all is gone and spent,
They'll leave thee in the lurch.

Thou bawd of Treason, then, for all
Thy cursed fornication,
Thou and thy priestly panders shall
Be carted through the nation.

The market's made; the King shall treat,
(They say) and buy his own:
But is not this a very cheat
To set the price, a Crown?

Alas! the Members run by rote,
Aud shew us many a feat:
Thus all the year they'll vote, unvote,
For money, cloaths, and meat.

'Tis fit that they uphold their trades,
Whate'er Malignants speak:
So they can thrive, the City-jades
Their backs and necks may break.

Poor What-d'ye-lack small gains can show,
With many an empty shelf;
The House spoils shops, 'tis *aye* and *no*,
That brings in all the pelf.

Rebellion makes our nation bleed
With fresh alarms, we see;
But yet it is not well agreed
Who must the Rebel be.

The Round-head first the Rebel was,
(If truth be in the laws)
'Till Treason did for gospel pass,
To bolster up the cause.

The thriving Cause with high disdain,
In Fortune's full career,
Throws Rebel in the face again
Of King and Cavalier.

Thus prosp'rous mischief makes it good
Against all law and reason;
Not to spill royal, loyal blood,
But, to be conquer'd 's treason.

Five months ago[7], our mighty States
Were pleas'd to vote, *No King;*
But two months since, to act new cheats,
Their votes the changes ring.

'Tis time the bells of Westminster
Chime backwards and retire,
To quench the flame, when, as we hear,
The kingdom's all on fire.

But yet, it seems, they make a stand,
And cry it is no matter:
What need they care for fire on land,
Whose journey lies by water?

GOD send them ships, fair winds and tide,
With passage quick and good;
Or else I fear (to scourge our pride)
They'll swim through seas of blood.

The holy war goes on a-pace,
Yet brings the Saints no pay;
In triumph now they ne'er say grace,
But only fast and pray.

[7] June 20, 1648.

They many an hungry conquest get,
But no thanksgiving-dinners;
The City knows they scorn to eat
With publicans and sinners.

The Members cannot spare one meal;
Their bags lie seal'd in town;
What, though they broke the King's great seal,
They'll not undo their own?

The Country bids them starve, or hang,
They'll be no more kept under;
The Cavaliers will soundly bang
Them all, and spoil their plunder.

Reformation, thou stalking-horse
Of our hip-shotten state;
Th' appendix of the public purse,
And midwife of our fate!

'Twas thou and beldam Conscience first,
That set the world a madding;
And you yourselves, like Cain accurst,
Have ever since been gadding.

Pox take th' unlucky Cause, for me,
It is a wild vagary;
The bane of boon society;
For that first rais'd canary.

Poor sinners now must snap a crust;
Ye deadly Sev'n, farewell;
For, since you're all excis'd, we must
Pay dear to purchase hell.

What, though the Factions are agreed
The kingdom still to cheat?
Do what they can, it is decreed
The King shall come and treat.

Come from the dungeon to the throne,
(Great Charles,) and quell the rage
Of th' Iron world; with thee alone
Revives the Golden age.

Those very Saints, which joy'd thy fall,
And say thy day was done,
Will now, like Persian-Pagans, all
Adore the rising sun.

No more wrapp'd up in clouds remain,
Secluded from the nation;
May thou and thine shine bright, and reign
A glorious constellation.

It is decreed, great Prince, thy fate
Should check their damned plots;
Though London jade it for the State,
And bandies at the Scots.

The Presbyters now fain would ride,
And shew us t' other feat;
Therefore, to quell the Saint's high pride,
They say the King shall treat.

Were he in their hands, the Town's their own,
The Houses too must work,
To vote the Independents down,
And mount the rascal Kirk.

Away, ye juggling paltry crew
Of well-affected knaves;
Rather than free your Sov'reign, you
Yourselves will live like slaves.

Stand to't, ye Lords, we'll stand to you,
And clip the Commons' wings;
Let not the lev'ling rascal crew
Thus domineer like Kings.

The Lower is the Upper House,
And hath been so seven years;
Your votes they value not a louse,
Ye antichristian Peers.

They give you many a rattling peal,
And bait you one by one;
For, should a treaty take, their zeal
And saintships are undone.

My Lords, of Gotam, not of Greece,
Your wisdoms I shall sing;
And sell you all for pence a-piece,
If you reject your King.

No camel, like the London breed,
To drudge, pray, pay, and feast
In body and in purse to bleed;
O, 'tis a patient beast!

If you'll needs pray, pray stay at home;
Tell God your sad condition;
'Tis popish to the Saints to come
And put up your petition.

This wond'rous idol of the state
The stomach hath of Bell;
Like Moloch it mankind doth eat,
And quick devours like hell.

As th' horse-leech, "Give," it ever cries,
And rages like the dragon;
As the old serpent it is wise;
But it must fall like Dagon.

Would you know why the plague has ceas'd,
These last sev'n years now spent?
Because God knows no greater pest
Than this same Parliament[8].

How many thousands hath it swept
Of bodies, souls, and gold!
King, Church, and People, none except,
Have all been bought and sold.

Our merry pipes, for trumpets shrill;
Our tabers chang'd to drums;
Princes are brav'd by Jack and Jill,
Wat Tilers and Tom Thumbs.

'Tis time those bags, which caus'd the war,
Should make the war to cease;
For the state's musick is to jar,
But our best musick's peace.

Now shall the King enjoy his own;
And that new virtue, Treason,
Whereby the Saints do claim the crown,
Be baffled with high reason.

Great Charles, thy virtues I desire,
Not Solomon's, nor his stores;
For who can tell most to admire
His wisdom or his whores?

His vices so eclips'd his grace,
That wranglers cannot tell,
Whether as yet they may him place
In heaven, or in hell.

But all that was in him divine,
And more, to thee is giv'n;
That, where so many graces shine,
A prison must be heav'n.

Another blow! will not the Scot,
And loyal English do?
Sure, Jove himself is of the plot,
An Independent too.

Is he a King, and will he see
Rebels assault the crown?
Had they but hands to reach, 'tis he
Should next resign his own.

Is he a God? And shall this tribe
Go on, as they begin?
Atheists will say, they do him bribe
For privilege to sin.

If these be saints, 'tis vain indeed
To think there's good or evil;
The world will soon be of this creed,
No God, no King, no Devil.

Of all those monsters which we read
In Africk, Inde, or Nile,
None like to those now lately bred
Within this wretched Isle.

The cannibal, the tyger fell,
Croc'dile and sycophant;
The Turk, the Jew, and Infidel,
Make up an English Saint.

By these were Lisle and Lucas crown'd[9];
Two worlds, both great and good;
For men, arts, arms, were all here drown'd
I'th' deluge of their blood.

The trump of fame's too low and weak,
That of the general doom
Is only fit their praise to speak,
The world to be their tomb.

The treaty holds; and some men are
Convinc'd the wars will cease;
Fond folk! to think the men of war
Will e'er endure a peace.

Go bid the Scot quit English ground,
The Swede the German air;
Holland obey the Spanish crown,
The Pope leave Peter's chair.

[8] [In 1648.]

[9] [Sir George Lisle and Sir Charles Lucas, for their gallant defence of Colchester, were at the surrender of that place ordered to be shot, by a council of war convened by Fairfax.]

Woo the great Statesman to his grave,
Preach Gospel to the Jews;
To Turks, that Mahomet's a knave,
Platonic love to stews.

Let Citizens loath sacred things,
Presbyters pride and ease;
When these are done, make Saints love Kings,
And then we may have peace.

See in what glory Charles now sits,
With truth to conquer treason;
And prove he is the King of wits,
The world, himself, and reason.

Angels bear witness, GOD looks down,
The graces to attend;
Sure none but devils then will frown
Upon a blessed end.

Ten hundred thousand loyal hearts,
All bleeding at his fate;
As many wishes from all parts
Fly round his chair of state.

Come then, ye dirty sainted elves,
Worse than church-window paint;
By this fair glass abhor yourselves,
Learn here to be a Saint.

The King the four great bills must pass,
And none but Saints are free;
Th' Irish and Cavaliers, alas!
Must th' only rebels be.

New Lords, new Laws, new Saints are we,
Religion's in fine pickle;
When 'tis resolv'd the Church shall be
A Three-years Conventicle.

Militia too, they needs must gain,
Those pretty carnal tools:
For Paul's old weapons they disdain,
As fit for none but fools.

Thus royally Charles lets to lease,
Lays sword and scepter down;
To shew he values us and peace
Above a glorious crown.

Give me the dragon's gall for ink,
His sting to be my pen;
To blast the Scot, and make him stink,
Worse than the dregs of men.

See now the Reformation-wirk,
For which they made us bleed;
Is to cashier King, Church, and Kirk,
On this and that side Tweed.

Let them with Egypt's plagues be crost,
Yet still find new and worse;
And, since I have Job's patience lost,
Give me his skill to curse.

At home and hell may they e'er dwell:
And for quick passage thither,
As they have juggled all full well,
So may they hang together.

Let me be Turk, or any thing,
But a Scotch Calvinist;
First, he damn'd bishops; next, his King;
Now he cashiers his Christ.

Gude faith, Sir, they the pulpit bang,
But let their Gospel down;
For the old Saviour needs must gang,
Now a new one's come to town.

The Saints, whom once their mouths did curse,
Dear brethren are and friends;
Which proves their zeal a stalking-horse
For knavish-godly ends.

Then rail no more at Antichrist,
But learn ye to be civil;
And, since ye have King Cromwell kiss'd,
Shake hands too with the Devil.

Since they have damn'd all Saints of old,
No new shall be for me;
Like Jews, they worship gods of gold,
Their King they crucifie.

Were he the KING of Kings, his crown
Could not be safe from foes;
Like Jesuits, they no Gospel own,
But Murther and Depose.

Like Turks, their heav'n lies all in sense,
In wenches, tarts, and jelly;
No hell they fear, when parted hence;
They serve no god but belly.

All this, and more, (by Jove,) is true,
If they the treaty cease,
To juggle with the Lev'ling Crew
That cry, 'No King, no peace,'

'No Lord, no Knight, no Gentleman;'
For honours now are crimes;
The Saints will form us, if they can,
All to the prim'tive times.

Brave days, when Adam was a King
Without crown, lands, or riches!
So, stripp'd of royal robes, they'll bring
Great Charles to fig-leave breeches.

Princes with plowmen rankt shall pass;
Ladies, like the first woman,
Must spin, or else be turn'd to grass,
Now all things are in common.

Thus Cov'nanting and Levelling
Three Kingdoms have o'erthrown,
And made all fellows, with their King,
A foot-ball of the crown.

Tell me, thou Presbyterian ass,
Why thou at first didst jar?
Thy peevish plea, 'No Bishops,' was
The first ground of the war.

Next, to thy shame thou didst combine
With the Sectarian routs;
Our Charles should be no King of thine,
Or but a King of clouts.

Both King and Bishops thus exil'd,
The Saints, not yet content,
Now with fresh flames of zeal grow wild,
And cry, 'No Parliament.'

Well may we then this maxim prove,——
Treason no end can know,
But levels at the gods above,
As well as those below.

Hark, how for peace the Kingdom groans,
That warr'd they knew not why!
Yield then, or else the very stones
Will out against you cry.

For shame, ye bastard-saints, give o'er,
Or else the world will think,
Your mother is great Babel's whore,
If blood you love to drink.

The State's grown fat with orphans' tears,
Whilst widows pine and moan;
And tender Conscience, in sev'n years,
Is turn'd t' a heart of stone.

Return, hard hearts, the Treaty ends,
Our breasts with hope do swell,
Your bags are full, then let's be friends,
Or bid the world farewell.

Nor gods above, nor gods below,
Our Saints (I see) will own;
Allegiance is rebellion now,
Treason to wear a crown.

Nor King, nor Parliament, will please,
'Tis gospel to rebel:
Nay, they'll remonstrate against peace,
Be it in heav'n or hell.

Pluto, beware, (to thee they come,
When here their work is done:)
For they'll break loose, and beat up drum,
And storm thee in thy throne.

Then John-a-Leyden, Noll, and all
Their goblin ghostly train,
(Brave Rebel Saints triumphant) shall
Begin their second reign.

Brave Reformation! now I see,
London's a blessed place,
To find the Saints their quarters free,
And nurse the babes of grace.

Let yellow boys ne'er tempt their sight
Of valour with the sources,
For the tame slaves will never fight,
Till they have empty purses.

Come then, ye lowsie, wanton wags
Of sainted chivalry,
And free their poor condemned bags
That groan for liberty.

March on, boon blades, here's store of cash,
Their King they will not pity:
Then spur them on, and soundly lash
These dull-men of the City.

Dull cuckolds! we are dainty slaves,
And well may be content,
When thirty fools, and twenty knaves,
Make up a Parliament.

They banish all men in their wits,
Vote King, Lords, all offenders;
And authorize the phrentick fits
Of our Long-sword State-menders.

'Tis Noll's own brew-house[10] now, I swear;
The Speaker's but his skinker:
Their Members are, like th' Council of War;
Car-men, pedlars, and tinkers.

Fine Journey Junto! pretty Knack!
None such in all past ages!
Shut shop; for, now the godly pack
Will next pay you your wages.

Gone are those golden days of yore,
When Christmas was an high-day,
Whose sports we now shall see no more;
'Tis turn'd into Good-Friday.

Now, when the KING of Kings was born,
And did salvation bring,
They strive to crucify in scorn
His Viceroy, and their King.

Since th' ancient feast they have put down,
No new one will suffice;
But the choice dainties of a crown,
Princes in sacrifice.

No powers are safe, Treason's a tilt,
And the mad Sainted-elves
Boast, when the royal blood is spilt,
They'll all be Kings themselves.

Like jolly slaves, ye godly knaves,
We'll bid th' old year adieu:
Old sack, and things must pass away,
And so shall all your new.

Now for a No-King, or a New;
For th' Old, they say, shall pack;
The New may serve a year to view,
Like an old almanack.

New Houses, new; for th' old ones dote,
And have been thrice made plunder;
The Saints do vote, and act by rote,
And are a nine-days wonder.

Then let us chear, this merry new year;
For *Charles* shall wear the crown;
'Tis a damn'd Cause, that damns the laws,
And turns all upside down.

[10] See Vol. I. p. 280.

The Dissenting-Ministers' Vindication of themselves, from the horrid and detestable Murder of King Charles the First, of glorious Memory. With their Names subscribed, about the Twentieth of January, 1648.

'For Zion's sake I will not hold my peace, and for Jerusalem's sake I will 'not rest, until the Righteousness thereof go forth as Brightness, and the Sal- 'vation thereof as a Lamp that burneth.' ISAIAH lxii. 1.

'My Son, fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that 'are given to Change.

'For their Calamity shall rise suddenly, and who knoweth the Ruin of them 'both?' PROVERBS xxiv. 21, 22.

London, printed in the Year MDCXLVIII.

[Quarto, Six Pages.]

IT cannot be unknown how much we, and other Ministers of this city and kingdom, that faithfully adhered to the Parliament, have injuriously smarted under the scourge of evil tongues and pens, ever since the first eruption of the unhappy differences and unnatural war between the King and Parliament; for our obedience to the commands and orders of the honourable Houses, in their contests with his Majesty, and conflict with his armies.

We are not ignorant of the over-busy intermeddlings of prelates and their party heretofore, in over-ruling civil affairs to the great endangering of the kingdoms, and of this in particular; when private interests, ambitious designs, revenge, or other sinister ends, engaged them beyond their sphere. Howbeit, it cannot reasonably (as we conceive) be denied, that Ministers, as subjects, being bound to obey the laws, and to preserve the liberties of the kingdom; and having an interest in them, and the happiness of them, as well as others, may, and ought (without incurring the just censure due to busy-bodies and incendiaries) to appear, for preserving the laws and liberties of that commonwealth, whereof they are members; especially in our case, when it was declared by the Parliament, that all was at stake, and in danger to be lost. No, nor as Ministers, ought they to hold their peace, in a time wherein the sins of rulers and magistrates, as well as others, have so far provoked God, as to kindle the fire of his wrath against his people. And yet, for this alone, the faithful servants of God have in all ages, through the malice of Satan and his instruments, been traduced as arch-incendiaries; when only their accusers are indeed guilty of both laying the train, and of putting fire to it, to blow up a kingdom.

And Ahab and his sycophants think not so fit to bear the odium of being the grand 'troubler of Israel,' as Elijah. Thus, the popish device was, to charge the Gun-powder Treason (had it taken effect) upon the Puritans; and, if you believe Tertullus, even a Paul is 'a pestilent fellow, a mover of sedition throughout the world, a ring-leader of a sect,' and what not, but what he is; yea, Christ himself (though a friend to monarchy, even of heathenish Rome) is proclaimed 'an enemy to Cæsar,' to open a way to his destruction, by their malice, who never cared for the interest of Cæsar.

Wherefore, although with us, who have had experience of like usage, 'it be a small 'thing to be thus judged of men,' when we regard only our own particular persons; for, 'if they call the master of the house Beelzebub; how much more those of his house- 'hold?' Yet when we consider, how much it concerns the honour of our Master, and

the good of all, to preserve our ministerial function immaculate, (our good names being in that relation as needful to others, as a good conscience to ourselves,) we dare not but stand by and assert the integrity of our hearts, and the innocency of all our actions (in reference to the King and kingdom), for which we are so much calumniated and traduced.

This we are compelled to at this time, because there are many who very confidently (yet more unjustly) charge us to have been formerly instrumental, towards the taking away the life of the King. And because also there are others, who in their scurrilous pasquils and libels (as well as with their virulent tongues) present us to the world as 'a bloody seditious sect; and traitorous obstructors, of what all the godly people of the kingdom do 'earnestly desire for establishing of religion and peace;' in that we stick at the execution of the King, while yet we are (as they falsely affirm) content to have him convicted and condemned; all which we must, and do from our hearts disclaim, before the whole world.

For, when we did first engage with the Parliament (which we did not till called thereunto), we did it with loyal hearts and affection towards the King, and his posterity. Not intending the least hurt to his person, but to stop his party from doing further hurt to the kingdom; not to bring his Majesty to justice (as some now speak), but to put him into a better capacity to do justice: 'To remove the wicked from before him, that his throne 'might be established in righteousness;' not to dethrone, and destroy him, which (we much fear) is the ready way to the destruction of all his kingdoms.

That which put on any of us at first to appear for the Parliament, was, 'The propositions and orders of the Lords and Commons in Parliament' (June 10, 1642,) for bringing in of money and plate, &c. wherein they assured us, that whatsoever should be brought in thereupon, should not be at all employed upon any other occasion, than to maintain 'the 'Protestant religion, the King's authority, his person in his royal dignity, the free course of 'justice, the laws of the land, the peace of the kingdom, and the privileges of Parliament; 'against any force which shall oppose them.'

And in this we were daily confirmed and encouraged more and more, by their many subsequent declarations and protestations, which we held ourselves bound to believe; knowing many of them to be godly and conscientious men of public spirit, zealously promoting the common good, and labouring to free this kingdom from tyranny and slavery, which some evil instruments about the King endeavoured to bring upon the nation.

As for the present actings at Westminster, since the time that so many of the members were by force secluded, divers imprisoned, and others thereupon withdrew from the House of Commons (and there not being that conjunction of the two Houses as heretofore), we are wholly unsatisfied therein; because we conceive them to be so far from being warranted by sufficient authority, as that in our apprehensions they tend to an actual alteration, if not subversion, of that which the Honourable House of Commons, in their declaration of April 17, 1646, have taught us to call, 'The fundamental constitution and government of this kingdom;' which they therein assure us, if we understand them, they would never alter.

Yea, we hold ourselves bound in duty to God, Religion, the King, Parliament, and Kingdom, to profess before God, Angels, and Men; that we verily believe that which is so much feared to be now in agitation, 'the taking away the life of the King,' in the present way of trial, is not only not agreeable to any word of God, the Principles of the Protestant religion (never yet stained with the least drop of the blood of a king), or the fundamental constitution and government of this kingdom; but contrary to them, as also to the oath of allegiance, the protestation of May 5, 1641, and the 'solemn league and covenant; 'from all or any of which engagements, we know not any power on earth able to absolve 'us or others.'

In which last, we have sworn with hands lifted up to the most high God, 'That we 'shall with sincerity, reality, and constancy, in our several vocations, endeavour, with our 'estates and lives, mutually to preserve and defend the rights and privileges of the Par'liaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms, and to preserve and defend the King's Ma'jesty's person and authority, in the defence of the true religion, and liberties of the

'kingdoms; that the world may bear witness with our consciences of our loyalty, and 'that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his Majesty's just power and great-'ness.'

And we are yet farther tied by another article of the same covenant, 'not to suffer 'ourselves directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion, or terror, to be 'divided or withdrawn from this blessed union and conjunction, whether to make defec-'tion to the contrary party, or to give ourselves to a detestable indifferency, or neutrality, 'in this cause which so much concerns the glory of God, the good of the kingdoms, and 'honour of the King; but shall, all the days of our lives, zealously and constantly con-'tinue therein against all opposition, and promote the same according to our power 'against all lets and impediments whatsoever.' And this we have not only taken our-selves, but most of us have by command of the Parliament administered it to others, whom we have thereby drawn in to be as deep as ourselves in this public engagement.

Therefore, according to that our covenant, we do in the name of the great God (to whom all must give a strict account) warn and exhort all who either more immediately belong to our respective charges, or any way depend on our ministry, or to whom we have adminis-tered the same covenant (that we may not by our silence suffer them to run upon that highly provoking sin of perjury), to keep close to the ways of God, and the rules of religion, the laws and their vows, in their constant maintaining the true reformed religion, the funda-mental constitution and government of this kingdom, (not suffering themselves to be sedu-ced from it, by being drawn in to subscribe the late models, or agreement of the people, which directly tends to the utter subversion of the whole frame of the fundamental govern-ment of the land, and makes way for an universal toleration of all heresies and blasphemies, directly contrary to our covenant, if they can but get their abetters to cover them under a false guise of the Christian religion,) as also in preserving the privileges of both Houses of Parliament, and the union between the two nations of England and Scotland; to mourn bitterly for their own sins, the sins of the City, Army, Parliament, and Kingdom, and the woful miscarriages of the King himself (which we cannot but acknowledge to be many and very great) in his government; that have cost the three kingdoms so dear, and cast him down from his excellency into an horrid pit of misery, almost beyond example. And to pray that God would both give him effectual repentance, and sanctify that bitter cup of divine displeasure, that the Divine Providence hath put into his hand; as also that God would restrain the violence of men, that they may not dare to draw upon themselves and the kingdom, the blood of their Sovereign.

And now, we have good reason to expect that they who brought us under such a bond, and thereby led us into the necessity of this present vindication and manifestation of our judgments, and discharge of our consciences, should defend us in it. However, we resolve rather to be of their number that tremble at His terrors who is 'a consuming fire,' and will not fail to 'avenge the quarrel of his covenant,' upon all that contemn it; than to be found among those who 'despise the oath by breaking his covenant' (after lifting up the hand), although it had been made but in civil things only, and that with the worst of men.

C. Burges, D. D. preacher of the word, in Paul's, London.
Will. Gouge, D. D. pastor of Black-friers.
Edmund Stanton, D. D. pastor of Kingston.
Thomas Temple, D. D. pastor of Battersey.
George Walker, pastor of John Evangelist.
Edmund Calamy, pastor of Aldermanbury.
Jeremiah Whitaker, pastor of Magdalen's, Bermondsey.
Daniel Cawdrey, minister of Martin's in the Fields.
William Spurstow, minister of Hackney.
La. Seaman, pastor of Allhallow's, Bread-street.
Simeon Asbe, minister of Michael's, Basing-shaw.
Thomas Case, minister of Magdalen's, Milk-street.
Nicholas Proffet, minister at Fosters.
Thomas Thorowgood, minister at Crayford.
Edward Corbet, minister of Croyden.
Henry Robourough, pastor of Leonard's, Eastcheap.

Arthur Jackson, pastor of Michael's, Wood-street.
James Nalton, pastor of Leonard's, Foster-lane.
Thomas Cawton, pastor of Bartholomew's, Exchange.
Charles Offspring, pastor of Antholin's.
Samuel Clark, minister of Bennet's, Fink.
Jo. Wall, minister of Michael's, Cornhill.
Fran. Roberts, pastor of the church at Austin's.
Matthew Haviland, pastor of Trinity.
John Sheffield, minister of Swithin's.
William Harrison, minister of Grace-church.
William Jenkyn, minister of Christ-church.
John Viner, pastor of Botolph's, Aldgate.
Elidad Blackwell, pastor of Andrew's, Undershaft.
John Crosse, minister at Matthew's, Friday-street.
John Fuller, minister at Botolph's, Bishopsgate.
William Taylor, pastor of Stephen's, Coleman-street.
Peter Witham, pastor of Alban's, Wood-street.
Fran. Peck, pastor of Nicholas's, Acons.
Christopher Love, pastor of Anne's, Aldersgate.
John Wallis, minister of Martin's, Ironmonger-lane.
Thomas Watson, pastor of Stephen's, Walbrook.
William Wickins, pastor of Andrew's, Hubbard.
Thomas Manton, minister of Stoke Newington.
Thomas Gouge, pastor of Sepulchre's.
William Blackmore, pastor of Peter's, Corn hill.
Robert Mercer, minister of Bride's.
Ralph Robinson, pastor of Mary's, Woolnoth.
John Glascock, minister at Undershaft.
Thomas Wheatley, minister at Mary's, Woolchurch.
Jonathan Lloyd, pastor of James's, Garlickhithe.
John Wells, pastor of Olave's, Jewry.
Benjamin Needler, pastor of Margaret's, Moses.
Nathaniel Staniforth, minister of Mary's, Bothaw.
Stephen Watkins, minister of Mary's, Overies.
Jacob Tice, pastor of Botolph's, Billingsgate.
John Stileman, minister at Rotherhithe.
Josiah Bull, pastor of North Cray.
Jonathan Devereux, late minister at Andrew's, Holbourn.
Paul Russell, preacher at Hackney.
Joshua Kirby, minister of the word.
Arthur Barham, pastor at Hellen's.

The very Beggars Petition against Popery.

Wherein they lamentably complain to King Henry the Eighth of the Clergy: 1. Of their abominable Covetousness and Oppression, in several Particulars; from § 3, to § 13. 2. Of their insatiable Lechery, being Devils at Women; and how they apply themselves, by all Sleights they may, to have to do with every Man's Wife, Daughter, and Maid, (as well Ladies, as meaner Persons, when they come in their Way); from § 13, to § 17. 3. They brought in Theft with them, and nourished it under them; § 17. 4. That they baffled all Laws; that none could take hold of them, though they ravished Men's Wives and Daughters, (which that cursed Crew would be at again, though not in that seeming holy Method, but now in an open, odious, debauched Way, like infernal Incubusses, who now have naturalized Succubusses for their Turn, &c.) for the Law was too weak to hold them; they making such as begin with them quickly to cease prosecuting them; § 18. 5. An Example hereof, see in the Bishop of London; § 19. 6. Though the Statute of Mortmain was made to prevent giving them any more, yet still they got more than any Duke; § 20 and 21. 7. Their yearly Exactions came by cursed Pretensions of praying People's Souls out of Purgatory, &c. § 22. 8. This Doctrine of Purgatory was always opposed by godly, learned Men; § 23 and 24. 9. Their hellish Policy, in not suffering the New Testament to be translated in the Mother-Tongue, lest their Hypocrisy and Cheating should be discovered; § 25, 26. 10. The Impudence of Dr. Allen, and Dr. Horsey, fined to the King, but afterwards therefore amply rewarded by the Clergy; § 27. 11. The Reason of this was, because the Chancellor was one of them, viz. a Clergyman; § 28. 12. The Cheat of giving Lands, or Money, to the Church for the Poor, or Masses; § 30. 13. They petition to turn these Blood-suppers out to labour, and get them Wives of their own; § 31. 14. The Benefits and Advantages of so doing, &c. § 31, 32. (These Arguments, and the like, prevailed with this King to cast off the Pope's Authority, and why any should be so foolishly wicked, as to think to return us to it, I know not; most certainly they will find themselves deceived, with a Vengeance, &c.)

Presented to King Henry the Eighth, in the Twenty-ninth Year of his Reign, *Anno Dom.* 1538, eight Years before his Death; and now printed *verbatim*, from a very old Copy, only mending the Authography, for the Ease of the Reader; making the several Sections, and collecting the foregoing Contents. (Worth perusing by both Papists and Protestant, for the one to see how his Forefathers and he have been, and are, gulled; and the other to see how he is like to be eternally abused, if he either through fear of Death, or otherwise, embrace Popery.)

[Folio, containing Six Pages; with a wooden Cut in the Title, representing King Henry the Eighth on his Throne, and a Committee of Beggars presenting their Petition.]

To the KING our Sovereign Lord.

MOST lamentably complaineth, their woful misery unto your Highness, your poor daily bede-men[1], the wretched, hideous monsters (on whom scarcely for horror

[1] This is an ancient word, signifying a poor alms-man, who pray daily for their benefactors; derived from the Saxon word *bidden*, to pray.

any eye dare look), the foul, unhappy sort of lepers, and other sore people, needy, impotent, blind, lame, and sick, that live only by alms; how that their number is daily so sore increased, that all the alms of the well-disposed people of this your realm is not half enough to sustain them; but that, for very constraint, they die for hunger.

2. And this most pestilent mischief is come upon your said poor bede-men, by the reason that there is (in the times of your noble predecessors passed) craftily crept into this your realm another sort[2] (not of impotent, but) of strong puissant, and counterfeit-holy, and idle beggars, and vagabonds, which, since the time of their first entry, by all the craft and wiliness of Satan, are now increased under your sight, not only into a great number, but also into a kingdom.

3. These are not the herds (or sheep), but the ravenous wolves, going in herds-clothing, devouring the flock; the bishops, abbots, priors, deacons, archdeacons, suffragans, priests, monks, canons, friars, pardoners and somners. And who is able to number this idle, ravenous sort, which (setting all labour aside) have begged so importunely, that they have gotten into their hands more than the third part of all your realm: the goodliest lordships, manors, lands, and territories are theirs. Besides this, they have the tenth part of all the corn, meadow, pasture, grass, wool, colts, calves, lambs, pigs, geese, and chickens. Over and besides the tenth part of every servant's wages, the tenth part of the wool, milk, honey, wax, cheese, and butter. Yea, and they look so narrowly upon their profits, that the poor wives must be accountable to them for every tenth egg, or else she getteth not her rights at Easter, shall be taken as an heretick; hereto have they their four offering-days.

4. What money pull they in by probates of testaments, privy tithes, and by men's offerings to their pilgrimages, and at their first masses. Every man and child that is buried must pay somewhat for masses and dirges[3] to be sung for him, or else they will accuse the dead's friends and executors of heresy. What money get they by mortuaries[4], by hearing of confessions, (and yet they will keep thereof no counsel,) by hallowing of churches, altars, super-altars[5], chapels, and bells; by cursing of men, and absolving them again for money.

5. What multitude of money gather the pardoners[6] in a year? How much money get the somners (i. e. parators) by extortion in a year? By citing the people to the commissaries court, and afterwards releasing their appearance for money. Finally, the infinite number of beggars friars, what get they in a year?

6. Here, if it please your Grace to mark, ye shall see a thing far out of joint; there are within your realm of England fifty-two thousand parish-churches; and this standing, that there be but ten households in every parish, yet are there five-hundred thousand, and twenty-thousand households; and of every of these households hath every of the five orders of friars a penny a quarter for every order; that is, for all the five orders five pence a quarter for every house; that is, for all the five orders twenty pence a year for every house: *Summa*, five-hundred thousand, and twenty-thousand quarters of angels; that is, two-hundred and sixty thousand half-angels; *Summa*, one hundred and thirty thousand angels: *Summa totalis*, forty-four thousand pounds, and three-hundred and thirty-three pounds, six shillings, and eight-pence sterling: whereof, not four-hundred years passed, they had not one penny. Oh, grievous and painful exactions, thus yearly to be paid; from the which the people of your noble predecessors, the Kings of the ancient Britons[7], ever stood free.

[2] See them described in the second §.

[3] The dead-office in the Church of Rome, which begins with *Dirige me, Domine*, &c.

[4] A mortuary was a gift left by a man, at his death, to his parish-church; for the recompence of his personal tithes and offerings, not duly paid in his life-time.

[5] These are square stones, to be removed at the priest's pleasure, to say mass upon; by some called, 'portable altars.'

[6] Those employed by the Pope to grant indulgences.

[7] Before the Conquest: for William the Conqueror, having engaged the Pope to countenance his unjust invasion upon this Isle, in return, oppressed the subjects in this manner, to gratify the Pope.

7. And this will they have, or else they will procure him that will not give it them, to be taken as an heretick. What tyrant ever oppressed the people like this cruel and vengeable generation? What subjects shall be able to help their Prince, that be after this fashion yearly polled? What good Christian people can be able to succour us poor lepers, blind, sore, and lame, that be thus yearly oppressed? Is it any marvel that your people so complain of poverty? Is it any marvel that the taxes, fifteenths, and subsidies, that your Grace, most tenderly of great compassion, hath taken among your people, to defend them from the threatened ruin of their commonwealth, have been so slothfully, yea painfully, levied? Seeing that almost the uttermost penny that might have been levied, hath been gathered before, verily by this ravenous, cruel, and insatiable generation.

8. The Danes, neither the Saxons, in the time of the ancient Britons, should never have been able to have brought their armies, from so far, hither unto your land to have conquered it, if they had at that time such a sort of idle gluttons to find at home. The noble King Arthur had never been able to have carried his army to the foot of the mountains, to resist the coming down of Lucius the Emperor, if such yearly exactions had been taken of his people. The Greeks had never been able to have so long continued at the siege of Troy, if they had had at home such an idle sort of cormorants to fine. The ancient Romans had never been able to put all the whole world under their obeisance, if their people had been thus oppressed.

9. The Turk, now in your time, should never be able to get so much ground of Christendom, if he had in his empire such a sort of locusts to devour his substance. Lay then these sums to the aforesaid third part of the possessions of the realm, that you may see whether it draw nigh unto the half of the whole substance of the realm, or not; so shall you find that it draweth far above.

10. Now let us then compare the number of this unkind, idle sort unto the number of the lay-people; and we shall see whether it be indifferently shifted or not, that they should have half? Compare them to the number of men; so are they not the hundredth person. Compare them to men, women, and children; then are they not the four-hundredth person in number. One part therefore, in four-hundred parts divided, were too much for them, except they did labour. What an unequal burthen is it, that they have half with the multitudes, and are not the four-hundredth person of their number? What tongue is able to tell, that ever there was any commonwealth so sore oppressed, since the world began?

11. And what do all these greedy sort of sturdy, idle, holy thieves, with these yearly exactions that they take of the people? Truly nothing, but exempt themselves from the obedience and dignity from your Grace unto them; nothing, but that your subjects should fall into disobedience and rebellion against your Grace, and be under them? As they did unto your noble predecessor King John, which, because that he would have punished certain traitors that had conspired with the French King to have deposed him from his crown and dignity (among the which a clerk called Stephen, whom afterwards, against the King's will, the Pope made Bishop of Canterbury, was one) interdicted[3] his land. For the which matter your most noble realm wrongfully, (alas, for shame!) hath stood tributary, not to any kind, temporal prince; but unto a cruel, devilish blood-supper, drunken in the blood of the Saints and Martyrs of Christ ever since. Here were a holy sort of prelates, that thus cruelly could punish such a righteous King, all his realm, and succession, for doing right.

12. Here were a charitable sort of holy men, that could thus interdict an holy realm, and pluck away the obedience of the people from their natural Liege Lord and King, for his righteousness. Here were a blessed sort, not of meek herds, but of blood-suppers, that could set the French King upon such a righteous Prince, to cause him to lose his crown and dignity; to make effusion of the blood of his people; unless this good and blessed King, of great compassion, more fearing and lamenting the shedding of the blood

[3] Excommunicated.

of his people, than the loss of his crown and dignity, against all right and conscience, had submitted himself unto them. O case most horrible, that ever so noble a King's realm and succession should thus be made to stoop to such a sort of blood-suppers! Where was his sword, power, crown, and dignity become, whereby he might have done justice in this manner? Where was their obedience become, that should have been subject under his high power, in this matter? Yea, where was the obedience of all his subjects become, that for maintenance of the common-wealth, should have holpen him manfully to have resisted these blood-suppers to the shedding of their blood? Was it not altogether, by their policy, translated from this good King to them?

13. Yea, and what do they more? Truly nothing but apply themselves (by all the sleights they may) to have to do with every man's wife, every man's daughter, and every man's maid; that cuckoldry should reign over all among your subjects; that no man should know his own child; that their bastards might inherit the possessions of every man, to put the right begotten children clear beside their inheritance, in subversion of all estates and godly order. These be they, that by their abstaining from marriage, do let the generation of the people; whereby all the realm, at length, if it should be continued, shall be made desert and uninhabitable. They mean, that for this sin of whoredom, God's vengeance would fall on the land.

14. These be they, that have made an hundred-thousand idle whores in your realm, which would have gotten their living honestly in the sweat of their faces, had not their superfluous riches elected them to unclean lust and idleness. These be they, that corrupt the whole generation of mankind in your realm; that catch the p-x of one woman, and bear it to another: yea, some one of them will boast among his fellows, that he hath meddled with an hundred women. These be they, that when they have once drawn men's wives to such incontinency, spend away their husbands' goods, make the women run away from their husbands; yea, run away themselves both with wife and goods; bring both man, wife, and children, to idleness, theft, and beggary.

15. Yea, who is able to number the great and broad bottomless ocean sea-full of evil, that this mischievous and sinful generation my lawfully bring upon us, unpunished? Where is your sword, power, crown, and dignity become, that should punish (by punishment of death, even as other men be punished) the felonies, rapes, murders, and treasons committed by this sinful generation? Where is their obedience become, that should be under your high power in this matter? Is it not altogether translated and exempted from your Grace unto them? Yes, truly. What an infinite number of people might have been increased, to have peopled the realm, if these sort of folk had been married like other men? What breach of matrimony is there brought in by them? Such truly, as was never since the world began among the whole multitude of the Heathen.

16. Who is she that will set her hands to work to get three pence a day; and may have at least twenty pence a day, to sleep an hour with a friar, a monk, or a priest? What is he that would labour for a groat a day; and may have at least twelve pence a day to be a bawd to a priest, a monk, or a friar? What a sort are there of them that marry priests, sovereign ladies, but to cloak the priests' incontinency; and that they may have a living of the priests themselves, for their labour? How many thousands doth such lubricity bring to beggary, theft, and idleness, which should have kept their good name, and have set themselves to work, had there not been this excessive treasure of the spiritually? What honest man dare take any man or woman in his service, that hath been at such a school with a spiritual man?

17. Oh the grievous shipwreck of the common-wealth! which, in ancient time, before the coming in of these ravenous wolves, was so prosperous that then, there were but few thieves; yea, theft was at that time so rare, that Cæsar was not compelled to make penalty of death upon felony; as your Grace may well perceive in his 'Institutes.' There were also at that time but few poor people, and yet they did not beg, but there was given them enough unasked. For there were at that time none of these ravenous wolves to ask

it from them, as it appeareth in the 'Acts of the Apostles.' Is it any marvel, though there be now so many beggars, thieves, and idle people? No, truly.

18. What remedy? Make laws against them? I am in doubt whether ye be able. Are they not stronger in your own parliament-house than yourself? What a number of bishops, abbots, and priors are lords of your parliament? Are not all the learned men in your realm in fee with them, to speak in your parliament-house against your crown, dignity, and common-wealth of your realm, a few of your own learned council only excepted? What law can be made against them that may be available? Who is he (though he be grieved never so sore) for the murder of his ancestor, ravishment of his wife, of his daughter; robbery, trespass, maim, debt, or any other offence, dare lay it to their charge, by any way of action? and, if he do, then is he, by-and-by, by their wiliness, accused of heresy. Yea, they will so handle him, before he pass; that, except he will bear a faggot for their pleasure, he shall be excommunicated, and then be all his actions dashed! So captive are your laws unto them, that no man that they list to excommunicate, may be admitted to sue any action in any of your courts. If any man in your sessions dare be so hardy to indict a priest of any such crime; he hath, before the year goeth out, such a yoke of heresy laid in his neck, that it makes him wish, that he had not done it.

19. Your Grace may see what a work there is in London; how the bishop rageth for indicting of certain curates of extortion and incontinency, the last year, in the Warmol-Quest[9]. Had not Richard Hunne commenced an action of præmunire against a priest; he had been yet alive, and no heretick at all, but an honest man.

20. Did not divers of your noble progenitors, seeing their crown and dignity run into ruin, and to be thus craftily translated into the hands of this mischievous generation, make divers statutes for the reformation thereof? among which the statute of Mortmain was one; to the intent, that after that time, they should have no more given unto them. But what availed it? Have they not gotten into their hands more lands since, than any duke in England, the statute notwithstanding? Yea, have they not, for all that, translated into their hands from your Grace half your kingdom thoroughly? The whole name, as reason is for the ancienty of your kingdom, which was before theirs, and out of the which theirs is grown, only abiding with your Grace, and of one kingdom made twain; the spiritual kingdom (as they call it), for they will be named first, and your temporal kingdom. And which of these two kingdoms, suppose ye, is like to overgrow the other; yea, to put the other out of memory? Truly, the kingdom of the blood-suppers, for to them is given daily out of your kingdom: and that, that is once given them, cometh never from them again. Such laws have they, that none of them may neither give, nor sell nothing.

21. What law can be made so strong against them, that they, either with money or else with other policy, will not break and set at nought? What kingdom can endure, that ever giveth thus from him, and receiveth nothing again? O, how all the substance of your realm, forthwith, your sword, power, crown, dignity, and obedience of your people, runneth headlong into the insatiable whirlpool of these greedy *goulafres*[10] to be swallowed and devoured.

22. Neither have they any other colour to gather these yearly exactions into their hands, but that they say, they pray for us to God to deliver our souls out of the pains of purgatory; without whose prayer, they say, or at least, without the Pope's pardon, we could never be delivered thence: which, if it be true, then is it good reason, we give them all these things, all, were it a hundred times as much.

23. But there be many men of great literature and judgment, for the love they have unto the truth, and unto the common-wealth, have not feared to put themselves into the greatest infamy that may be, in abjection of all the world; yea, in peril of death, to declare their opinion in this matter: which is, that there is no purgatory, but that it is a

[9] Or Wardmote-Inquest, erected 22 Hen. VIII. 17. [10] [Gluttons.]

thing invented by the covetousness of the spiritualty, only to translate all kingdoms from all other princes unto them; and there is not one word spoken of it in holy Scripture. They say also, that if there were a purgatory, and also if that the Pope, with his pardons for money, deliver one soul thus, he may deliver him as well without money; if he may deliver one, he may deliver a thousand; if he may deliver a thousand, he may deliver them all, and also destroy purgatory. And then is he a cruel tyrant without all charity, if he keep them there in prison and in pain, till men will give him money.

24. Likewise say they, of all the whole sort of the spiritualty, that if they will not pray for no man, but for them that give them money, they are tyrants, and lack charity; and suffer those souls to be punished and pained uncharitably, for lack of their prayers. These sort of folk, they call Hereticks, these they burn, these they rage against, put to open shame, and make them bear faggots. But, whether they be Hereticks or no, well I wot, that this purgatory, and the Pope's pardons, is all the cause of translation of your kingdom so fast into their hands; wherefore it is manifest, it cannot be of Christ; for he gave more to the temporal kingdom; he himself paid tribute to Cæsar, he took nothing from him, but taught that the high powers should be always obeyed; yea, himself (although he were most free Lord of all, and innocent) was obedient unto the high powers, unto death.

25. This is the great scab, why they will not let the New Testament go abroad in your mother-tongue, lest men should espy, that their cloaked hypocrisy, do translate thus fast your kingdom into their hands; that they are cruel, unclean, unmerciful and hypocrites; that they seek not the honour of Christ, but their own; that remission of sins is not given by the Pope's pardon, but by Christ; for the sure faith and trust we have in him. Here may your Grace well perceive, that except ye suffer their hypocrisy to be disclosed, all is like to run into their hands; and, as long as it is covered, so long shall it seem to every man to be a great impiety not to give them. For this I am sure, your Grace thinketh (as the truth is) I am as good a man as my father; why may I not give them as much as my father did? And of this mind I am sure are all the lords, knights, esquires, gentlemen, and yeomen in England: yea, and until it be disclosed, all your people will think that your Statute of Mortmain was never made with a good conscience, seeing that it taketh away the liberty of your people, in that they may not as lawfully buy their souls out of purgatory, by giving to the spirituality, as their predecessors did in times past.

26. Wherefore, if you will eschew the ruin of your crown and dignity, let their hypocrisy be uttered; and that shall be more speedful in this matter, than all the laws that may be made, be they never so strong. For, to make a law, for to punish any offender, except it were more for to give other men an ensample to beware to commit such like offence, what should it avail? Did not Dr. Allen, most presumptuously, now in your time, against all his allegiance, all that ever he could to pull from you the knowledge of such pleas, as belong unto your high courts, unto another court; in derogation of your crown and dignity.

27. Did not also Dr. Horsey and his complices most heinously, as all the world knoweth, murder, in prison, that honest merchant, Richard Hunne? for that he sued your writ of præmunire against a priest, that wrongfully held him in plea, in a spiritual court, for a matter whereof the knowledge belongeth unto your high courts: and what punishment was there done, that any man might take example of, to beware of like offence? Truly none, but that the one paid five-hundred pounds (as it is said, to the building of your Star-chamber), and when that payment was once passed, the captains of his kingdom (because he fought so manfully against your crown and dignity) have heaped to him benefice upon benefice, so that he is rewarded ten times as much. The other, as it is said, paid six-hundred pounds, for him and his complices; which, because that he had likewise fought so manfully against your crown and dignity, was immediately, as he had obtained your most gracious pardon, promoted by the captains of his kingdom, with benefice upon benefice, to the value of four times as much. Who can take example of this punishment to beware of such like offence? Who is he of their kingdom that will not rather

take courage to commit like offence, seeing the promotions that fell to these men, for their so offending? So weak and blunt is your sword, to strike at one of the offenders of this 'crooked and perverse generation.'

28. And this is, by reason that the chief instrument of your law; yea, the chief of your council, and he which hath your sword in his hand, to whom also all other instruments are obedient; is always a spiritual man, which hath ever such an inordinate love unto his own kingdom, that he will maintain that, though all the temporal kingdoms and commonwealths of the world should utterly therefore be undone.

29. Here leave we out the greatest matter of all; lest we, declaring such an horrible carrion of evil, against the ministers of iniquity, should seem to declare the one only fault, or rather the ignorance of our best beloved minister of tightwiseness, which is to be hid, till he may be learned, by these small enormities that we have spoken of, to know it plainly himself. But what remedy to relieve us, your poor, sick, lame, and sore bede-men? To make many hospitals for the relief of the poor people; nay truly, the more the worse; for ever the fat of the whole foundation hangeth on the priests' beards.

30. Divers of your noble predecessors, Kings of this realm, have given lands to monasteries, to give a certain sum of money yearly to the people; whereof, for the ancient of the time, they give never one penny. They have likewise given to them to have certain masses said daily for them (the dead), whereof they never said one. If the Abbot of Westminster should sing every day as many masses for his founders, as he is bound to do by his foundation, a thousand monks were too few.

31. Wherefore, if your Grace will build a sure hospital, that never shall fail to relieve us, your bede-men; so take from them all those things. Set their sturdy loobies abroad in the world, to get them wives of their own, to get their living with their labour, 'in the sweat of their faces,' according to the commandment of God, Gen. iii. to give other idle people, by their example, occasion to go to labour. Tie these holy, idle thieves, to the carts; to be whipped naked about every market-town till they will fall to labour; that they may, by their importunate begging, not take away the alms that the good Christian people would give unto us, sore, impotent, miserable people, your bede-men. Then shall as well the number of our foresaid monstrous sort, as bawds, whores, thieves, and idle people decrease. Then shall these great yearly exactions cease. Then shall not your sword, power, crown, dignity, and obedience of your people be translated from you. Then shall you have full obedience of your people. Then shall the idle people be set to work.

32. Lastly, then shall matrimony be much better kept. Then shall the generation of your people be increased. Then shall your commons increase in riches. N. B. Then shall the Gospel be preached. Then shall none beg our alms from us. Then shall we have enough, and more than shall suffice us; which shall be the best hospital that ever was founded for us. Then shall we daily pray to God, for your most noble estate long to endure.

Domine, salvum fac Regem.

Or,

'God save the King.'

A Case of Conscience resolved: Concerning Ministers Meddling with State Matters in their Sermons: and how far they are obliged by the Covenant to interpose in the Affairs of Civil Government. By J. D. Minister of the Gospel. March 15, Imprimatur, Joseph Caryl.

London, printed by R. L. for R. W. 1649.

[Quarto, containing thirty Pages.]

The good intention of this pamphlet, and the masterly way of reasoning with which it is composed, and, in particular, the too often necessity to declaim against that cacochemy of the popular preachers, or court-flatterers, recommend it to the curious; and, as it is most scarce, (a few of them only having escaped the injuries of time, after most of the impression had been seized and destroyed by the faction which so lately had been guilty of preaching the King to death,) I have recommitted it to the press, as a good monitor, both in correction and instruction, to the preachers of God's word; that they may not prostitute their function or office, either for or against a court; and to the hearers, that they may not applaud, nor be deceived by those, whose sermons, instead of teaching them the way of godliness, are calculated to find out the high way to preferment for their teachers; who have changed their characters, by leaving the service of God, and becoming the servants of the State.

SIR,

YOU have desired to know of me the reasons why I make it a scruple of conscience, to do as others on all sides have done hitherto, viz. 'to intermeddle with matters of state in my sermons?' I shall briefly let you know the grounds of my scruple concerning this matter; and, leaving them to your conscionable consideration, suggest some impartial thoughts, which, perhaps, may ease you of the scruples, which you have on the other hand; for which, you think it either unlawful for you, or unexpedient for your flock, to leave intermeddling in those matters.

Let us first agree what we mean by matters of State.

As for myself, I conceive State-matters to be, all manner of counsels, designs, endeavours, and actings, which are undertaken or prosecuted, by those that manage with power, or authority, public affairs; relating to the outward possessions, rights, freedoms, privileges, prerogatives, and persons of men, as they are members of an outward commonwealth, or worldly kingdom. Concerning which matters, I think it not at all lawful for me to interpose my judgment in the pulpit, or to intermeddle towards the people, farther than the apostle hath commanded, Rom. xiii. 1,—8. and 1 Tim. ii. 2. and Tit. iii. 1. And the reasons, why I conceive it not lawful so to do, are these:

First, I know no law, either of God or man, obliging me to meddle with such matters, by interposing my judgment concerning them in the pulpit. And if no law either expressly commanding, or by a good inference warranting this intermeddling, can be shewed; I understand not how it can be counted lawful for any so to do.

Secondly, I find a law both of God and man, forbidding me to judge of matters, which belong not unto me, or which particularly concern other men.

The law of God is this: 'Be not busy in other men's affairs,' 1 Pet. iv. 15. 'And what 'have I to do to judge them that are without?' 1 Cor. v. 12. 'And who art thou that 'judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth;' Rom. xiv. 4. 'And judge not, that ye be not judged;' Matt. vii. 1. Now, when I reflect upon myself, in reference unto these laws, my conscience doth tell me, that I am not called to manage the affairs of state, but that they belong to other men; and, therefore, that I ought not to be busy in them, and trouble my head about them. And, if I judge the magistrate's employment (as a civil magistrate) to be without the church, I have scarce so much: sure I am, no more right than the Apostle Paul had to judge of them. Now he tells us, that he had nothing to do to judge them, but that the judgment of those, that are without the church, 'God hath reserved unto himself;' 1 Cor. v. 13. therefore it doth not appertain to me to meddle with them. But if, as a Christian magistrate, I take him to be within the church; yet his employment, *quatenus*[1] a magistrate, is not mine, nor is he therein my servant, but Christ's; and then the other rule doth take place, 'Who 'art thou that judgest another man's servant?' Now the magistrate is undoubtedly 'God's servant,' Rom. xiii. 4. therefore I must let him stand or fall to his own master, in matters of outward government, which God hath intrusted him, and not me, withal. And in case I do look upon him as a brother, and his actions or designs as the affairs of a private man; then still the former rules do hold; and Christ doth forbid me to judge him in public, or to lay his faults open to any, till I have dealt with in private; and, by degrees, brought him to the judicature of those, who are his competent judges; Matt. xviii. 15. &c. It is not lawful, therefore, for me, in my private way, to condemn him, whether I look upon him as a brother, or not; and far less is it lawful to judge him in public, and make myself an informer against him towards the multitude, who are not his competent judges.

Moreover, the law of God in the fifth Commandment is, 'Honour thy father and mo-'ther, that thy days may be long in the land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee.' All divines have understood this, as well of the respect due unto the civil magistrate, as to natural parents. Now, to take upon us to judge and censure their actions, or to blast and blame their[2] proceedings in public, before the multitude, directly or indirectly, is manifestly to dishonour them; and, if this is unlawful in a son to deal so with parents, it is also unlawful in a subject to deal so with his magistrates.

As for the laws of men in this matter, I shall not need to mention any; for, it is evident in all nations, that to controul the actions of the civil magistrate, and to traduce him in his proceedings, is a crime punishable in subjects, by those that have power, and are in authority over them, with death, imprisonment, fines, or banishment; according to the nature of the fact, and as the supreme authority doth judge fit.

Thirdly, The nature of the Gospel, whereunto I am appointed a minister of Christ, is inconsistent with the care of those things wherewith I must intermeddle, if I should take upon me to judge of them. For the Gospel is the testimony of Jesus, to reveal him to the world, and to invite all men from the cares and lusts of the world, to enter into his kingdom, and rest; which is a kingdom of truth, and not of this world; John xviii. 36, 37. whereof the kingdoms are but lies and restless vanities. If then I account myself appointed to this employment by Christ, to mind the mysteries of his truth, 'and that wis-'dom which is of God;' 1 Cor. ii. 7, 8. 'which none of the princes of this world know, 'or, as princes of this world, care for:' I ought not to apply myself to intermeddle in their affairs; and, if I ought not to do this, I conceive, it is not lawful for me to judge of their affairs in public, either to commend or condemn them in the pulpit. For Christ being entreated, Luke xii. 13, to employ his authority, 'to cause one brother to divide 'the inheritance with the other,' did refuse to do it, upon this ground, because God had not appointed him a judge, or a divider over men in temporal matters. The disciple is

[1] *As*, or, *so far as*.

[2] Our natural parents.

not above the master; and, if the master had no right to meddle in small matters, between man and man, what right have I to meddle in the greatest, between state and state, or rulers and subjects? When Christ called one of his disciples to him, and he desired leave, 'first, to go and bury his father,' Christ bade him 'let the dead bury their dead; but go, 'thou (saith he) and preach the kingdom of God;' Matt. viii. 21, 22. and Luke ix. 60. If then those, that are called to preach the kingdom of God, ought to free their minds from the cares, which, through natural affection, and a kind of civil duty, so nearly concern themselves and their kindred; how much more ought they to be disinterested in matters of state, which at all do not concern them?

The cares of a quite contrary nature cannot be at once rightly entertained in the same mind; they are like two opposite masters, whom none can serve at the same time acceptably, nor at different times faithfully; therefore, he that will be Christ's servant, and a faithful soldier in his warfare, must not be intangled in the affairs of this life; otherwise he will not be able to please him, who hath chosen him to be a soldier, 2 Tim. ii. 4. Now all the affairs of state concern only this life, and nothing else directly and principally.

Fourthly, The intermeddling with state-matters in sermons is contrary to the rule of preaching, and to the true aim which ought to be maintained in the performance of that duty.

The rule of preaching is, 'If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God;' 1 Pet. iv. 11. We are warranted to speak nothing (if we speak in God's name) but that which is undeniably his word. Nothing can beget faith, and build up the soul unto godliness, but the truth of God: if we speak other matters, which the wisdom of earthly men, or our own imaginations or passions, dictate; we profane the ordinance of God, and destroy the faith of the hearers. 'What is the chaff to the wheat? saith the Lord,' by the Prophet Jeremiah; Jer. xxiii. 28. Our own words and dreams, about temporal concernments, are less worth than chaff; and the faith of professors cannot stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God. And because 'Jesus Christ is the wisdom of 'God, and the power of God;' therefore, in our preaching, we should 'determine to 'know nothing amongst our hearers, but Jesus Christ, and him crucified;' 1 Cor. ii. 5.

The aim to be maintained in preaching, is to persuade God only, and not men; and not to please men, or become their servants, but God's alone; Gal. i. 10: for 'he, that 'intendeth to please men, is no more the servant of Christ;' 1 Cor. ii. 2. Now, when men set themselves to speak of state-matters in the pulpit; their aim is, either to please the magistrates, by commending them to the people, or to shew their dislike against their proceedings, by reproving the same, which doth tend to make the people displeased with their magistrates. Now, whether the design be the one or the other, is altogether unworthy of the minister of the Gospel; and a man cannot possibly mention the affairs of state in public, but it must be either way, and therefore, he ought neither way to do it.

And whatsoever a man's aim may be in meddling thus with state-matters, as he doeth no service to God in it, so he perverts the minds of the hearers, from the integrity and simplicity of the Gospel; to reflect upon, and affect, with reference to worldly wisdom, the ways of a party. For all state-matters are continually carried by some plots in the hands of one party or other; and whosoever doth meddle with them, either to commend or discommend the proceedings, must be the servant of a party; and so forsakes the spiritual liberty and impartiality, wherein they ought to stand, and whereunto he ought to bring the minds of his hearers, that they may be willing to serve all men in love, for their spiritual edification, without prejudice, for Christ's sake. The interests of states-men, and matters, change according to circumstances; by which those that manage public affairs, find their advantages: if the minister of the Gospel will oblige himself to meddle with these matters, he will be constrained either to say and unsay the same things, if he follow state-principles, (which is to discredit the truth of the Gospel): for, when men are swayed with carnal considerations, they must needs make the same thing in their preaching, yea,

yea, and nay, nay, (as we have found many do of late;) or if he will be inflexible, and not change his note with the times, he will be engaged into occasions of strife and controversies with others for worldly matters, as often as they change; which, how inconvenient it is for a minister of the Gospel to do, and how prejudicial it is unto his profession, I leave you to judge.

The scandals which are given against the Gospel to those that are discerning, and perceive men's drifts in preaching for interests, are very heinous and hurtful to the truth, and to the ministry thereof, to discredit it. For, by this means, natural[3] men become atheists; for thereupon they count all religion nothing else but a cloke of hyprocrisy. These practices stagger the weak also, who are led with blind zeal to be engaged into factions against their brethren, and to maintain divisions, which overthrow the church's peace and unity; and thereby subtle statesmen take advantages to lay snares before unwary ministers, who have more zeal than prudence, to entrap them, and make use of them for their own ends; and then, when they have made them their hacknies, and served their turns out of them, they turn them away with neglect and contempt at the journey's end, because they deserve no better.

Now, I, knowing these things to be the natural consequents of ministers intermeddling with state-matters, cannot think it lawful for me to come within the reach of these snares; and therefore must avoid the occasions thereof, and am willing to warn you of the same, whereof we see many examples before our eyes.

These are the chief heads of reasons, which have made me abstain from that way of preaching, which some have followed: and, as I conceive, these grounds, which justify my way, to be unanswerable; so I never could find any solidity in those pretences, which are alleged for the contrary practice.

For that which is pretended from Ezek. iii. 17,—22. and xxxiii. 7. that ministers are made watchmen, to give warning to the wicked, to warn them from their wicked way, and to the righteous also, that they turn not from their righteousness; is not otherwise to be understood, but in clear cases, wherein God's commandment is manifestly transgressed, and to be directed immediately towards the persons themselves, who are transgressors, to make them sensible of the guilt and danger under which they stand. But, in doubtful cases, wherein there is no clear word from God's mouth, wherein the magistrate's actions may be misinterpreted; wherein he pretends to walk by a just rule; wherein his secret aim and intention, by a jealousy of state, is rather condemned than his fact; and wherein he is not expressly dealt withal himself to convict his conscience concerning the iniquity of his proceedings to rectify it, but is cried out upon before others, and censured before the multitude, who are not his competent judges (which is the practice of those that in the pulpits have meddled, and do meddle with state-matters): I say, in such cases, and in such a way of proceeding, no colour can be taken from the watch-office of Ezekiel to warrant it. For, look upon the charge which he doth receive, and the way how he is to discharge it, and you will see that your practice is nothing like it. The charge is, 'That the watchman should hear the word at God's mouth, and give the house of Israel warning from God;' ver. 17. This imports an express commandment, and a clear transgression of the commandment in those that are to be warned, and a peculiar mission from God to give the warning. The way how this warning is to be given to the wicked and the righteous, is by a particular address which the watchman was to make, as from God, unto themselves immediately. If the ministers, that meddle with state-matters, will observe these rules, far be it from me to condemn them; but, if their arguing against the proceedings of those that are in places of authority hath nothing in it approaching unto this way, then I must be dispensed with from following it; and I think it my duty to discover the irregularity of it, by testifying against it. If men will make themselves (through state-jealousies and evil surmises against those that manage public affairs,) watchmen over their

[3] *viz.* such as seek not God through Jesus Christ.

lepers, when they are divided among themselves for state interests, for the advantage of one party to blast and discredit another; and then pretend that they discharge the watch-office, which is committed unto them, I shall leave them to answer it to the chief Shepherd of the flock; for it becometh not me to judge another man's servants, farther than by putting them in mind of the commands of their master, which are undeniably his known will.

But, from the contemplation of the watchman's office over the souls of the flock, and their obligation to give account thereof unto God, there is an objection and doubt, which may be raised, thus: "But what if I see my flock like to be led away (by the example of those that are in authority, or the instigation of those that have power) unto wicked and unjust courses, which are destructive to the true religion and the safety of the state; shall I not warn them of the danger in this case?" I answer, "Yes; you are bound to forewarn them of the danger, which you think they are like to fall into, if the thing be evident, and clearly a transgression of God's will; I say, you are bound to forewarn, as well those that by their authority and power, lead others out of the way, as those that are led by them." Thus, in cases of idolatry and oppression, the Prophets did address themselves directly to the rulers of the people; they shewed them the undoubted commandment of God, and their undeniable practice opposite unto it: and in a case, which evidently doth pervert the truth of religion, and endanger the safety of the state, the fact itself, and the unrighteousness thereof, is to be laid open before all, from the word of God, and all are to be warned of the dangerous consequences thereof; which may be done *in thesi*, leaving the hypothesis and particular application to every man's judgment, to discharge his conscience towards God therein. But now we have seen men, that accuse those whom they would discredit before the multitude, not to meddle with the matter *in thesi*, but with the hypothesis of their own coining, upon conjectural appearances, charging faults suspiciously, and by way of insinuation, where, upon a strict examination, none were to be found. He that insists upon the hypothesis of a matter, to charge somebody with the guilt thereof, doth evidently shew, that his aim is not so much to rectify the fault, as to make him odious, whom he chargeth with it; but he, that handleth the thesis of a matter, doth not aim to instruct and warn all men of their duty, that they may look to their ways. The court chaplains did flatter and court the King and the Bishops in their sermons heretofore, with reproaches and aspersions which they did cast upon the Puritans, to make them odious, rather that they might be persecuted, than reformed; and, since these troubles, it cannot be denied, but the popular preachers have paid them home in their own way, by courting the humours of the multitude, to incense them against the King and his prelates, that they also might be rather persecuted, than reformed. All which, on both sides, hath wrought nothing else but animosities and confusions, which have brought these distresses upon the nation, and mainly obstructed the ways of true reformation. But, if the watchmen on both sides[4] had handled matters *in thesi*, and dealt with those who were to be warned, to draw them from the error of their ways, by the means of God's counsel rather than for human designs; we might have been preserved from the dangers, into which they have helped to bring us.

There is another pretence taken to colour this practice, from the Commandments which the apostle doth give to Timothy and Titus: 'Them, that sin, rebuke before all;' 1 Tim. v. 20. 'Be instant in season, out of season, reprove, rebuke, exhort;' &c. 2 Tim. iv. 2. and, 'Rebuke them sharply,' &c. Titus i. 13. and much like.

But I conceive, that all these directions are given to pastors, only in reference to those that are immediately under their pastoral charge, in clear cases, wherein they are to deal with the parties themselves immediately; it is, therefore, a great mistake to apply them unto other persons, who are not under their pastoral charge; and in cases which are mysteries of state, and not obvious to the cognisance of every one; and which are handled,

[4] The preachers for, and against, the court.

not before the parties themselves, but before others, who are not capable to judge thereof, as the common multitude is. If we look to that which Christ did, in this way of reproof, towards the Scribes and Pharisees, Mat. xxiii. we shall see, how these reproofs ought to be managed. First, It may be observed, that Christ came not to this sharpness with them till towards the latter end of his ministry; after that he had, in all probability, dealt oft-times with them in a milder way, to make them sensible of their duty: for it is said of him, that he did not 'break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax;' that he did 'not strive, nor cause his voice to be heard in the streets;' Mat. xii. 19. 20. Whence we must conclude, that he never, at first, dealt with any man sharply, but gently always; but, when he found these Scribes and Pharisees incorrigible; then, lest the people might be seduced by their practices, he doth give them a necessary warning, to preserve them from being perverted by the example of their leaders, and reproves the open faults of their leaders, in clear cases, convincingly before them. Secondly, He doth it in such a way which is without all exception; for he doth not intend to discredit them in their places, or blast their authority towards the people, but establisheth it, commanding the people to hearken to them, as they 'sit in Moses's seat;' vers. 2, 3. Then he reproves them, not behind their backs, to the people, but to their faces, in the presence of the people. And, lastly, he insists upon particular matters of fact, which were undeniable; wherein he not only discovers their hypocrisy, to convince them of it, but shews them the duty which ought to be done, and warns them of the judgment, which is to come upon them, if they neglect it. Now, if the ministers that meddle with state-affairs in the pulpit, would observe this way and method, their practice would be free from all exceptions; for, if they can deal with those that manage public affairs, to rectify that which they find opposite to Christianity, and amiss in them, first, by way of counsel in private; and if, afterward, finding that private admonitions profit not, but that they persevere in a course of state-hypocrisy, to endanger the salvation of others, whom they may seduce, by their example, from the sincerity of the holy profession: if (I say) in such a case, without prejudice to their just authority, they can deal roundly and openly with them, to convince them of the perverseness of their way, and to reclaim them from the errors thereof; this would not only be warrantable, but commendable. But, how far this is intended by any, I leave to you to judge, and to the conscience of those, that handle state-matters in their sermons, to determine between God and themselves.

As for that which some say, that men must not be lukewarm neutralists, but zealous in the cause of God, and for the public good; I answer, It is so. But we must also take heed, that we mistake not the cause of God, and that we make not our own partial aims, and private interests, that which we call God's cause. Let God's cause be stated, as it relates to the Gospel of Christ; let it be handled *in thesi et antithesi*, as it reflects upon the conscience of all men, by the manifestation of the truth; and let no personal reproaches, insinuations, reflections, and particular worldly matters, to asperse any body, be mixed with it; and let it be held forth with all spiritual fervency from the word, and so let it be recommended to God's blessing upon the hearts of the hearers; but let us not call our own contrivements God's cause, nor human passions, raised upon jealousies or discontents, zeal. Do we not see evidently, that no party doth count any thing a public good, but that which is for its own way? And that all its zeal and strength is spent, not so much to build up, to settle, or advance any righteous constitution in common; as to set up itself over the adverse party, and to cast down every thing which is not for its own interest? This is evidently all the zeal of these times, viz. to strive for power over others, and then to act by mere will, according to power, against all that are found, or suspected, to be opposites. And, if not to be active in this way of partiality, or puffed up for the interest of one against another, to have the rule, be counted to be a lukewarm neutralist, I shall confess myself to be one of these; and yet, I hope, I shall never be found a neutralist before God in his cause, nor lukewarm towards the way of truth and peace, which is without partiality and without hypocrisy.

But above all this, there is yet one scruple more, which doth stick with you, which is, the tenour of the national covenant; whereby you conceive you are solemnly obliged, before God, to advance the public ways of reformation, mentioned therein, as well towards the church, as towards the state. Now you say (and say well) that, in case the tenour of it be made void, to bring a guilt upon the nation, you are bound in conscience to free yourself from that guilt; and, as a minister of God, to warn others of that danger; and, consequently, to meddle with state-matters, so far as this comes to.

To this I say, that if you do this, as a minister of the Gospel ought to do, and not as a minister of state-affairs, you do that which is your duty. It is far from me to desire you, or any man, to be slack in observing your vows, and performing your oath unto God; I shall rather, as bound in the same promise, strengthen your heart and hands in it; and, to that effect, I shall tell you, how I find myself engaged in the covenant. I took the covenant, as obliging myself unto God to perform the tenour thereof, and not unto men. I took it to prosecute the lawful ways of advancing religion and righteousness, and reformation and peace, in church and common-wealth; and not to become serviceable to any one party against another. And, lastly, I took it to advance these aims in this place, with a special reference and subordination to the main rules and fundamental aims of my profession in Christianity, and not otherwise; and, lest those that desire me to join with them in prosecuting the tenour of the covenant, might seem to impose their sense upon me in taking it; or might, in time to come, pretend to have me obliged as it were by implicit faith, to follow their courses in observing it; I sent unto them, before I took it, my sense of the articles thereof in writing, containing a declaration of the way, which I thought myself bound to follow, in keeping the same; which you shall see, whenever you please[5]; and according to this engagement, although all men should neglect and disannul the covenant, yet by me it never shall be forsaken, (by God's grace,) but maintained and followed, so long as I shall have abilities so to do.

If, then, I should answer your scruple concerning your engagement, upon this account of meddling with state-matters, in case the covenant should be made void; I must refer you to the words of the covenant itself, to let you see, how far it doth oblige you to follow this way. The first, third, fifth, and sixth articles do limit your endeavours to your power, place, calling, vocation, and interest. If I conceive, then, my proper place, calling, vocation, and interest to be, in the pulpit; none other but to speak the oracles of God, and to meddle with nothing else directly, but with the knowledge of Jesus Christ and him crucified, as in the covenant of grace he is offered unto us, by repentance and faith in his name; and to mention nothing indirectly, but what is evidently opposite unto the tenour of some profitable truth belonging unto that matter: if (I say) this is so, then I may soon determine the bounds of my intermeddling, how far they should reach, and where to stop; for I am bound by my own promise not to meddle, further than a servant of Christ in the Gospel ought to do; so that I should make myself a transgressor of the covenant, if I should interpose my judgment, in the pulpit, further than either makes to lead my hearers unto Christ, and to the observation of the covenant of grace, which the Father hath made with us in him; or otherwise, than is suitable to the rules of edification towards all, without offence or partiality towards any. If then I should step beyond this line, and take upon me, through some insight into state-designs, to play the statist towards the people, to sway their inclinations to some earthly bias, for certain ends, which Christ hath not bid me prosecute in his husbandry; I know not how I should be able to answer it unto my own conscience in his presence. For my spirit would tell me, that to play the huckster with the truth, to corrupt the word of God, and not to handle it in sincerity and as of God, is not the part of a faithful servant of Christ; therefore, as I would not have any to judge of me, I shall never take it upon me to judge of any man's secret intentions in handling the word, and mixing heterogeneal matters of public concernment with his sermon. Every one shall answer to his own master that which he hath done; and the day, which burneth

[5] This immediately follows, by the title of 'The Vow, which J. D. hath made,' &c.

as fire, and is near at hand, shall try his work, whether it be of combustible matter, or not. I have enough to do to look to my own feet, to walk in an even path; and I desire that all my brethren, who are engaged in the covenant, may be careful to examine their own hearts and ways, according to the rules heretofore mentioned. And, if they consider conscionably the property of their calling and place, and find that, to discharge their duty in it, they must tell statesmen their duty, in private or in public, as well as others; and that with some reference to public matters of state; let them do it in God's name freely, but let the manner of doing it be such as becometh the Gospel of Christ, and the 'Stewards of the mysteries of God;' that is, let all be done in love, let nothing be offered without a clear discovery of God's will from the word. And, when worldly circumstances and matters of fact are mentioned, let no passion, no envy, no vain-glory appear, nor any thing be done with a murmuring and disputing affection; but let the spirit of meekness and compassion govern the whole carriage of the business, towards the restoring of those that are overtaken in a fault, rather than to shame them, or give others any occasion to insult over them. With these cautions, if the covenant doth bring any special engagement upon any man's conscience to take notice of state-matters, further than otherwise is incident to the ministerial function in an ordinary way; I suppose he may walk safely towards God, and without offence towards men, in matters of greatest scrupulosity.

But for a further clearing of scruples, which may be incident in this kind, I shall put a case, which, in evil times before the witnesses be killed, faithful ministers, in their warfare against the Beast, may, and will be put unto. Let us then suppose, that it shall be made a crime worthy of death, to speak against any human constitutions which authority shall set up in God's worship, although never so contrary to the express word of God, as in the Bishops times some were made offenders for a word, and a pretence, taken from any small thing which seemed to contradict authority, was enough to out a man from his place whom they called a popular preacher; not so much because the thing deserved outing, but because any occasion would serve to silence a powerful and faithful minister. In such a case, the question is, How far a conscionable minister is bound to appear in opposition to the sanctions of authority?

To this I shall answer, first, That in such a case, where God's word is clearly opposite to the sanction of man in matters of his own worship, no man may with a good conscience be indifferent, connive, or seem to give way unto the establishment thereof willingly; for this would be a lukewarmness in God's service.

Secondly, No man can give an exact rule to another, what, on such occasions, as may fall out in reference to his flock, or against his adversaries, he should do, to quit himself, and not betray the truth, or the souls of his flock, unto the power of seduction, because circumstances are infinite; therefore men are to study general rules, and must in particulars be left unto the directions of God's spirit, who doth oftentimes call forth his servants to the battle upon smaller occasions, to fight as effectually as upon greater ones; and, in some men, the human imprudencies of their spiritual zeal may be as useful, in God's way of ordering the same, as the greatest prudence of others.

Thirdly, Although a faithful minister may neither connive nor shew any compliance with that which he knows to be clearly opposite to the will of God, but must be zealously affected and bent to stand out against it, in the sphere of his calling; yet he is not obliged, either at all times to set himself openly against it; or to appear in such a way of contradiction unto it, which may give the adversaries of the Gospel some advantages, which they lie in wait to take against him, from the manner of his opposition or contradiction. Therefore, it is lawful at all times, and in such cases very expedient, to use prudence, and by some spiritual stratagems to defeat the enemies of their advantages; which may be done sometimes by declining a direct and open contradiction of that which is the act of authority; and by using another way of opposing the same, which may be as effectual, and yet not liable to any exception. For there are two ways of handling all matters of doctrine and practice, the one is positive, the other negative; the negative is to refute and contradict that which another doth assert or practise, condemning it as an error or a fault. The

positive is to confirm and declare our own opinion as a truth; and if this be done effectually, in a matter wherein our assertion doth by a clear consequence make void the error, or overthrow the practice of our adversary, it is no less profitable to bear witness to the truth, than a direct reproving of vice by an express condemnation thereof; by this method then, a faithful minister may prudently decline a snare laid to entrap him, if he should presume to be so stout, as to contradict that which is expressly established; and yet may zealously and effectually discharge his conscience, and preserve his flock from error, by a positive delivery of the truth, which being entertained from God's word, will be liable to no exception, and yet destroy the error, and discover the fault of those that abuse their authority in all men's minds; and although the consequence be not expressly made, or the thing to be condemned once named.

Thus then, in matters of state, which authority may perhaps set on foot directly, in opposition to the kingdom of Christ, to make men guilty, that shall openly contradict it, zealous men may decline an open contradiction; and, by asserting strongly that matter of religion or worship, which is opposite in its nature to that matter of state which authority would settle, quit their conscience fully; and, without naming the thing, which may not be professedly condemned, yet overthrow it in all men's minds. He that did assert strongly from the word of God, that the Lord's day is to be kept holy to God in spiritual duties, to enter into his rest, and mind him alone without any other thoughts; and that all professors are bound in conscience to intend this, as they desire to partake of his holiness, and that the neglect of this duty is a forfeiture of that holiness, which God in his covenant, by the ordinance of that day doth offer to us. He, I say, that did strongly make out this, to be a truth which cannot be controuled, did fully condemn and refute the 'Book of Sports' on the Lord's day, which was set up by authority[6], although he never did once name it; and so, in all other cases, something may be done of like nature, when adversaries lie in wait to find occasions of making men offenders, if they dare seem to be directly opposites to that which bears the name of authority. Also the thesis of a matter may be so fully handled, that the hypothesis need not to be once named, but all men will be able to make the application thereof by themselves. The defensive postures in fencing are easier and safer than the offensive; and he that is so well skilled therein, that his adversary, by assaulting him, gain nothing else but weariness to himself, and the spending his strength in vain, will, in the end, have an easy conquest of him. And, to cure diseases there are two ways; either by the strengthening of the vital spirits in the natural constitution of every one, or by the purging out of evil humours: if nature can be so well fortified by cordials or fomentations, as to cast out that which is noxious by itself; it is far better and safer than to use purgations, which always bring some trouble, and weaken the spirits for a time. Thus it is also with the best of reproofs and censures upon the minds of natural men. *Verbum sapienti satis est.* The Lord direct us wisely to walk in the light, and by the power of it, to dispel the power of darkness, that we may shine without blame in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation! Let us pray for the spirit of promise, which will direct us in all truth, and the God of truth and peace be with you: in him I shall rest

Your assured friend in Christ,

J. D.

The Vow which J. D. hath made, and the Covenant which he doth enter into with God, in reference to the National Covenant of the Kingdoms. Sent to London from the Hague, the 21st of December, 1643.

THE tie of my conscience to the profession of the Gospel, whereby I am made a subject of Jesus Christ, the King of kings, partaker of the privileges of the kingdom of Heaven, and a free citizen of the spiritual Jerusalem; doth bind me to bear witness unto the truth,

[6] Of King James I. and afterwards by King Charles I.

to join myself unto the professors thereof, and to subscribe my name unto the Lord, to serve under his banner, for the preservation and enlargement of his church, till he receive all 'the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession.' Therefore, according to the nature of the ministerial function, wherein God hath set me, and the vows which I have formerly made, to express my faithfulness towards him, and my blameless dealing free from partiality towards all men, and chiefly towards those of the household of faith; I conceive myself obliged to answer the call which is given me, whereby I am required to contribute help towards the public edification of the church, whereof I am a member.

I declare then in the presence of Almighty God, who shall judge the quick and the dead, at the day of his glorious appearing, that I have no ends in this undertaking, but these:

First, To satisfy my conscience in the duties which I owe to Christ in his kingdom among all, and chiefly evangelical Christians, and more particularly amongst those of my national church.

Secondly, To shew my fidelity unto my lawful Sovereign, to the kingdoms, and to the peace of both in the profession of the Gospel. And,

Thirdly, To endeavour the edification of all my evangelical brethren at home and abroad, who are distressed for want of mutual love, and peaceable affections, and distracted by reason of uncharitable jealousies, passionate injuries, and injurious mistakes. Therefore my aim, in this enterprise, is and shall be, without all mixture of human respects, to procure (so far as God shall enable me in the way of my spiritual calling) a remedy to these evils; and, to this effect, having renewed my covenant with Almighty God, and the vows by which I am solemnly obliged to the rules of my profession; I have answerably to the same lifted up my hand to heaven, and sworn to the most high God, as followeth:

First, That in the ministry of the new covenant of everlasting life and peace, which God hath graciously erected with mankind in Jesus Christ, and, according to the analogy of Christian faith, clearly taught, and the rules of Christian duties, expressly commanded in holy Scripture; and, by the undoubted principles of sincere dealing, manifestly revealed in the conscience of every one, and useful for edification, and avoiding of offence in the communion of saints: I shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour to preserve every where, but more especially in the church of Scotland, and to advance towards perfection, in the church of England and Ireland, the reformed religion, in the free and public profession and practice of the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof, according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches; and shall, by the means aforesaid, furthermore endeavour, as I shall find opportunity, to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity that may be evangelically obtained in religion, confession of faith, form of church-government, directory for worship and catechisings; that they, and their posterity, may as brethren, live in 'unity of the spirit, through the bond of peace,' in faith, and love amongst themselves, and correspond amiably with foreign Protestants; that the God of peace, love, and unity, may delight to dwell in the midst of them.

That, by the means aforesaid, I shall in like manner, without worldly respects and respecting of persons, endeavour the rooting out of all plants, which the Heavenly Father hath not planted; and more particularly that I shall labour to extirpate all human usurped power over the church of God, and the consciences of men, tending to lead them in a lordly, tyrannical way, to depend upon the will of man, by a blind credulity, and forced obedience in matters of faith, and religious practice; whether it be called now popery or prelacy, by the titles of archbishops, bishops, their courts, chancellors, commissaries, deans, and chapters, archdeacons, and such like ecclesiastical officers depending upon that hierarchy, or by what name soever it may or shall be called hereafter. And that, in like manner, I shall labour to extirpate all superstition, and all heresies condemned by the primitive general councils of the true ancient church; all schism, chiefly amongst evangelical Protestants, who have cast off the papal yoke; all profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found contrary to sound doctrine, and the power of godliness; lest I partake of other men's

sins, and be in danger to receive of their plagues; that the Lord may be one, and his name one, not only in the three kingdoms, but in all the kingdoms of the earth.

Thirdly, That I shall by the means aforesaid, in the same sincerity, reality, and constancy, according to my calling, endeavour, with my estate and life, to preserve the rights and privileges of the parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms, which are fundamental and necessary for the conservation of the public state; and that I shall also preserve and defend, with my estate and life, the King's Majesty's person and authority, to which I am bound by the oath of allegiance, as to the head of the public state, in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdoms; that the world may bear witness with my conscience of my loyalty, and that I have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his Majesty's just power and greatness.

Fourthly, That I shall, with all faithfulness, endeavour the discovery of all such as have been, or shall be incendiaries, malignants, or evil instruments, by hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the King from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another; or making any factions or parties among the people, contrary to the tenour of the national league or covenant; that they may be drawn from the error of their ways, and brought to repentance, or otherwise to public trial, and receive condign punishment, as the degree of their offence shall require or deserve; or supreme judicatories of both kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them to that effect, shall judge convenient.

Fifthly, And whereas the happiness of a blessed peace and union between the kingdoms, denied in former times to our progenitors, is, by the good Providence of God, granted to us; and hath been lately concluded and settled by both Parliaments; I shall, according to my place and interest, endeavour that the kingdoms may remain conjoined in a firm peace and union to all posterity, and that justice may be done upon the wilful opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent articles.

Sixthly, I shall, also, according to my place and calling, in the common cause of religion, liberty, and peace of the kingdoms, assist and defend all those that enter into the national league and covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof; and shall not suffer myself directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion, or terror, to be withdrawn and divided from this blessed union and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give myself to a detestable indifferency, or neutrality, in this cause, which so much concerns the glory of God, the good of the kingdoms, the honour of the King, and the welfare of all evangelical churches; which I shall labour to bring to a good correspondency, and brotherly affection with the churches of the kingdoms, and one with another: and so, all the days of my life, shall zealously and constantly continue, against all opposition, in this endeavour of public edification, peace, and reconcilement of Protestants; not leaving off to promote more particularly the national cause according to my power, against all lets and impediments whatsoever; and what I am not able to suppress or overcome by myself, I shall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed. All which I shall do, as in the sight of God.

Seventhly, And, lest in the use of the aforesaid means for the prosecuting of these endeavours, as well towards those of my nation, as towards other evangelical churches, I might either unadvisedly give, or others might colourably take offence and scandals at me; from whence inconveniencies in this work, as tares in a good field, may grow up, and choak the fruits thereof, for want of circumspection and care, to determine the way and manner of proceeding, by necessary rules tending to edification; therefore, I shall faithfully endeavour to shape my course in all things conformable to the life of Jesus Christ, the Captain of this warfare, whose footsteps I am bound to follow, and whose life is the rule of righteousness; and, to speak more particularly of this, I shall order the ways of my proceedings by these rules:

I. I shall walk in the light, doing all things openly; and being desirous to come to the light, and approve my ways to the conscience of every one, I shall reject all hidden things of darkness, and the tricks of worldly wisdom.

II. I shall not meddle out of my spiritual calling, with matters of state, nor suffer my ministerial gifts to serve politicians for worldly ends.

III. My way shall be wholly evangelical; that is to say, fitted to prepare the minds of men to entertain the glad tidings of the Gospel. And, to this effect,

I shall seek out and propose the counsels and means of peace by the truth, bearing witness thereunto, as it shall be revealed to me, and exhorting and persuading indifferently all to receive it.

I shall not 'strive, nor cry, nor lift up my voice in the streets;' that is to say, I shall not entertain the contentious custom of bitter railings, and confused disputings, by odious censuring and condemning of others, to lay open their faults; but rather study by loving admonitions to redress them.

I shall not 'break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoaking flax;' that is to say, I shall bear with the weak and support the feeble; not pleasing myself, but 'condescending to things of low degree,' befitting the capacity of the simple and ignorant, I will labour to heal the breaches of their spirit, and carry their burthens, till God send forth judgment unto victory.

If I be wronged, I shall not intend revenge, or requite evil for evil, or give way to evil surmises, or make sinister reports of my evil will known; but rather shall cover their faults, so far as may be without detriment to the public cause, and the necessary clearing of my own innocency.

In a word, I shall do nothing to another, which I would not have done, in the like case, unto myself; and what I would have done by others to myself, I shall first do it unto them.

Lastly, I shall always be ready to go without the camp, to bear the reproach, and partake of the cross of Jesus Christ.

And, because, not only the kingdoms, but all Protestant churches and Evangelical states, and every one that liveth therein, are guilty of many sins and provocations against God and his Son Jesus Christ; as is too manifest by the present distresses and dangers, the fruits thereof befalling to all, as well at home as abroad; therefore, I propose and declare before God my unfeigned desire to be humbled for my sins, and for the sins of my brethren in these kingdoms, and in the churches at home and abroad; especially that we have not all valued, as we ought, the inestimable benefit of the Gospel; that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof, and that we have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our lives, which are the cause of other sins and transgressions so much abounding among all. And my true and unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavour is, for myself and for all others under my power and charge both in public and in private, in all duties I owe to God and man, to amend my life and theirs, and to go before others in the example of a real reformation; that the Lord may turn away his wrath and heavy indignation from all his people, and establish the churches and the kingdoms in truth and peace.

And this covenant and vow I make in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts; with a true intention to perform the same unblameably, as I shall answer at the great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed. Most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen me, and all those that enter into the like resolution, by his holy Spirit, for this end; and to bless all our desires and proceedings of this kind, with such success as may be deliverance and safety to his people, and encouragement to other Christian churches, groaning under, or in danger of the yoke of antichristian tyranny, to join in the same or like association and covenant, to the glory of God, the enlargement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquillity of all Christian kingdoms and commonwealths. Amen.

I have said, and subscribe myself,

J. D.

Loyalty; attended with great News from Drake's and Raleigh's Ghosts. Presenting the true Means whereby Britain may be recovered from her Maladies, and obtain a lasting Happiness, Honour, and Renown. In an Heroick Poem.

Vicimus, O magnis tandem exaudita Piorum
Vota Deus, nunc alma Salus, nunc Secula curat
Omnipotens.——————

Barcl. Arg.

London, printed for the Author, in 1705.

[Quarto, containing Sixteen Pages.]

To the QUEEN.

May it please your Majesty,

THE sense of my unworthiness would have discouraged me from this bold address, had not your Majesty assured the world of your most gracious condescension to forgive greater trespasses.

Most gracious Sovereign,

My plain muse has herein been favoured to represent the mature conceptions of some of your Majesty's loyal subjects, who are deservedly esteemed amongst the most wise and understanding persons, and such who have merited from the crown equal with most; which, if his late Majesty had lived a few days longer, would have been apparent to all.

I humbly crave pardon for this presumption, and beg the honour of your Majesty's gracious acceptance hereof; praying (with all loyal and dutiful subjects) for your Majesty's long and prosperous reign, to the glory of God, and the Protestant religion; which is, and shall be, the constant and most hearty petition of

Your Majesty's
Most loyal
And most obedient servant,
JOHN SADLER.

HAD not the Sov'reign of the globe took care,
Ev'n on the precipice of black despair,
To send us a deliverer of our Isle,
Who chang'd the gloomy scene and made us smile;
(Illustr'ous Nassau [1], that bright rising sun;)
Britannia had been ruin'd and undone [2].

A new meridian light he did erect;
And by diffusive rays of heat protect;
Chasing away the frightful shades of night,
When arm'd destruction stood in all our sight.

[1] William Prince of Orange.

[2] By a popish king and council.

Look! look!—what splendid form does now surprize,
Moving with comely gait before our eyes?
Each step it softly does to us advance;
Looks not with pale, but shining countenance;
So graceful, that the near approaching sight,
Instead of terror, does command delight,
And to a sweet composure does invite.

Drake's Ghost.

Forth from that sweet place where bless'd shades do dwell,
To my dear Albion[3] I am sent to tell:——
Kind Heav'n for her has blessings treasur'd up,
The hieroglyphick is——— this golden cup;
This cup of consolation in my hand,
Britannia! Now be wise and understand.

When the proud daring pow'rs of Spain combin'd[4],
And in a frightful grand *Armado* join'd;
Which they *Invincible* did proudly call;
Old Belzebub could not forbear, and all
Th' infernal fiends, who then began to grin,
To see his subjects toiling in their gin;
And compass'd in——

When Plutus muster'd up his furious legions
Through all his sulph'rous, dark, and smoky regions,
Drawn forth in line of battle, to invade
Thy land: and when his grenadiers, with spade,
Thought with one mighty thrust to shovel down
This Isle into the sea, with nod and frown;
Propitious Heaven all their measures brake,
And by a word of full command bespake,
Bespake me[5] for the instrument, and gave
A mandate that I should Britannia save.

The famous Queen Elizabeth then reign'd,
Whose admiral I was; and (when obtain'd
This joint commission) Heav'n did then inspire,
And taught me to prepare new works of fire[6];
Wing'd with a thund'ring vengeance, and such roar,
Such desolation, as ne'er known before.

Most of their floating Cyclope isles then flew
Up, through the wounded air, in open view;
While some sunk down in Neptune's wat'ry grave,
With shrieks to th' Virgin Mary[7], them to save.

The echo wearied was with frightful sound,
More dreadful than rous'd Cerb'rus' barkings, round

[3] England. [4] In 1558. [5] Admiral Drake.
[6] This alludes to the first invention of fire-ships. See Vol. I. p. 129.
[7] The usual exclamations of Papists, in time of trouble or danger.

The Gulph of Scylla and Charybdis (where
Tremendous horror and amazement stare
On one another with erected hair:)
The Spanish monarchy was then o'erthrown;
And looking round for help, but finding none,
Sunk down and gave an universal groan.
Her isles in Western-Indies then did shake,
And all her territories at the name of Drake[8].

Go tell,——Drake's ghost a prophecy has brought,
Worthy of glorious Anne's most pond'rous thought:
The British vessel shall through billows flee,
Far from the prospect of the vulture's eye;
And, from the new world which I first survey'd,
In gold and silver mines they soon shall trade.

In this grand juncture of your state-affairs,
Britain, with open eyes, and heart, and ears,
That happiness shall seek, and seeking find,
Which heals her maladies of ev'ry kind.
The rest —— my brother's following ghost reveals,
Hark England! for it now most plainly deals.
Dear Albion! once again———Adieu!
Think on thy Drake and Raleigh too;
Thy friends, thy faithful friends most true.
(It descends, &c.)

Behold! —— dear Raleigh's Ghost approaching stands
Before us now, and awful love commands:
See! —— with what graceful motion it draws near!
Allures our sight, instead of raising fear.

Raleigh's Ghost.

Forth from th' Elysian-shade's sweet rest, I rise,
Assuring England we do sympathize
In her afflictions; and will now detect
Who are her greatest foes, she does the least suspect.

Vipers who in her bowels lately bred,
And, eating through, thrust forth each pois'nous head;
From whence Great-Britain such convulsions felt,
In whose swoln womb this ven'mous brood has dwelt.

These are new monsters, who old Rome out-do,
And all the late Ignatian[9] order too.
Such, who compact with all the powers of hell,
Therein eternally, eternally to dwell;
May they but bring a total desolation
On their own hated mother (English) nation.

[8] See Drake's Voyages round the World.

[9] Jesuits; Ignatius Loyala being their founder.

From hence, such paroxysms; such torturing pain,
Such jealousies and discontents do reign,
By whose inchantments England 's smote so blind,
Her blissful paradise she cannot find,
The place which Heav'n to her has late assign'd.

Shake off those charms; from lethargy arise,
And take the counsel of the truly wise;
I'll be thy conduct, who am Raleigh's ghost,
And bring thy navy safe to Darien's coast[10]:
Bless'd Havilah[11], whose dust is ore, and shines
Rich and resplendent from her golden mines;
The grand emporium of the world for trade,
Which for Heaven's dearest favourites was made.

I (Gundamore's[12] terror now) am sent to you,
From the consulting shades, forthwith to shew
The bright transparent mirror of their heart,
And from them now I faithfully impart
This news to my dear native land; the isle
On which Heaven's countenance begins to smile.

By their commands I now am sent to tell——
England all other nations shall excel
In ev'ry blessing; will she timely take
Our counsels, and herself most happy make.

Darien 's thy right by gift; arise, possess
The same; and to thy lasting happiness
Fix now the famous æra; then disband
Thy armies; for Heaven's strong protecting hand
Will be thy bulwark, and thy strong defence
From Frenchified-Spanish insolence.

By this means will the Evangelic light[13]
Chase from these monuments of love their night
Of Pagan darkness, who now draw their breath
In dismal vale, among the shades of death.
Where Jim and Ojim[14] constantly do haunt,
Who, by this gospel-beam, will straight——avaunt.
O what a blessing, then, would England be,
To cause the deaf to hear, the blind to see!

O, let this counsel with impression sink
In thy most serious thoughts; in time bethink;
If for conversion-work thou hast respect,
Heav'n all thy steps will order and direct;
Then, for religion's sake, thy golden trade
Shall thrive, and truly prosperous be made.

[10] Darien is that isthmus, or neck of land, on which Carthagena, Portobello, &c. are situate in the West-Indies.
[11] A common name for any country rich in gold and silver mines; an epithet taken from Genesis ii. ver. 11.
[12] Gundamor was the Spanish ambassador at the court of England, who procured Raleigh's death.
[13] The Gospel preached by Protestants. [14] Two Pagan deities.

Th' Angelic guard a trophy then will raise
To dear Britannia's loud immortal praise.
And Lewis[15], to thy rich imperial crown,
Shall bow; court all thy favours, fear thy frown:
While Europe stands amaz'd at thy renown:
And all earth's monarchs, who shall know thy fame,
Will then rise up their blessings to proclaim,
When they shall hear Britannia's awful name.

Now let the dreadful doom of James the First[16]
(Who all his Popish successors sore curst)
Light on those black infernal minds, who join
This enterprise to break; or shall repine
Against this deed, which Heav'n's broad seal does sign.

Brand with perpetual stigma all, all those
Who thy felicity in this oppose,
And treat 'em as thou would'st thy greatest foes;
And they no less deserve all good men's hate,
Who of strange mountain bug-bears do relate,
Nigh Darien; (like those wicked spies of old,
Who of tall Anakims round Canaan told)
Confronting Providence with brow most bold.

Shake off thy charms, and from deep sleep arise;
And take the timely counsel of the wise:
Thick scales from thy blind eyes will then drop off,
And thy deaf ears unstopp'd; whilst all who scoff,
Insulting o'er thy maladies, will find
That Heav'n's slow mills will them to powder grind.

Shake off thy strong intoxicating charm,
And thyself with fix'd resolution arm;
I'll be thy conduct (Britain's Martyr's Ghost)
And bring thy navy safe to Darien's coast.

I'll haste; and, at your Sovereign's call, prepare
A figure, which all England's foes will fear.
Nor can the shades (though happy) take full rest,
'Till Britain's of her Paradise possess'd,
Where she, with peace, trade, honour, will be bless'd.

(*Raleigh's Ghost vanishes*, &c.)

Kind Heav'n assist us, rightly to improve
This noble magazine of treasur'd love.
O, cleanse our drowsy souls from filthy dregs;
Screw up our craz'd theorbo's dusty pegs,
And let each sounding heart-string tuned be
To a most sweet melodious harmony;
And to a fervent soul-transforming praise;
Since Heav'n resolves by such endearing ways
Britannia's griefs to heal, and her to glory raise.

[15] The King of France. [16] Who was poisoned by the Duke of Buckingham. See the present Volume, p. 69.

Most welcome news these happy shades do bring,
Who, by Divine instruction, know the thing,
That timely will prevent the nation's woe;
Who is Britannia's friend, and who her foe.
Not like the doubtful oracles of old,
But, with love's freedom, modest, plain, yet bold,
They tell, wherein our happiness consists;
Removing from our eyes the strange inchanting mists.

O, honour'd England! sure thy fame will spread,
And, in thy adversaries[17], strike a dread,
Since two such men[18] rise from the dead to heal
With sympathy, as if they both did feel
Our griefs; and all the happy shades likewise
Consulted, how to make us great and wise.

May all those parasites an entrance find
In Strombolo's and Ætna's mouths[19], who blind
Our nation's eyes, by their satanic arts,
To hide true understanding from our hearts.

Now let's no longer rub our fest'ring sore,
Lanc'd by great Raleigh to the very core;
But wait in patience 'till we understand
What glorious Anne will say, and what command.

The vapours, which did late infect our air,
Depart; and our late clouds do disappear;
We'll haste to court, in hopes to gain the royal ear.
And may we, when we next together meet,
With news celestial, one another greet.

Meanwhile, to strengthen our assurance, we
Illustrious Anne will view; whom all do see
Encompass'd round in Heaven's dear embrace,
Shining with glory from its smiling face,
Which crowns her both with majesty and grace.
And, though great Nassau's absence made it night,
Soon after rose this more resplendent light.

Of equal honour to the British throne,
With William or Eliza, she is known;
Who does with new advancing lustre shine,
And lives the terror of the humbled Seine.

We've seen her arms, Great-Britain's cross display,
While baffled France does own, our Anna's ray
Did, by the brightness of her dawning reign,
Just ent'ring on the globe, and late began,
What e'er their tedious monarch wrought, exceed;
And taint his grandeur by one single deed,
And pull the fading laurels from his head.

[17] France and Spain. [18] As Drake and Raleigh.
[19] Strombolo and Ætna are two burning mountains.

Nor will, 'till she the mighty work has done,
Sheath up, and the contested balance won,
And finish what the great Nassau begun.

The treach'rous See of Rome, and haughty France,
She now has put in a confounding trance,
Which, in all joyful hearts, does now inspire
New consolations from a heav'n-born fire;
And into ev'ry loyal breast instills
What with new love and admiration fills.

To France and Rome she is the sterling mirror
Of heart-distracting grief, and thundering terror.

Let Vigo speak, if any strength be left
In these, who of their senses were bereft,
And, breathless, hid themselves in mountains cleft.

Let France tell, who Anne's banner view'd with dread,
When Marlborough her victorious army led
Up to the shaken empire, to defend
From Lewis' strong invasion; and did send
All his slain host to their infernal place,
And did his captiv'd Generals' pride abase.

Marlborough, so great and brave, he gave 'em light
From his loud cannons flames (in dusk of night)
For decent burial of those warriors all,
Who durst aspire to grasp th' imperial ball,
The diadem and scepter (to enslave
All Europe) thus; he sent those hectors to the grave.

Let their sad Ghosts arise to tell th' alarms,
Which smote France deaf and dumb thro' Britain's arms,
In spite of Maintenon's[20] delusive charms.

Since Rome and France proclaim it certain death
To speak of this great conquest but one breath,
Let those shades rise, though they but once appear,
Not now to tell the news which all men hear,
But to torment, and strike 'em dead with fear.

We'll give 'em leave *Te-Deums* now to sing,
Since welcome post such glorious news does bring:
If Lewis means at next campaign to thrive,
Le-Chese[21] his prayers backwards now must strive
(Though in much shame and ridicule) to mumble,
While moon-blind fops with aching gizzards grumble.

Victorious Anne, in a triumphant state,
Her publick Hallelujahs twice has sounded,
And, when a third time she shall consecrate
Immanuel's[22] praise, may she then be surround e

[20] Lewis the Fourteenth's mistress. [21] Lewis the Fourteenth's Confessor. [22] Jesus Christ.

With th' universal harmony of all,
In shout, for France and Rome's tremendous fall.

And may she reign in peace and honour, 'till
Time all the sacred prophecies fulfil,
A signet in God's heart; a plague to hell:
And (with his Royal Highness[23]) ever dwell,
Ever, in beatific-vision-place;
In the eternal (dear and full) embrace
Of great Jehovah, to behold his face.
Amen, Amen.

[23] Prince George of Denmark, Queen Anne's consort.

A true and faithful Relation of the Proceedings of the Forces of their Majesties, King William and Queen Mary, in their Expedition against the French, in the Carribbee Islands, in the West-Indies: Under the Conduct of his Excellency Christopher Codrington, Captain-General and Commander in Chief of the said Forces, in the Years 1689 and 1690. Written by Thomas Spencer, Junior; Secretary to the Honourable Sir Timothy Thornhill, Baronet; to whose Regiment he was Muster-Master, and supplied the Place of Commissary.

London, printed in 1691.

[Quarto, containing Fourteen Pages.]

To the Right Honourable Edward Russel, Admiral of their Majesties' Fleet for the Year 1691, Treasurer of their Majesties' Navy, and one of the Lords of their Majesties 'most Honourable Privy-Council.

Right Honourable,

I MIGHT justly imagine myself to be thought rude and impertinent, when I first presumed to tender this account to your Honour; and I should never have adventured upon so great a boldness, if I had not thought it really my duty to present it to your Honour's view. And the reason which moved me to it was, because the most notable actions herein related, as the taking of St. Christopher's, and St. Eustace, were the immediate success of part of that royal navy, which your Honour now happily commands in chief; I mean that squadron commanded by Admiral Wright in the West-Indies, without which it had been utterly impossible for the English to have enterprized any thing in those parts. For their Majesties' islands there, were so depopulated by a raging mortality, that the surviving inhabitants were even harassed with a daily fatigue to defend themselves. Upon this motive, joined with the consideration of the innate generosity, which is generally found in all persons so nobly and honourably descended as yourself; but is so peculiar to the most noble family of Bedford, and with which (as you are a principal branch

thereof, so) you are principally adorned; I first assumed the boldness to address your Honour with a copy of this relation; and the high favour you were pleased to vouchsafe me, in your perusal and approbation of it (when it was a manuscript) hath encouraged me not only to send it to the press, but hath also emboldened me to implore your patronage to countenance it, with which it will be sufficiently honoured and defended, and may boldly appear in public. But, for the return of so high an obligation, as it transcends the utmost of my hopes to accomplish; so I must confess my incapacity to make any farther advances towards it, than an humble and grateful acknowledgment, which shall ever be paid with the strictest observance, by him who craves leave to subscribe himself,

Right Honourable,

Your Honour's

Most humbly devoted

and obedient Servant,

THOMAS SPENCER.

THE design of this small treatise is to give a succinct relation of the proceedings of their Majesties' forces in the Caribbee-Islands; and (in a plain and compendious method) a faithful narrative of the most remarkable transactions, from the beginning of the war, to this present time. Only I must desire to be excused, in the omission of noting the particular days of the month in some places, the loss of some papers having forced me to be less exact in the performance of that, than I could wish; but, as this is not absolutely material and *per se*, but only circumstantial and *per accidens*, I presume it may the more easily be pardoned.

But, before I fall upon the intended matter, I think it not amiss to shew the first grounds and reasons of the differences which have happened in those parts. Be pleased then to know, that the island of St. Christopher's hath formerly been a stage of war between the English and French: but, of late years, matters being accommodated, and the island divided between them, they have each of them lived under their own government; and an act of neutrality hath passed by the consent of both their kings, to the intent they might there enjoy a quiet and uninterrupted peace, notwithstanding any wars that might happen between the two crowns in Europe. But the French, being a fickle and inconstant people, broke through all those considerations; and, before the wars were proclaimed between England and France, (prompted by some private animosities of their own, and animated by the instigations and impulsions of some Irish upon the island, in the month of July, 1689,) entered the English ground with fire and sword, forcing the inhabitants to fly to the fort for their safety.

The English, being in this distress, applied themselves to the government of Barbadoes for assistance; upon which application, the Honourable Sir Timothy Thornhill, Baronet, offered himself to go at the head of a regiment to their relief; to which the governor, council, and assembly assenting, the drums beat up for volunteers, and, in less than a fortnight, there was raised a regiment of seven-hundred able men, all which (the commissioned officers excepted) were fitted with arms, &c. for the said expedition, at cost and charges of the island of Barbadoes; convenient vessels being also provided, for the transporting them to the island of St. Christopher's.

All things being in a readiness, they embarked and set sail on Thursday the first of August; and, on Monday following, being the fifth of the said month, they arrived at the island of Antigua, where they received the unwelcome news, that the fort at St. Christopher's was surrendered to the French, on Monday the twenty-ninth of July, upon articles; and the English sent off to the adjacent island of Nevis.

Affairs being thus stated; Sir Timothy Thornhill knowing his strength to be inconsiderable, to attack an island so well manned and fortified as St. Christopher's; and the government of Antigua also soliciting him to continue with them till the arrival of the

English fleet, which was daily expected; he agreed to their proposals, and landed his regiment there, quartering them in the town of Falmouth.

After a month's continuance in the said island, Lieutenant-general Codrington sent three sloops, manned with fourscore of Sir Timothy's regiment, under the command of Captain Edward Thorne, to fetch their Majesties' subjects, with their goods and stock, from the island of Anguilla; where they were miserably abused and destroyed, by some Irish which the French had put on shore amongst them. Before, and during Sir Timothy's stay in Antigua, the Indians of the neighbouring islands, who were in league with the French, landed several times upon the said island, killing those inhabitants that lived near to the sea (to the number of ten), and then making their escape in their swift periaquas, notwithstanding the best sailing sloops were sent in pursuit of them; but, by the diligence of the Lieutenant-general, in placing guards at all the bays and landing-places, those incursions were afterwards prevented.

About the middle of September, a French privateer, landing at Five Islands, near Antigua, had taken off some Negroes; and, in his going away, met with two English sloops, one of which, after some resistance, he took; the other, making her escape, came in, and gave an account of the action: upon which, Sir Timothy sent out two sloops, manned with a company of grenadiers, under the command of Captain Walter Hamilton, who next day brought her in with her prize. On-board the privateer (besides thirty French) were six Irish, who were tried by a court-martial, and four of them deservedly executed.

At this time, a dreadful mortality raging in the island of Nevis, especially among the men, which had reduced that sex to a moiety of its usual number, forced the inhabitants to make their addresses to Sir Timothy, who now had received a commission for major-general, to bring his regiment down thither for their defence, their island lying within two leagues of St. Christopher's, and in daily expectation of being attacked; the Major-general weighing their necessity, after the violence of the distemper was abated, in the month of November, removed his regiment thither, encamping them upon a commodious plain, close adjoining to a river.

In the beginning of December, the Lieutenant-general, coming down to Nevis, called a general council of war, in which it was determined, that the Major-general, with three-hundred of his own regiment, and two-hundred Nevisians, should go down and attack St. Martin's and St. Bartholomew's, two islands belonging to the enemy, in which they reared considerable quantities of stock, for the support and maintenance of other their sugar-islands; in order to which expedition, the Major-general, on Sunday the fifteenth of the said month, put his forces on-board the vessels provided for them, being one brigantine, and nine sloops; and, on Monday the sixteenth, he himself embarked, and the fleet set sail for the said islands. On Wednesday the eighteenth, in the morning, we passed by St. Bartholomew's; and, about four in the afternoon, being within four or five leagues of St. Martin's, we espied a small sloop standing up towards us; but, upon sight of us, she tacked, and put into one of the bays. When we came up with the bay where she lay, the Major-general sent one Lieutenant Dowden, with three files of men in a boat, to go up to her and board her, and, if she were floating, to bring her out: when the boat was got near on board, the enemy, who lay hid in the bushes on each side, (the bay being land-locked,) fired very thick upon them, forcing them to retreat, two of them being wounded. The Major-general, being very desirous to have the sloop; after it was dark, sent thirty men in four boats and canoes, under the command of Captain Walter Hamilton, again to attempt the bringing her out; but the enemy discovered them, and fired hotly upon them: the canoe, which Captain Hamilton was in, rowed close up to the sloop, and found her run on ground; the men, being all gone out of her, so were forced to leave her, and return to their vessels. Captain Hamilton received two shots in one of his legs, about four persons more being wounded, but none killed; that night we stood off and on, as though we designed to land in the morning.

The next day, being the nineteenth, there was a council of war held by the officers on-board the brigantine, wherein it was determined, first to attack St. Bartholomew's; and

accordingly the sloops stood up in the night to the said island. The next morning before day, Major John Stanley landed with four-score men, notwithstanding the opposition of the enemy, and beat them out of their breast-works, and by break of day he had planted his colours upon a battery they had, consisting of two great guns. All the forces being landed, the Major-general ordered them to take three several ways; himself leading his own guard of gentlemen reformadoes, with two companies more, through the body of the island. After a mile's march, we discovered a large fortification, which appeared to be well manned; but the Major-general, running down bravely with his men, so disheartened the enemy, that, after they had given us two or three volleys, they quitted it, and fled into the woods. The fortification was quadrangular, consisting of about two acres of land, encompassed with double rows of stakes, six feet high, and four feet distant; the intervals being filled with earth, and a wide deep trench without it; on each corner there was a flanker, in one of which were planted four great guns; the entrance into it was a lock, admitting but one at a time; in the middle of it was the governor's house, and a guard-house for the soldiers; also a large cistern with store of water; seven or eight barrels of dried salt-fish, with bread proportionable, and two barrels of powder. It was situated in a bottom, by the side of a lane, through which we were to pass to come at it, and on the other side was a very high hill. After we had entered it, the Major-general sent this Relator with four-files of men, to gain the top of the hill, which he did; finding it fortified with two great guns, loaden and primed, with the match lighted, and several bags of partridge-shot lying by them; but the enemy was so much in haste, they did not stay to fire them upon us.

About four miles distant from the fortification, upon the side of a hill, there appeared a large white building, resembling a fort, to which the Major-general sent three-hundred men under the command of Colonel Charles Pym; with orders, if he found it strong, to sit down before it, and wait his coming. About two of the clock, the Major-general (leaving a sufficient guard in the fortification) marched up thither with the rest of his forces; and, when we came to it, we found it to be only a stone platform, laid shelving for the conveyance of the rain-water into the cistern; the island being destitute of rivers, wells, or other conveniencies of fresh water, the inhabitants are forced to make use of all advantages to catch the rain; each house being furnished with one or more of the cisterns, some of them capable of holding twelve or fourteen tuns. There we encamped that night, and the next day (the twenty-first) we marched back to the fortification.

On Sunday the twenty-second, in the morning, two captains of the enemy came in with a flag of truce, bringing articles from their Governor, upon which they offered to surrender themselves; which when the Major-general had perused, he returned an answer to him in writing, and also by two gentlemen, who spoke French, which he sent to him, that his terms were denied; but, if he would come in with the inhabitants, with their arms and ammunition, within three days, he should find him a gentleman; but, if he stood out longer, he was to expect no quarter. That night the gentlemen returned to the camp with an answer from the Governor, that on Wednesday he would come in; but he could not sooner, because some of the inhabitants were hid in the woods, to whom he could not communicate his design before that time.

On Monday and Tuesday (the twenty-third and twenty-fourth) we marched round the island, burning all the houses as we passed along; the inhabitants in some places firing upon us from the woods, but without any damage.

On Wednesday (the twenty-fifth) we espied a flag of truce coming towards us, with the Governor, and a great company of the inhabitants; upon which the Major-general, having his own company of guards in the fortification, and the rest of his forces drawn up round it, sent the two gentlemen, who were before with him, to meet the said Governor; and, at the entrance in the fortification, he was received by Lieutenant-colonel John Thomas, and by him conducted to the Major-general, who sat in the house; (which rather resembled a pigeon-house, than a governor's pavilion, as the French termed it; for it consisted only of one room about twelve feet square below, and another above:) he was

accompanied by a friar, and some of his officers, all which were received with great civility by the Major-general, and many compliments passed between them. After some discourse, they went to dinner, and the Major-general so well warmed the friar with good Madeira wine, that he spoke Latin so fluently upon Transubstantiation, that he confounded himself in his own argument. The prisoners, who came in, were between six and seven hundred, all which were transported; the Governor, with the men, as prisoners to Nevis; the women and children to St. Christopher's; all the live stock was also carried up to Nevis, with the negroes, goods, &c. The Major-general returned the Governor some of his negroes, his horse, arms, apparel, &c. to be carried for him to St. Christopher's. In taking this island, we had about ten men killed and wounded.

While we were thus busied in sacking this place, Colonel Hewetson landed with three-hundred Antigua men upon another island belonging to the French, called Marigalanta[1]; beating the inhabitants into the woods, burning their town, nailing their guns, demolishing their fort, and returned to Antigua with the plunder of their island.

During our stay upon St. Bartholomew's, we had an addition of eight or nine sloops, with about fifty men, from some of the neighbouring islands, which the Major-general made advantage of; for, on Sunday the nineteenth of January, he sent the brigantine with nine sloops, the like number that had been there before, under the command of Captain Walter Hamilton, to alarm the island of St. Martin's, and the next morning to make a false attack on the windward side. After Captain Hamilton was gone down, the same day the Major-general embarked with all his forces in the other sloops, and in the night setsail forthe sa id isla nd, and the next morning (the twentieth) landed all his men on the leeward-side, without any opposition; the enemy having drawn all their forces to the other side of the island; only, after the first company was landed about twenty of the enemy fired upon them from a breast-work, but were soon beat out of it. When all the forces were landed, they marched entire through the body of the country, and, after two miles march, were drawn up in a convenient plain, the enemy being in sight, and, as we thought, advancing towards us. After we had continued an hour in this posture, the enemy retiring, had fired a great building upon a hill, about a mile distant, which seemed to be a fortification; upon which, the Major-general marched up to it with the whole body, but found it to be only a large house, which they had burnt, because it should not serve us for shelter; but the stone walls, which remained standing, however, proved serviceable to us, in covering us from their shot. There was a large cistern of water, but they had rendered it unfit for drinking, by throwing salt into it; a pond also, that was adjacent, they had poisoned with tobacco. We had not been long here, before the enemy began to fire upon us from a breast-work, where they had two great guns planted upon a hill a quarter of a mile distant, there being a clear valley between us; on the left-hand low and bushy ground, and on the right, a ridge of mountains, with a very thick wood. The Major-general sent Captain Birt, with a company of men, to gain the top of the highest mountain, which had the command of the post we were at; which being done, he left an hundred men, under the command of Captain Geoffery Gibbs, to maintain that post, and marched back into the plain, with the rest of his forces, to secure the avenues, and hinder the enemy from coming upon our backs. Being come down into the plain, himself, with several officers, and about an hundred sentinels, went to drink at a well; where, while they were drinking, they received a volley of about thirty shot from the enemy, who lay hid in the woods; but it pleased God, though they stood close one by another, there was but one man hurt.

Withdrawing from thence, Major John Stanley was sent with a party to rout them out of the woods, which he did; beating them from two strong breast-works they had upon a saddle between two hills, opposite to those we had before gained, in which works he posted himself. The passages being both ways secured, the Major-general encamped with the body in the middle of the plain that night, and the next morning, the twenty-first,

[1] [Marigalanta is one of the smallest of the Caribbee islands situated near Guadaloupe.]

our two brass field-pieces with carriages, and two iron ones, without, were brought on shore; the iron ones were planted in the plain, but the brass were drawn up to the burnt house, where our body was now encamped, and about three in the afternoon we began to play upon the enemy. In the evening, Captain Bartholomew Sharp was sent with one company of men, to cut a path through the wood, that we might make an attack upon the enemy that way; for in the valley they had four great guns planted directly against the road; but, being without carriages, they could not bring them to bear upon us as we lay. Captain Sharp had made no great progress in his work before he was discovered, and so hotly dealt with, that he was forced to retreat; all day the enemy kept firing upon us from their breast-work, both with great guns and small arms, but in the night they silently quitted it.

The next morning, the twenty-second, leaving thirty men at the burnt house, under the command of James Smith, we marched over to the breast-work and demolished it, and also their line; which run down to a well in the valley near their four great guns, which we nailed, together with the other two above. Continuing our march about a mile farther, we came to a fine plain, encompassed with orange and other fruit-trees, where we encamped, there being store of cattle grazing; at the upper end of it were three small houses, in one of which were found blood, and dressings of some wounded men; and we understood by two prisoners which we took presently after, that they had near twenty killed and wounded.

The next morning, the twenty-third, the Major-general (leaving this Relator with a sufficient guard in the plain, to take care of the plunder;) he marched with the body against their chief fort, about two miles distant, which he took without any loss, having but one man wounded, the enemy quitting their fort after a small resistance; it consisted of six great guns mounted upon a platform without carriages, with banks of earth thrown up. After he had nailed and overthrown the guns, he proceeded in his march about four miles farther, and then encamped in a pleasant valley, where was a house and garden belonging to the friar; there they found the Governor's horse saddled and bridled, he having left him and fled into the mountains with the inhabitants. This day, Major John Stanley marched over the hills on the other side the island, and engaged a party of the enemy, beating them out of their breast-work, and demolishing it; at night, he returned to his post on the saddle.

The twenty-fourth, the Major-general continued his march round the island without any opposition, and at night returned to the burnt house, where he again encamped; the plunder being also removed thither.

On Saturday morning, the twenty-fifth, we saw three great ships, a brigantine and a sloop, standing in with the island; and about noon, we understood by some prisoners, which we took, landing out of the said sloop, that it was Monsieur Decass came down from St. Christopher's, with seven-hundred men, to defend the island against us; who they heard had been upon St. Bartholomew's, and they thought us to be yet there. The Major-general immediately commanded away guards to all those bays where he thought the enemy would land; but they, seeing our sloops, perceiving we were already upon the island, and so came not to anchor, but gave chace to our sloops who made the best of their way to get clear. One of them, in great danger of being taken, run herself a-ground, but was again hauled off by the enemy; but the men were all got out of her. The master of one of the sloops being at the camp, when the prisoners were brought up, who gave this account; the Major-general dispatched him with an express to Antigua, to acquaint the Lieutenant-general with our condition, and desire him to send some ships to our assistance.

Decass stood off and on all night, and in the morning, the twenty-sixth, coming close in with the shore, he fired several guns, to give the inhabitants notice of his arrival: about noon he came to an anchor, before the windward part of the island, hanging abroad bloody colours. The inhabitants, encouraged by the coming of these ships, came down out of the mountains; and, finding their fort unmanned, they again took possession of it,

replanting and drilling their guns. In the night, Decass landed his soldiers; which the Major-general having advice of, brought his brass field-pieces from the burnt house into the plain, and planted them on the right and left wing of the body, which was there encamped; the iron pieces being planted before towards each road; having placed strong guards upon the saddle, at the burnt house, and the mountain which commanded it.

In this posture of defence we continued the twenty-seventh, twenty-eighth, and twenty-ninth, the enemy not daring to attack us: they had now three ships more come down from St. Christopher's, which joined with Decass.

On Thursday, the thirtieth, in the morning, arrived Colonel Hewetson from Antigua with three ships, which the Lieutenant-general had sent to our assistance. The French ships at an anchor, perceiving English colours, weighed, and stood out to meet them. About noon they engaged, and after four hours dispute, (with little damage on our side,) the French bore away; our ships also standing off all night; but in the morning, the thirty-first, they returned. The French ships also appeared in sight, but keep off at a distance. The Major-general (having sent the plunder and field-pieces on board) ordered all his out-guards to quit their posts, and marched down into the plain, in order to embark; which the enemy perceiving, marched down likewise, and both parties engaged, to the great loss of the enemy, who was beaten into the woods in confusion. The Major-general made an honourable retreat, and embarked safe with all his men; except about ten who were killed in the whole action, and three who were taken prisoners, by being asleep in one of the breast-works, when our men quitted them: one of them made his escape, and got down to the sea side, and a boat went and brought him off clear; the other two were afterwards exchanged. There were about twenty more wounded, which with the rest arrived safe at Nevis, on Sunday morning the second of February.

After the Major-general's regiment returned up to Nevis, the inhabitants of the said island, (considering the service they had done, and their willingness to continue in their defence, against the expected assaults of a neighbouring enemy;) in the month of April, 1690, they allowed the said regiment pay, so to continue for six months, except the English fleet should arrive; and then to be allowed pay but one month after the arrival of the said fleet; which happened in June following: at which time, preparations being made for an expedition against St. Christopher's, by all the Leeward Caribbee Islands, they brought their forces down to the island of Nevis, which was appointed to be the place of general rendezvous, it lying most convenient for the said purpose; and upon Monday the sixteenth of June, 1690, by the command of his Excellency Christopher Codrington, who had now received a commission from their Majesties King William and Queen Mary, for Captain-general and Commander-in-chief of all their Leeward Caribbee Islands; there was a general muster in the island of Nevis, of all their Majesties' forces raised for the said expedition against St. Christopher's, which, according to the muster-rolls given in, appeared to be as follows, viz.

In the Duke of Bolton's regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-general Holt, seven-hundred.

In Major-general Thornhill's regiment, under his own command, five-hundred.

In the Antigua regiment, under the command of Colonel Williams, governor of the said island, four-hundred.

In the Montserat regiment, under the command of Colonel Blackstone, governor of the said island, three-hundred.

In the two Nevis regiments, under the commands of Colonel Pym and Colonel Earl, six-hundred.

In the Marine regiment, being a detachment out of the frigates, under the command of Colonel Kegwin, commander of the Assistance, four-hundred.

In the Captain-general's guard, under the command of Colonel Byam, one-hundred.

In all, three-thousand men.

Upon Tuesday and Wednesday, being the seventeenth and eighteenth of the said month

of June, we embarked for the said expedition; and upon Thursday, the nineteenth, we set sail from Nevis with our whole fleet, consisting of ten men of war, two fire-ships, twelve merchant-men, and about twenty brigantines and sloops; and the same evening we came to an anchor before the island of St. Christopher's in Frigate-bay. In the night, eight of our frigates weighed, and fell down three leagues to the leeward, to amuse and harass the enemy, and the next morning they returned. That day we plied our great guns from some of the frigates, which lay nearest in with the shore, upon the enemy in their trenches; and received some shot in exchange, from a battery of five guns they had there, but without any damage on our side.

That night there was a council of war held on-board the Admiral, by the General-officers, and some of the Prime-commanders; according to the result of which, Major-general Thornhill, with four-hundred of his own regiment, and a detachment of one-hundred and fifty out of the regiments of Montserat, Nevis, and Antigua, between two and three of the clock next morning (being Saturday the twenty-first) landed with the forelorn, (the field-mark being matches about their left arms,) at the little salt-ponds, about a league to windward of the aforesaid Frigate-bay, without any opposition; the enemy having left that place unguarded, by reason of its situation; it lying at the foot of an almost inaccessible hill, over which they thought it an impossibility to march. This steep ascent we mounted by a path frequented by none but wild goats, and in some places so near a perpendicular, that we were forced to use our hands as well as our feet in climbing up. About break of day we gained the top, where we received a volley of about seven or eight shot; from some scouts there placed, who immediately, upon their firing, retreated; which wounded us two brisk commanders, one of which died of his wounds soon after. The Major-general, leaving one company to secure the pass upon the hill, led his men down about a third part of it, before they were discovered by the enemy, who now began to fire briskly upon us from their trenches, wounding several of our men; and the Major-general himself received an unfortunate shot through the small of his left leg, which obliged him to stay the binding of it up; but his men, running down briskly upon the enemy, and flanking them in their trenches, and the Duke of Bolton's and the Marine regiments landing at the same time at Frigate-bay, (in which action Colonel Kegwin received a mortal wound,) forced them to quit their post in disorder, and leave us masters of the field: we found fourteen of them dead; we having lost half the number, besides wounded men.

All our forces being landed, and the Major-general with the wounded men sent on board, the army was drawn up into four battalions: the Duke of Bolton's regiment, in the van, was ordered to take the road adjoining to the sea; the Major-general's regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel John Thomas, in the body, was ordered to march through the country; and the Antigua regiment was commanded to march at a distance, as a reserve to the body; the other four regiments were to keep their posts, and wait for farther orders. After an hour's march, the Duke of Bolton's regiment encountered a small party of the enemy, and soon put them to the rout; immediately after those French companies which ran from Frigate-bay, joining with the rest of their forces, which were gathered from all parts of the island, were advancing upon our body; they having much the advantage of ground, and three to one in number; and, after a sharp dispute of half an hour, they had almost surrounded us; but Colonel Williams, coming up with the reserve, and giving them an unexpected and vigorous assault, so encouraged the Major-general's regiment, that they pressed resolutely on, and beat the enemy out of the field in confusion; one part flying to the mountains, and the rest betaking themselves to the fort, which formerly belonged to the English.

Orders being sent to the four regiments at Frigate-bay, to march up; and the Duke of Bolton's regiment also meeting us; the whole army was drawn up into an entire body, and the soldiers were permitted to drink by companies, at the adjacent wells and cisterns.

While the army was thus refreshing, the cockswain of the Mary frigate came with advice to the Captain-general, that the frigates having fallen down before the town and fort

of Basterre, the enemy, after firing two or three rounds, had struck their flag, set the town on fire, and quitted it; but, by the diligence of the seamen who came on shore from the frigates, it was happily extinguished. Upon which advice, the Captain-general marched immediately away to the said town, with intent to quarter the army therein for that night; but, the enemy having left store of wines and other liquors behind them, (and fearing the disorders it might breed among the soldiers,) he altered his resolutions, and only making a halt there, and placing his own company of guards in the mass-house, commanded the army to march to the Jesuits convent, lying about a mile above the town; where being again drawn up, and orders given to lie by their arms all night, centries were placed, and some parties sent to drive in cattle; there being store of flour, bread, &c. in the convent. The night proved very wet; it raining without intermission till morning; but the officers generously shared the weather with the centinels; scarce any, except the general officers, going into the convent for shelter.

The next morning, being Sunday the twenty-second, the Commissary-general having secured the liquors in a convenient store-house, the army marched down to the town, and free liberty was granted them to plunder it: wine and brandy being also distributed to them, by the respective commissaries of each regiment. The fort here consisted of sixteen guns, which they had nailed and spiked; but, by the diligence of our men, they were again cleared. In the afternoon, a detachment of one-hundred and fifty men, out of the Antigua regiment, was sent under the command of Major Gunthorpe, to gain and secure a pass, which was thought to be possessed by the enemy, lying in the way to the English fort; but when they came, they found it quitted. Monday, the twenty-third, we continued all day in the town; and in the evening the country was in flames all round; being fired by the English negroes who came from the mountains, where they had lain since their masters the English were beaten off the island.

On Tuesday, the twenty-fourth, we began our march towards the fort, and that night encamped about three miles from it; having the like fortune of rainy weather, without any means to avoid it. This day the frigates weighed from Basterre, and fell down to Old Road, where they came again to an anchor.

Wednesday, the twenty-fifth, we continued our camp at Old Road, and the wheelbarrows, shovels, pickaxes, &c. were brought on shore.

On Thursday morning, the twenty-sixth, we marched within a mile of the fort, and encamped under the covert of a high hill; a detachment out of Colonel Earl's regiment being sent under the command of Captain William Butler, to secure the top of it.

On Friday, the twenty-seventh, the Mary's two chace-guns, six-pounders, were brought on shore, in order to be drawn up to the top of the hill, and the Marine regiment under the command of Colonel Kirkby, commander of the Success, (Colonel Kegwin, being dead of his wound he received in landing,) was employed in cutting and clearing a path for the drawing them up.

On Saturday and Sunday, the twenty-eight and twenty-ninth, the Marine regiment so vigorously pursued their business, that they had drawn the guns to the top of the hill, and planted them upon a platform they had laid for them, with baskets of earth thrown up for a covering from the enemies shot, it lying open to the fort.

On Monday morning, the thirtieth, powder, shot, &c. being carried up, they began to play upon the fort, the very first shot doing execution; and the frigates also, weighing from Old Road, stood down to the fort, and battered against it: the whole army at the same time marching into a deep and wide ditch, between the hill and the fort, within musket-shot of it. In the afternoon, the frigates stood up again to Old Road, but the guns from the hill kept playing incessantly till night; at which time we began our intrenchments, running, from the ditch where we lay encamped, a trench, with a half-moon at the end, capable of holding four-hundred men.

On Tuesday, the first of July, one of the Nevis regiments and part of the Antigua regiment, were sent uuder the command of Colonel Charles Pym, to take a small fort of the

enemies, about three miles distant from the camp; which they successfully surprized, taking about fifty prisoners in it.

This evening, Lieutenant-general Holt having given orders to the out-centries that were placed towards the fort, to fire, without challenging, at any who should come that way; himself afterwards, riding by them in the twilight to view the works, was shot into the body, by one Gibbons, an Irishman, who was one of the centries; he returned to the camp and languished long of it with little hopes of recovery: Gibbons was afterwards tried by a court-martial, but after a full hearing acquitted.

On Wednesday, the second, those guns on the hill proving so serviceable, there were four more of a larger size drawn up; but one of them splitting at the first time of firing, and the rest being incommodiously planted, they were no more made use of. This day four companies of the enemy marched out of the fort, and drew up before the gate; but in a quarter of an hour they marched in again. The half-moon being now finished, we run another trench about a quarter of a mile below it, able to contain the like number of men; and, at the like distance below that, we began another, wide enough to draw the carriages of the great guns through.

The third, fourth, fifth, and sixth days, we continued in the day-time quiet in our trenches, in the night running on with our works; the enemy firing day and night upon us with great guns and small arms, but doing us little damage; but the guns on the hill galled them exceedingly, leaving no corner of the fort unsearched.

Some hundreds of the enemy being out in the mountains, headed by one Monsieur Pinelle; parties were sent daily abroad, commanded by the officers in their turns, to scour them out: and on Monday, the seventh, the Major-general, his wound being well healed, went himself at the head of two-hundred men, upon the same design; but could not meet with the enemy to engage them; they lurking sometimes in one place, and sometimes in another.

On Wednesday, the ninth, he returned to the camp, with some prisoners, many negroes, and great store of cattle. After the Major-general's return, proclamation being made, by beat of drum, in several places of the island, by the command of the Captain-general, that all, which would come in within three days, should receive his protection, to secure their persons from the outrages of the soldiers; several families surrendered themselves; to many of which was also granted liberty to return to their houses, and keep some small stock till farther orders.

Monsieur Pinelle, also, sent in a flag of truce from the mountains, to acquaint the Captain-general, that he could not come in without leave from the Governor; but, however, he assured him, he would remain quiet, and give free passage to any of our men he should meet with.

The tenth and eleventh, we continued in our trenches, which we had now run within pistol-shot of the fort.

Over-against the gate we had an half-moon, on which we planted several colours. On the left-hand of the half-moon was a battery raised for six great guns, two eighteen-pounders, and four twelve-pounders; but, before they were mounted, on Saturday, the twelfth, about one in the afternoon, the drums beat a parley in the fort, and four persons marched out with a flag of truce: they were met in the pasture between our trench and the fort, by Major Legard, and by him conducted to the Captain-general; and after some treaty, hostages were given on both sides, one of the Majors continuing with us, and Lieutenant-colonel Nott was sent to them; Captain Hamilton also going with him as an interpreter. But, notwithstanding the treaty, the Captain-general continued his works, joining our trench to the enemies' trench, through which they used to come from the fort to the well; our centries were placed under the walls and at the gate of the fort, and that evening our guns were also mounted upon the battery.

About twelve of the clock in the night, there was a canoe let over the fort-walls, (it being situated by the sea-side,) which run on-board a sloop that came close in with the shore, under the covert of the dark night; our men let fly a whole volley upon them,

which made them hasten away. Captain Hamilton came to the centry at the fort-gate, and ordered him to acquaint the Major-general, that there was a ship seen off; upon which this Relator was dispatched away to Old Road, to give Admiral Wright notice of it; but, in the interim, a brigantine was sent in pursuit of the sloop: the Admiral immediately ordered two frigates to weigh, and put out in search of the said ship and sloop; which they did: and the next day, the thirteenth, returned without seeing any vessels.

During the whole action upon this island, there were two frigates that cruised about, to take any French vessels which might arrive there, either by design or chance, but they met with none.

On Monday, the fourteenth, the fort was surrendered to the Captain-general, upon the same articles that it was before delivered up to the French. After the enemy marched out, and the English flag was put up, the King's and Queen's healths were drunk, and the great guns three times fired, three volleys being also made by the whole army. The fort was quadrangular, consisting of four flankers, with a curtain between each; on each flanker were mounted five guns: the walls were of stone, about twenty feet high, surrounded with a deep ditch twelve feet wide, over which was a narrow wooden bridge. In the middle of the fort were two mounts thrown up for batteries; there was also a well; but, upon firing the guns, the water would instantly dry away. There was store of provision, liquors, and powder; but they wanted shot.

In retaking this island, we had about an hundred men killed and wounded. The island in general is very strong; there being several small fortifications and breast-works all around, except where it is naturally fortified with hills or shoals. The inhabitants were about eighteen-hundred men, besides women and children, and negroes; all which, except the negroes, which were to be divided as plunder, were transported to the island of Hispaniola; only some particular persons had the favour granted them to be carried up to Martinico.

After a week's refreshment, the Major-general, on Sunday, the twentieth of the said month of July, embarked with his own regiment in the sloops, and the Marine regiment on-board the frigates, and set sail for the island of St. Eustace; and the same evening (lying before the said island,) he sent Captain Hamilton on shore, with a flag of truce, to summon the island to surrender; who returned with an answer from the Governor, that he would defend it to the utmost.

The next morning, the twenty-first, the frigates began to batter against the fort, and the Major-general landed at the same time with his men under a high cliff, which they ascended: being got up, they had not marched far, before they perceived some Dutch colours in the woods; upon which a party was sent to discover them, who returned with an account that it was Colonel Scorer (the governor of the island for the Dutch, when the French took it,) with one-hundred men under his command, who came from Saba, and landed there three days before; but, not having strength enough to take the fort, into which the inhabitants were fled, he designed to get what plunder he could, and so go off again. He refused to join with the Major-general, because he was first landed; and so accordingly went off the next day. The Major-general proceeded in his march towards the fort, and encamped within musquet-shot from it, under the rising of a small hill.

The next day the Marine regiment landed, and the shovels, pickaxes, &c. being brought on shore; they began their intrenchments; running their trench along by the fort, within musquet-shot from it.

After five days siege, the enemy sent out a flag of truce, with articles; but they were so high in their demands, that the Major-general refused them, and returned an answer, "If they did not descend to more reasonable terms, within three days, he would grant them no quarter." Within the prescribed time, they came out again with a flag of truce, and surrendered themselves and their fort, upon quarter for life, and to march out with their baggage. Their fort contained sixteen great guns; it was surrounded with double rows of stakes, the intervals filled with earth, and without that strong palisadoes; and on the outside of them a deep ditch, over which was a narrow bridge leading into the gate, admit-

ting but one at a time: the besieged were about sixty men, the women and children being sent off some time before; they had a well for water, and about twenty barrels of flour, some salt fish and pork, and a small quantity of ammunition; they behaved themselves very briskly, during the siege, especially the Governor, who was very active in firing the great guns, &c.

In taking this island, we had not above eight men killed and wounded. The Major-general (leaving one company upon the island, under the command of Lieutenant John Mac-Arthur,) returned to St. Christopher's with the whole fleet; carrying the inhabitants prisoners thither, and afterwards transporting them to Hispaniola. Lieutenant Pilkinton was afterwards sent down with a company out of the Duke of Bolton's regiment to relieve Lieutenant Mac-Arthur; and he still continues there for the defence of the said island.

The inhabitants of the island of St. Bartholomew's, who were brought up prisoners from thence to Nevis, being sent down to St. Christopher's, before that island was retaken, there met with their wives and families; and, after that island was retaken, they were desirous to live under an English government: upon which, the Captain-general gave them liberty to return to their island; transporting them thither, and granted a commission to one Captain Le Grand, (a former inhabitant among them) to be their governor, and to keep and defend the island in the name and behalf of their Majesties, King William and Queen Mary; under which government it still continues.

In the latter end of October, this Relator's concerns calling him home to England, he left the Caribbee islands; the Captain-general having then issued out orders for the mustering their Majesties' forces, and getting them in a readiness to embark upon a further expedition, against Guadalupe, and other French islands; leaving a garrison upon St. Christopher's, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Nott.

Thus you have a brief and plain relation of the success of the English arms in the Caribbee islands: and it may reasonably be concluded, that as the English affairs there have hitherto been happily prosperous, so being under the management and conduct of such prudent and active generals, and promoted by the forwardness of the soldiery, but principally by a divine blessing attending upon their endeavours, they will soon put a successful period to those troublesome wars, and root the French interest out of that part of the world.

The Law's Discovery: Or a brief Detection of sundry notorious Errors and Abuses contained in our English Laws, whereby Thousands are annually stripped of their Estates, and some of their Lives. By a Well-wisher to his Country.

London, printed in 1653.

[Quarto, containing Five Pages.]

The Author was a gentleman born to a fair estate, by degree a barrister; who partly through sickness, and partly for conscience, deserted the profession of our laws, as epidemically evil: he spent divers of his last years in supervising the defects thereof

Amongst many grievances, wherein he desired redress, personal imprisonment for debt was one; and the insufficiency of our laws, for charging the debtor's estate, another. Therefore, several of these subsequent proposals tend chiefly for securing of creditors, out of the debtor's estate; whereby, the debtor's person may go free.

I. WHEREAS the lands of a copy-holder, who is a tenant at will, according to custom, are not subject to extent in his lifetime, nor liable to his debts in the hands of his heirs; it were convenient that some plenary act were made for redress hereof; securing the lord's fine, and preserving the custom of the manor.

II. That leases taken for other men's lives, whether in possession of the general or special occupant, may be subjected to payment of debts: the creditor, whose money bought the lease, or preserved it from sale, hath better right thereto, than either of these occupants. Such defects as these protect heirs in burrough English: also when lands fall to the youngest son of a copy-holder; neither of these can be charged upon ancestors' bonds, because not heir-general at common law.

III. That an heir of a tenant in tail may be liable to pay his father's debts.

IV. That some remedy be used for payment of debts, where parents purchase lands in their children's names, with other men's monies.

V. That where heirs alien lands, before action brought by the creditor, they may pay such debts, and not leave the creditor to a suit in Chancery in such plain cases.

VI. That the creditor, for securing his debt, have liberty to charge the heir and executor, both together; because it is uncertain which is best able to pay: if he recover of one, the other may stay his suit.

VII. That younger brothers and grand-children, enjoying lands upon descent, be liable to pay debts.

VIII. That coheirs in gavelkind, where brethren inherit equally, may all, as well as the eldest, be liable to pay debts; also that lands, left in trust for children, be liable to payment of debts.

IX. That creditors have liberty to extend more than half the debtor's lands for payment of debts, which cannot be done at present.

X. Whereas rich debtors get their lands extended by one creditor or other, thereby to defraud the rest; therefore, that as leases, goods, and bankrupt lands are sold, so where the landed debtor will not sell, within convenient time; that the creditors should have the debtor's lands to sell and dispose of, returning the overplus to the debtor, or else that some convenient remedy be used herein.

XI. That there were some places in every shire for registering all leases, bargains, conveyances, statutes, judgments, recognisances, and the like, which any way concern the lands in that shire: in former times, care hath been used for recording of bargains, sales, and statutes, within six months; but none at all for leases, feoffments, deeds of covenants to stand seized to uses, with leases and releases after them.

XII. That writs to take a debtor be dirigible, particularly to one, and generally, to all other sheriffs or justices within England.

XIII. That the privileges and abuses of Palatines, which extremely hinder payment of debts, be laid by with us, as they are in Portugal.

XIV. That, in regard attachments prevent arrests and bloodshed, they may be used as well in other parts of England, as at London.

XV. That, as was used by the antients against sanctuary-men, so instead of appearances, notice by justices of the peace, or the like, may be given or left; and, in case of contumacy the second or third time, process may be made against the offender. This would prevent those grievances by outlawry, also the great expences in Chancery, the abuses in Palatinates privilege, the exchange and fairs from arrests avoided, trials by *ejectione firmæ*, and abuses by under-sheriffs.

XVI. To prevent the abuses practised in wills and administrations; that in every great town or hundred, standing commissioners should be chosen by the neighbourhood (and sworn before some justices) for seizing and selling of estates; unless executors, or the like, give sufficient security to such commissioners for the absolute payment of all debts, and that all debtors be paid alike. This course might very much help orphans; also the just payment of debts and legacies: likewise, it were good some strict laws were made against imbezzling any part of such estates.

XVII. That insolvent debtors be freed from imprisonment, or else detained some short time at the creditors' charge, till their cause be determined, and their estates be seized for satisfaction of creditors.

XVIII. To help the creditor for matter of proof; that the debtor, or what others the creditor or judges think fit, may be examined upon oath, as in case of bankrupt.

XIX. For the encouragement of merchants, and some special manufactures, as at Antwerp; some immunities from arrest, at least for small sums, be conferred on the professors.

XX. Whereas poor men can seldom put in bail; for want whereof, they suffer unheard many months imprisonment, till their day of hearing comes, and are thereby often utterly ruined; therefore, for prevention, that the plaintiff by his own oath, or of some credible person allowed by the judge, declare the truth of the cause: wherein if he failed, the prisoner, giving authority for his appearance, to be dismissed without bail; or which is better, that the judge be authorized to determine of law, fact, and equity, to avoid the formality and charge of pleading.

XXI. That no person be held to bail, who hath offered to pay without suit of law; neither should his person be liable to execution.

XXII. Whereas, by that barbarous and senseless law of pressing to death, rich and landed men are encouraged to steal, and accessaries wholly escape; therefore, if such manner of offenders were attainted by verdict, such inconveniencies might be prevented.

XXIII. Whereas, by clergy, many times murderers, and notorious thieves, are but warmed a little in the hand, because they can read; and another for a sheep, or trifle, is hanged, not for his offence, but because he cannot read: therefore it were requisite, that this senseless and barbarous character, which admits of much knavery, and cannot be read by every good and able scholar, were banished; as well as French, Latin, and court-hand; especially in such cases which concern men's lives.

XXIV. That persons, accused for life, be permitted council; in regard their fears render them often both speechless and unadvised: bare accusations are not such sufficient condemnations, as to deprive any (though innocent) of council in such extremity.

XXV. That there may be but one statute for one matter, and repeals made total, not in part; so that men may know what is in force, what not; and live under such laws, as it is possible to know; which now they cannot.

XXVI. That reversioners have free power to dispose of their estates without the tenants' consent. This would both prevent many Chancery suits, and secure purchasers.

XXVII. That the statute of Merton[1] may be totally repealed; and thereby those antient local customs confirmed in behalf of the tenants and inhabitants.

[1] [This statute is inserted in Annal. Monast. Burton. See a brief notice of the same in Daines Barrington's Observations on the more Ancient Statutes, p. 41.]

XXVIII. That the uncertain fines of copyholders may be reduced to a certainty, either of an easy yearly rent, or moderate fine; also, that the like might be done, in servile tenures and heriots. This would prevent many Chancery suits, and oppression by lords.

XXIX. That the suborner, as well as the corrupted witness, should be stigmatized and disabled for future matters; also, that whosoever unjustly takes away another's testimony, by making him a party, should lose his suit, if proved. This is an old Chancery trick.

XXX. That trial by combat may be suppressed as a reasonless law, and unwarrantable by God's word.

I HAVE narrowly epitomized the author, partly because others have (especially Mr. William Leech) treated at large upon some of these grievances; and partly, that, as a compendium of many necessary *mementoes*, it might produce an active remembrance, in all true-hearted Englishmen, and worthy patriots of their country.

An Enquiry into the Physical and Literal Sense of that Scripture,

JEREMIAH viii. 7.

'The Stork in the Heaven knoweth her appointed Times; and 'the Turtle, and the Crane, and the Swallow, observe the 'Time of their Coming;' &c.

Written by an eminent Professor[1], for the Use of his Scholars; and now published at the earnest Desire of some of them.

Printed by J. H. no Date.

[Duodecimo, containing Thirty-six Pages.]

THE whole place is a rebuke to Man; who should best know, and therefore most readily perform, the 'Law of his Creator,' written in his nature: this is the theological scope, wherein he is upbraided by brute creatures, that better observe their instincts.

But our present enquiry is of the physical and literal sense, especially of these words '(in the Heaven) where the stork seems to be and reside, when she knoweth her appointed 'time of her return unto this our earth.' The question is, 'Whence come the stork, and 'the turtle, the crane, and the swallow; when they know aud observe the appointed time 'of their coming?'

For the probable solution of which question, four things deserve some particular consideration; being of the number of those wonderful works of God, which seem to be proposed to be 'sought out of all them that have pleasure therein;' Psalm cxi. 3. besides the theologico-moral design of convincing unnatural sinners.

1. 'The kinds or species mentioned.' And they are fowls; not but beasts, worms, and fishes have their seasons and months, in which they may be found; (as is said of the

[1] Mr. Charles Morton. See Calamy's Continuation, vol. i. p. 211.

wild ass, Jer. ii. 24.) But their absence and coming is not so remarkable; because, for the most part, they are known and observed by men, whither they make their recess; whereas, in divers sorts of fowls, their absence is such, that we know not whither they go, or whence they come; but are, as it were, miraculously dropped down from heaven upon us.

Nor are these particular kinds of fowls, mentioned, all those that do observe those seasons; but it is probable, that they were the most remarkable in the Holy Land. But we have divers sorts besides, of which we shall take notice; the rather, because they are more familiar to us than some of those here mentioned; and so we can better observe their phænomena, that may afford us some light in this matter. Such are the winter-birds that breed not here, as the woodcock, and wind-thrush (or the redwing, wheenerd, whindle; for so many names it has in divers countries), fieldfare, snipe, &c. And the summer-birds, that breed here, as the nightingale, the cuckow, marlot, &c. which may be added to the swallow, mentioned in the text, (a breeder in our own country,) and the stork (a breeder in our neighbour countries), of which we may obtain certain knowledge and intelligence; but the crane is an exotick, and preserved sometimes amongst us only as a rarity.

2. The second thing to be considered of them, is 'Their knowledge of the seasons.' This is an instinct, or implanted natural faculty, whereby they take notice of the changes of the air where they are; or the steams of the body where they reside; or the alteration or abatement of their daily food; or the changes arising from one or more of these in the temperament of their own bodies; whereby they are invited to change quarter, in order to obtain what is more suitable to them, or to avoid what is offensive. I will not suppose that they ratiocinate in the matter; yet I will not deny, but they have true sense and perception, and moved by something therein more than mechanism. Without dogmatizing, as it may be proposed a problem, or porisma, to be considered, whether the souls of brutes are not more than rarefied, or inflamed matter; and whether it will not suit well enough the harmony of the world, that spirits created should be of three sorts: some that should have no relation to the matter, as angels; some that should bear relation to matter, but without dependence (unless *quoad actum informandi*) as the reasonable souls of men; and some that should bear relation to matter, with dependence (*quoad esse, fieri, & operari*) as the souls of brutes. Certainly, if this were granted, there would be one step more (not yet taken notice of) to advance the throne of the highest perfection; and no such chasm, and vast distance between things spiritual and corporeal, that there need to be vehicles invented to join them together in one compositum. And truly, if immortality be not so much the result of immateriality, as of the decree and designation of the first cause; the most considerable argument that I know is dismounted, that it cannot better this hypothesis, if any one would make bold to assert it.

3. 'The appointment of their time.' This is not like the appointment of days, or months, or new-moons, or sabbaths to the reasonable creatures; who have both notions of time, and a power to discern and distinguish the parts thereof; all which is denied to brutes: but it is only the settlement of the order and fixation of the whole frame of nature, that which was at first made, and afterward secured by the promise, Gen. viii. 22. 'While 'the earth remains, seed-time and harvest, and cold and heat, summer and winter, day 'and night, shall not cease.' This diversity is derived from the lights in the heaven, set for 'signs and for seasons, and for days, and for years;' Gen. i. 14. For, according to the access and recess of these lights, (so as their irradiations are more direct or oblique, to any part of the earth, or as they vary their mutual aspects one to the other,) so is their influx upon the earth, or any other body among the heavens of like composition, to cause such changes in the effluvia, as gives distinction to those brute creatures, in this or that season, so or so to provide for themselves; that is, while the effluvia or steams, or the other things requisite for these animals, are congenial to their temperament, it intimates to them, to abide where they are; but, when an offensive alteration is made, it commands them to be gone, and shift for themselves; so that the 'ordinances of heaven' (as they are called, Job. xxxviii. 33.) that is, the settled order of motions and influences of the heavenly

bodies, and the regular and uniform acts of nature by agents and patients joined with that common law of nature, given by instinct to every thing to preserve itself; these two together do constitute that law which is here called, 'the appointments of their seasons;' to which law they readily yield obedience, not out of religion, as reasonable creatures do, or should, (religion, rather than reason, being according to the opinion of some learned men, the essential difference,) but out of necessity of nature, and by those shadows of reason, which many brute creatures have.

4. The last thing to be considered, is 'The place whence they come, and whither they go;' which is the main enquiry, and gave occasion to this exercitation.

Concerning some brutes, that keep seasons, it is known to men, where they make their recesses, or what is become of them, when they are absent from us. I shall mention some particulars in their several kinds.

1. And first of insects, and almost all sorts of flies; we know they are plentiful with us in the summer; but where are they in the winter? Some in their leeds or eggs, as silkworms, butterflies, &c. some in their pregnant dams, as bees, wasps, &c. which hide themselves all winter in some warm place, and in the spring lay their eggs; which, by the warmth of their bodies, and temper of the air, are after hatched in great abundance.

2. Divers sorts of fishes have their seasons; some whereof are river-fish, that go up into the smaller brooks to breed, as salmon, trout, &c. and after go down into the greater rivers, as trouts, or as low as the mouth of the rivers, into the very sea; yet not so far, but they may now and then have a gust of fresh water, as is observed in the salmon, which, being marked when they were young spawns, and cast into the rivers, have gone down into the sea, and returned again full grown with their marks into the same river. Some are sea-fish, that come in great shoals at certain seasons, as mullet, mackerel, herring, pilchard, and many more; but these, having the wide sea to travel in, do remove north and south either for the suitable warmth of the water, or the suitable food which such warmth doth produce.

3. Divers kinds of beasts have also their removes; these having not so great a scope to range in, as being confined to the habitable parts of the earth, where man also resides, ('the fear and dread of whom was placed in them all;' Gen. ix. 2.) Therefore those that are natural, or that are wild, do at times go farther from the presence of men, when they have convenience of covert and food, or when they breed, the better to hide and secure their young; but, when they are straitened in those conveniencies, they are forced to appear nearer, by spreading further to seek for forage, but even then, they take the opportunity of the night, wherein they may be best concealed; this is excellently celebrated, Psalm. civ. ver. 18, 20, 21, 23, 24. 'The high hills are a refuge for the goats, 'and the rocks for conies.' Ver. 20. 'Thou makest darkness, and it is night; wherein 'all the beasts of the forest do creep forth.' Ver. 21. 'The sun ariseth, they gather 'themselves together, and lay them down in their dens.' Ver. 23. 'Man goeth forth unto 'his work, and to his labour, until the evening.' Ver. 24. 'O Lord, how manifold are 'thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all.' 4. But the fowls of the air are most remarkable in their seasons, as is before noted; their removes are at a greater distance, by the convenience of their wing, and they have a larger scope than the fishes themselves, who have the whole ocean to wander in. The sea is wide and deep, yet not as the air, that compasseth the sea and land; nor so passable in any part as the air is supposed to be in some parts thereof. For, if the opinion be true, that gravitation is from the magnetism of the earth; then, the more remote from the earth, the less is the gravity, and by consequence the more easy passage; for then the bird, employing little or none of his strength to bear up its weight, may use it all in promotion whither it would tend. Then (beyond the atmosphere) the air is thin, and makes less resistance; and does so at least compensate the want of density to thrust the wing against: therefore, the whole strength of the bird is reserved only for the progressive motion, and (by consequence) that motion there must be abundantly more swift and easy, than it can possibly be here below in the atmosphere.

Before I do propose a direct answer to the question, 'Whither these fowls do probably 'make their recess?' I must lay down some postulata or prolegomena; such as,

1. That the Creator made the universe for the manifestation of his own glory.

2. That in order thereunto, he has endowed the rational creature (Man) with a capacity to observe, search out, and celebrate, his power, wisdom, and goodness in his works.

3. That, since the fall, the ordinary method of man's understanding any thing of the works of God, is by industry in sense, observation, experience, induction, and the communication of these things from one man to another.

4. That must be acknowledged as true, or at least most probable, that is most easily deducible from man's experience and observation of the phænomena of nature.

5. That those phænomena do yield ground for opinions more strange, weak, or variable; not so much from the diversity of appearances, as of observation from whence principally they derive the denomination of phænomena; therefore, when men speak of new ones, upon which they ground new argumentations and opinions, they are not (for the most part) new things in nature, but old things newly taken notice of.

6. New observations may be made in one age, that are not in another; by the hints that one age gives to another: whereby human reason (being still the same in all ages) works on upon former observations, so as what is begun, in one age, may be perfected in another; and the same may hint some things imperfectly to the next, that may be left to them to perfect, and so onwards; *Ita res accendunt lumina rebus.*

7. Whence it follows, there may be a sober sense of that saying, *Senescente mundo, adolescunt ingenia,* 'the older the world, the wiser;' not that new opinions arise from affectation of novelty, or proud contempt of the ancients: but, granting their wit and industry to be equal, yet we may soberly say, their opportunities were not so; for latter ages have the observations of the former, and their own to boot.

8. That all manner of sciences have improved, and are still improving, is manifest enough to any that are not overweening of their own entertained conceits; or impertinently superstitious towards dead heroes, and from hence are enemies to all reformation: as if envying that any thing should be done well, that was not done by them and their ancestors; or as if this must needs reflect upon them, as careless or unskilful.

9. That many little things in nature are of great importance, and become the most admirable (and God's wisdom therein) when their end and use come better to be discerned. One would admire to think, why God should create eclipses to appear only at certain times. The thing in itself is a very toy, a non-entity, a privation, a shadow of short duration, and no more in nature than the putting my hand between my eye and the candle; and yet this little darkness gives light to all astronomy and chronology: for by this, men only are sure that the hypotheses in the main are more than doubtful conjectures, God making use of this contemptible mote (as a fescue[2]) to teach men to read the heavens, and it enables man (that little pigmy on a mole hill) to measure and comprehend, at such a distance, such vast magnitudes and motions. This is noted, to prevent the sneer of some that possibly may be [scornful] at our enquiry after the habitation of a woodcock.

10. I do suppose, that the hypothesis of Copernicus is reasonable, and may be real, without any contradiction to Scripture; namely, 'That the moon's body (as also of the 'other five planets) is of a composition like our earth, and may have in it dry land and 'water, mountains and valleys, fountains, streams, seas, &c. and about it an atmosphere 'of vapours and fumes from its body, clouds, rain, &c. like this earth we inhabit; and '(by consequence) convenient entertainment for those fowls, in case they arrive thither.'

These thing premised; I say, it is not impossible, that divers of these fowls, which make such changes, and observe their seasons, do pass and repass between this and the moon, which is the nearest concute heterogeneous, or earthly body of the planets: which will appear, if we consider,

[2] [A pointer, used by children on first learning to read.]

1. If these birds did, in the time of their absence from us, reside any where in this earth, it is likely, that some one would, in one age or other, have discovered the place: but I cannot, from any record of the learned, or distinct and reasonable account of other men, find that there is any man has seen them out of their seasons; and therefore I conclude, they are no where in this our earth; for, *de non entibus & non apparentibus eadem est ratio.* It is true, indeed, I have heard stories of no such certainty as a man's mind may acquiesce in them: One tells me of 'Swallows lying in clay lumps in the bottom of 'rivers;' which I cannot persuade myself to believe, because the water and earth are too cold quarters, in the winter, for such summer-birds. Besides, if they should have no occasion for breath, while they lie in their sweeven, or winter-sleep; yet, in the spring-morning, when they should awake, it is scarce conceivable, how their feathers should be in a trim to lift them out of the water. Others tell us of 'Heaps of swallows lying in the 'clefts of the rocks near the sea;' but I never yet could speak with any one that ever saw them so, though I have lived many years near the sea. And also, methinks, it is very strange, that no curious persons, inquisitive into the nature of things, should procure any of those sleeping swallows, to observe the progress of nature concerning them. The like I have heard of the cuckow, found in hollow trees; but it is only rumour; and no more of woodcocks. I have been told, that one was taken on Midsummer-day, but he was all lousy. This (if true) might be: perhaps the poor creature was sick, or wounded, at the time he should have been gone; and so, perhaps, was left behind his fellows. And, indeed, I have often wondered, that none who might have opportunities for it (as a walled garden, with a brook running through it) have, by pinioning them, preserved some of these alive all the year long; especially in those parts where they are most plentiful, and sometimes of very little value. Of snipes and fieldfares, I have heard of young ones found in desolate moors, and northern parts; but then the same reporters tell us, 'It is but very rare, and scarce one nest in many years has been found:' But what is this to the multitude we have, especially of the fieldfare, which come in mighty flocks? As to the wind-thrush, I never yet heard of any, that pretended to know any thing of their abode, or breed.

2. Consider their coming, which is so sudden (as to divers of the kinds) that it is as if they dropped down upon us from above. In woodcocks, especially, it is remarkable, that upon a change of the wind to the east, about Alhallows-tide, they will seem to have come all in a night; for though the former day none are to be found, yet the next morning they will be in every bush. I speak of the west of England, where they are most plentiful. Nor is it observed, that they are in the eastern parts sooner than in the most western; nor that they fly westwards, when they are flushed, or raised to the wing, more than to any other quarters: whereas, if they came from any earthly coast, it is likely, their tendency to spread themselves farther, would be from those coasts, from whence they came. They come not in flocks, as fieldfares and redwings, but are sprinkled singly all over the country; and in some parts, are twenty for one what they are in others; especially where are plenty of springs and woody sides of hills: and perhaps mineral streams may contribute to the attraction of them.

It may, therefore, be supposed they hover aloft, where the attraction is weak; and though they may come all together to the utmost parts of the atmosphere, they may there disperse themselves to take a gust of the air; and, when they meet with steams that are agreeable, they forthwith drop right down to the place that best pleases them. One single bird, in his dispersion, over-shot himself, and, it seems, rambled too far out of his way; for I have heard this remarkable story:—'A ship out at sea, farther from land than any 'birds used to be found, discovered a bird aloft in the air, hovering over them, as high as 'they could discern; which bird descended towards them, and made divers rings over 'the vessel, and at last lighted on the deck. It was a woodcock, so wearied that they 'took it up with their hands.' This relation I had from the Rev. Mr. Thomas Travers, of Cornwall; who received it from the captain, or master of the vessel; a man of good credit and understanding. He said also, 'It came not from any coast, but down right

'from above; and (if I do not misremember) it was more southerly than any such birds 'use to be found.'

Now, if this be true (as I have no reason to doubt it) it either shews the creature to come from above; or at least thus much, if it come from any remote part of the earth, it first mounts above the attraction of the earthly globe, before it begins its journey towards us. Which, if it be gained, it fairly helps our supposal, as is before noted; for, if there be such an attraction (which is called gravity) and it have bounds in a certain height, then it may as well serve their going to the moon, as to some other parts of the earth.

As to the fieldfare and redwings, they seem also to come as suddenly upon a change of the air; but it is most on a northern wind, and therefore they may be thought to come from the northern parts of the earth; and, by consequence, it doth not so clearly evince our hypothesis upon this consideration, though it may help it well enough upon some other considerations. This is to be noted of them, that they fly very high at their first coming (as doth the swallow) and this may help a little, especially as to the attraction of the earth.

3. Consider the different state of these fowls, in their first coming, to what they are afterwards. This is noted of the woodcock, that when it first comes, the taste of its flesh is quite another thing from what it is afterwards; it is short and tender; whereas after, it eats stringy, and of a fibrous flesh, as other of our fowls are. And, towards its going off, it is observed, if you shoot a cock, it will bleed plentifully at the wounds, which at the beginning of the winter it never does; and then also, when it is so full of blood, it seems inclined to choose a mate for breeding; for about Candlemas you shall seldom flush a single cock out of a bush; which you always do, all the winter before. From this, the conjecture is, that they have another kind of nourishment, before they come here, than what this earth doth afford; or else their flesh would be of the same constitution: or, if they had blood at their first setting out, it served them for a viaticum, and was spent in their nourishment, throughout their long journey; and that their feeding here prepared them for breeding elsewhere, whither they travel with the companions of their choice.

4. Consider the flying of these birds, while they abide among us. It is manifest, that the woodcock and redwing make very short flights, when they are stirred; it is also manifest, that those of them that are found near the sea-shore, do never, when disturbed, offer towards the sea, but shelter themselves again, as soon as they can, on the land. Besides, it may be observed, that the wing of that fowl, proportionable to its full body, is very inconsiderable to bear it a long flight, in such a course, where is necessarily required a constant support of its weight.

Hence, therefore, we conjecture, it never came from any part of the earth, that lies beyond our seas; for it would never venture at rights over any sea, or considerable breadth of water; much less, that it should come from parts remote beyond man's travels: therefore, more probably, it is from above, where the main of the journey is performed without any gravitation.

As to the windthrush (or redwing) and fieldfare, it is observed also, what is of the woodcock, that their flights are short, and that they shun the seas; else, why do they not better shift for themselves, in a very cold season, by getting over to France, or other warmer countries, rather than starve here, as multitudes of them do? From this I conceive, that they are not beyond-sea birds, nor ever came into this island from another part of the earth; but that they come down directly upon us, when our land is presented fair for them, as they view it above in the atmosphere.

The swallow, cuckow, stork, and the other summer-birds, make but short flights and returns; the swallow, swift, and marlet, are almost always flying; and these also shun the seas, though they sometimes, for flies, or drink, do dip and play over the fresh water. Therefore, surely, neither are these any beyond-sea birds.

5. Consider these fowls in or near the times of their departure. The woodcock (as was said) is full of blood, gets company, and (to which add) is stronger of flight, and mounts higher, when moved. The fieldfares and redwings gather into great flocks; so do the swallows and marlets; and all these, except the woodcock, are wont to make a cheerful

singing, or chattering noise, before they take their farewell; their flights are also high, but never over any sea-water, that I can hear of; therefore, I conceive, they leave not the land to go beyond sea. Nor is it probable, that they hide in the sand, or seek lurking-places to sleep in; for then, methinks, they should be more dull and drooping towards their going to sleep. No; rather their cheerfulness seems to intimate, that they have some noble design in hand, and some great attempt to set presently upon; namely, to get above the atmosphere, hie and fly away to the other world.

But of all the remarkables, in this respect, nothing is more luminous in this matter than the proceedings of the stork in the Low-Countries, of which I have had this account. The stork, when it hath bred, and the young fully fledged, and the time of departure drawing nigh, they all (to a bird) gather together about the Harlem Meer; then they continue some days chattering, and making a great noise, till the last are come into their rendezvous; then, in the midst of this noise, there is a sudden silence for a short time, where (I suppose, upon a signal given,) they all rise together, and fly in one great flock, or cloud; fetch many great rounds, first near the earth, but after higher, (like the spiral ascent of a goss-hawk when she lowers,) till at last, this great cloud, that at first darkened the air right over the place of their ascent, appears less and less by distance, till it utterly disappears. 1. And here I call to mind a story[3] of Sir Anthony Welden's, in his 'Court 'and Character of King James.' 'The King, (saith he,) being at New-market, delighted 'much to fly his goss-hawks at herons, and the manner of the conflict was this. The 'heron would mount, and the hawk would get much above it; then, when the hawk 'stopped at the game, the heron would turn up its belly, to receive her with his claws, 'and sharp bill; which the hawk perceiving, would dodge and pass by, rather than en-'danger itself. This pass being over, both hawk and game would mount to the utmost 'of their power, till the hawk, being got above, would be at another attempt, and after 'divers such assaults, by some lucky hit or other, the hawk would bring her down. But '(saith my author) one day a most excellent hawk, being at his game, in the King's 'presence, mounted with his game so high, that both hawk and heron got out of sight, 'and were never seen more. Enquiry was made, not only over all England, but in all 'the foreign princes' courts in Europe, (the hawk having the King's jesses, and marks 'sufficient, whereby it might be known,) but all was to no purpose.' Now, Whither should these creatures go, unless it were to the moon? I confess, the hawk and heron might, being very weary, drop into the sea, and so be lost; though this be not very probable, because the heron's usual shift, is, not by a stretch onwards, but only by mounting up; and then, when they were weary, they should drop near the place where they rose, which was far enough from the sea. But, as to the stork, there can be no such thing suggested; for then the whole kind would perish: nor is it a force that makes them mount, as the heron, but only their own choice. Surely they seek a place where they may have a comfortable repose; but that cannot be any other land here, for directly upright is not the way to any part of this globe.

6. And, lastly, consider some remarkable words in the text; one is their *tempus itineris*, 'the time of their journey;' so, instead of 'coming,' do the learned render it. From which thus much may be gained, that swallows do not lie in the clefts, as some pretend; for it is but a small journey for that swift flier from the clefts to the chimney-tops. It is probable therefore they come from such a distance. as may deserve the name of a journey.

The other, and great, remarkable is, *Ciconia in Cœlis*, the 'Stork in the Heavens;' the note is, of the difference between the two original words בשמים 'in the Heaven,' and השמים 'of the Heaven.' Now, whenever in the Scripture other birds are spoken of with relation to the Heaven, it is in the latter word, 'fowls of the Heaven;' only this is said to be 'in the Heavens,' when it knows its time of returning to us; which is not said of any other, that I know of. Nay, this I know, the former word is commonly ascribed to those

[3] [The former part of this story I do not find in Weldon's Court of King James; and the latter part is so inaccurately given as hardly to be deemed a quotation.]

things, that have the Heaven for their proper place, and as contradistinct from the earth. A few of them I shall mention:

Exod. xx. 4. 'Thou shalt not make any likeness of any thing that is in Heaven above,' &c. that is, Thou shalt not pourtray any earthly thing, to make an idol of it, or make it a mean of worship, contrary to institution; nor of any heavenly body, as the sun, moon, or stars, to be either an object, or a mean; but thou shalt worship thy God spiritually, and immediately, and only as he hath appointed.

So, 1 Chron. xxix. 11. 'All that is in the Heaven and the earth is thine,' i. e. All the efficacy of terrestrial bodies, and all the influences of heavenly bodies, are in thy disposal; therefore thine is the kingdom of kingdoms, O Lord, and thou art exalted as Head above all.

So, Psalm cxiii. 6. 'Who dwelleth on high, who humbleth himself to behold the things 'that are in the Heaven, and in the earth;' i. e. Such is his Majesty, that it is condescension in him to look down, and take notice of any of his creatures. The lofty Heavens, and all those luminous bodies which we may well admire, yet are infinitely below him, and the glory of his throne. Now the Scripture gives us notice of three Heavens; the aërial, or Heaven of the fowls; the ætherial, or Heaven of the fixed stars and planets; and the Emsigreum, the seat of the blessed, or special presence-chamber of the Majesty on high; here the Apostle[4] was admitted to behold unutterable glories. This last falls not under our present consideration: the question is of the former two; that is, whether the stork, that is said to be in the Heaven, be only in the air, or some one of the planets, most likely the moon, which is nearest to us? I say, it seems probable, that other fowls, that are said to be of the Heaven, are for a short time in the lowest aërial; the Heaven, in which they freely, by flying, wander about; and, that being their excellency above other animals, that must only walk upon the earth, they are therefore called 'fowls of,' or belonging to 'the Heaven.' But 'in the Heaven' seems to be something more; namely, a steady abode in something that is called 'Heaven,' (that cannot be the air) for six months together: therefore, it must be some solid heavenly body, such as the moon is found to be.

It is true indeed, I find one place where the word, 'in the Heaven,' is spoken of the aërial Heaven, the place of Meteors, Psalm lxxviii. 26. 'He caused an east-wind to blow in 'the Heaven.' But then it is even here to be noted, that this Heaven is the proper place of the wind; but this cannot be so to the stork, it cannot have there a resting-place for so many months together: 'in the Heaven,' indeed, may signify to be in the air or atmosphere; but then it must be understood of such bodies as are by nature adapted to abide therein; but not of such as are there occasionally, and for a short space of the air, for them a phrase of sufficient dignity.

The sum of all is; the stork, in its absence, is said to be 'in the Heaven,' therefore it is not in any other parts of the earth; and since, 'in the Heaven,' signifies to be in the air, or in some one of the heavenly bodies, and that it cannot abide six months in the air, no more than Noah's dove, which was as good a flier, yet wanted a resting-place for the soal of her foot; it remains therefore, that the stork, (and the like may be said of the rest of season-observing birds, till some other more fit place can be with reason assigned them,) does go unto, and remain in some one of the celestial bodies, and that must be the moon; which is most likely, because nearest, and bearing most relation to this our earth, as appears in the Copernican scheme; yet is the distance great enough to denominate the passage thither an itineration or journey.

Objection. 'Great enough, indeed; for it is said to be fifty-two semidiameters of the 'earth; which being accounted twenty-one thousand, seven-hundred, and twenty-three 'miles, and three sevenths about; its diameter is six-thousand, nine-hundred, and twelve 'miles; then its semidiameter is three-thousand, four-hundred, and fifty-six; this, mul-'tiplied by fifty-two, gives one-hundred and seventy-nine thousand, seven-hundred and

[4] [Saint Paul. See 2 Corinthians, xii. 4.]

'twelve miles, for the distance of the moon from the earth: now at one-thousand per day, 'in one-hundred and eighty days, (which is but two and a half short of half a year,) he 'could go but one-hundred and eighty-thousand, which is not so much more than the 'number of miles mentioned; so that the whole year must be spent in going and coming 'at one-thousand miles per day; in two-thousand, of one half the year; in four-thousand, 'a quarter; and this is as much as can be allowed them: namely, six weeks coming, and 'six weeks going, to tarry five months there, and five months here. Now, how can it 'be conceived, that any bird should move four-thousand miles a day; that is, one-hun-'dred and sixty-six miles, and two thirds per hour?'

Answer. This is, I confess, a difficult objection; and I know not how better to answer it, than by giving them a little more time for their journey; that is, by dividing the year into three parts: allow one third for staying here, another one third there, and the remaining one third for their going and coming; that will be sixty days, or two months for each; then will their motion be about one-hundred and twenty-five miles in an hour: now, I have heard that race-horses have moved at the rate of five miles in a minute; this comes to three-hundred miles in an hour, if they could continue it. But, if this may seem too much to be believed, let us abate; say four miles is two-thousand four-hundred per hour, eight is one-hundred and eighty per hour; still this is more than our account one-hundred and twenty-five, but two is one-hundred and twenty; that is somewhat less; now, if any of these be possible by a horse, that hath two or three impediments, then it is much more easy for a bird, that hath none; the horse is hindered by its own weight, the bird hath none beyond the attraction; the horse hath resistance from the air, the bird in the air meets with no obstruction; and perhaps this may be added, that, if there were the resistance of the air, yet the bird could better make its way, not only by the shape of its body, fitted for the purpose, but, because of the smallness of its dimension, proportionable to its strength; for it is noted by an ingenious person, that generally smaller animals are stronger, proportionable to their bulk, than stronger, by the quadruple proportion.

2. *Objection.* 'Oh; but, as these have no resistance, so they have no furtherance; for 'the very fluid æther makes no resistance to the wing of the stork, (as is before noted,) 'whereas the horse hath the solid earth to beat his heels against?'

Answer. We will suppose (according to our hypothesis) that as the bird ascends out of the attraction, it accelerates its motion by the same force that, in the beginning, did serve to raise it but slowly; and, perhaps, this acceleration may be much as the descent of heavy bodies, by virtue of attraction, namely, by odd numbers (1, 3, 5, 7, 9); for, though there be still some gravity remaining in the body, while it is ascending out of the attraction, yet the force continues either the same, or, if it be diminished any thing by weariness, this may be balanced by the thickness of the middle region, affording better stroke for the wing. Now, if (I say) there be such acceleration even to the æther, where there is neither help nor resistance; yet there it shall continue in its full vigour and velocity, that was acquired in the ascent, and may, for any thing that appears, hold on to the moon's attraction; but this increasing swiftness may, at its height, be well supposed to transcend the swiftness of any horse; and, by consequence, may well accomplish this long journey in the time allowed.

3. *Objection.* 'But shall not the animal eat or sleep, all this long time of two months?'

Answer. As for eating, it may possibly be without; in that temper of the æther, where it passeth, which may not be apt to prey upon the spirits, as our lower nitrous air: and yet, even here, bears are said to live upon their summer fat all the winter long in Greenland, without any new supply of food. Now we noted before, that some of those birds

(and perhaps it may be true of the rest) are very succulent and sanguine, and so may have their provisions laid up in their very bodies for the voyage.

As to sleep, it is very probable, that they are in a sleep, or sweeven, (if not all the way,) between the attraction of the earth and that of the moon; to which sleep, the swift acquired motions may very much contribute; for we see the like in a chicken, which if you swing in your hand, with its head under its wing, you will presently lay it asleep. Now it is likely, these birds, being there, where they have no objects to divert them, may shut their eyes, and so swing on fast asleep, till they come where some change of air (as a middle region about the moon or earth) may, by its cold, awake them. Add to this, that this sleep spares their provisions; for if, as some would have it, cuckows, or swallows, can lie asleep half the year without eating; why cannot these, in as deep a sleep, as well for two months forbear it?

4. *Objection.* 'But the moon goes near round the earth every day, or the earth round 'itself; and if, from any part of the earth, they should steer their course to the moon, 'they must make many great circles round the earth to keep the moon in view; nay, it 'is impossible they should so do, if they should attempt it; for, near the earth, their 'course must be twenty-one thousand miles a day, which can no way be conceived. Be-'sides, this spiral ascending would abundantly augment their way, which is long enough 'besides.'

Answer. It cannot be supposed, that they at first direct their course to the moon, but rather, offended by the steams of the earth, do tend directly from it; and that straight line, it is probable, they pursue, till they come so near the moon, that she is the fairest object to draw their inclination. For, if the moon hath a motion in a month about the earth, then at the two months' end they will find it in the same line of direction, where it was when they began their journey; for, suppose it full moon at the place where they began, just at two months' end it will be full moon again to the same place which they left; therefore, if they proceed in the same straight line, they will be sure to meet the moon in their way, it being the end of their second period, while they were in their journey.

5. *Objection.* 'But all this discourse is grounded upon the Copernican scheme, and 'the new motions of philosophy, which are yet under debate; but, if all this be mis-'taken, then so are all your conjectures.'

Answer. I take for granted my grounds, and so need not dispute them. If any doubt what I suppose, I must refer him to the authors that on purpose have handled these matters; whose works when he hath well considered, perhaps, he may allow my supposition. In the mean time, he may leave alone these papers, as what he is not yet prepared to examine.

I know not what else may be objected, and this is all, at present, I can say of this matter. If, from what hath been said, may be an illustration of the wonderful works of God, any light afforded to the letter of any abstruse text, or if but any incitement to better abilities to make a further enquiry; it shall compensate the small pains of him, who professes himself not to affect novelties, but only desirous to understand the truth; and is

Your Friend, C. M.

POSTSCRIPT.

IF, notwithstanding what has been said in answer to the first objection, concerning the great distance between the moon and the earth, any one shall still remain unsatisfied, I have only this to offer to his consideration: 'Whether there may not be some concrete bodies, at a much less distance than the moon; which may be the recess of these crea-

'tures, and may serve for little else but their entertainment?' Thus we see many rocky islands in the sea, that are of no other manifest use, than for sea-fowls to rest and breed upon; and these are therefore commonly called Gurl-rocks. Now, if there be such globules (or æthereal islands) they must be supposed of such magnitude only, and set off at such distance, as their reflexive light may not reach home to our earth (though, perhaps, they may serve to illuminate our atmosphere); else they would before now have been discovered: and yet no farther off, than these birds may conveniently arrive unto them in such time, as may be most convenient to allow them. This I do suggest, because it is as hard for me to persuade myself, that they come from any other part of this earth, as it is to persuade another, that they come from the moon; and therefore, if the moon will not be allowed, some other place must be found out for them.

The Spiritual Courts epitomised; in a Dialogue betwixt two Proctors, Busy-Body and Scrape-all; and their Discourse of the Want of their former Employment.

London, printed in 1641.

[Quarto, containing Six Pages; with a wooden Cut in the Title-Page, representing the Bishops-Court in great Confusion.]

Busy-Body. WE are utterly undone; this Parliament hath not only rendered us contemptible to the world, but hath deprived us of our practice; the King's advocate hath not got a fee for an *ex-officio* business this half year; myself have drawn no articles against one that repeated sermons with his family this twelvemonth; my Lord of Canterbury might have spared the making of a table of fees; he needed not to have turned out the register for extortion, unless the issue had been better.

Scrape-all. It is true, Mr. Busy-Body; but we do not suffer an eclipse in the High-Commission only, but in all other courts. Bow-church, that on a court-day used to be fuller than at a sermon on a Sunday, and the Audience-court in Paul's, where a man could not hear with his own ears; the Prerogative, Consistory, and Archdeacon's, with the Dean and Chapter's Courts, that were wont to be crouded like money into an usurer's bag, are very quiet and peaceable now; we cannot talk false Latin now, but it will be understood; we cannot get ten pounds in part for the probate of a will, as corpulent Mr. Copper-nose our brother, the English proctor, could; we cannot put Ponsonby's name to articles, for incontinency, with the privity of the judge, as heretofore we could; and then compound for the penance ourselves, as we have done with the judge before his sentence.

Busy-Body. No more can we send our messengers into the country, that pry into people's actions there, as Alderman Abell's spirits would into a butt of unlicensed wine. You know, when many articles were drawn in the name of *me necessarii promotoris officii*, against any that we knew was rich, upon no ground at all, but hope that he would refuse to take his oath, either to accuse or forswear himself; if he did refuse, then we would be paid our fees; Mr. Advocate, for perusing and subscribing the articles, a piece, that is, two fees, when it was all but one labour; myself, for drawing them, running up and down, sending my man, and twenty pains more, (that, Heaven knows, I never took,) my fees treble, and the office would be careful enough for their fees; for expedition, for extraordinary attendance, bonds, and twenty things more, they would not want much of twenty times their fees; and then, he remaining obstinate, my Lord's Grace would deal with him, as he did with others; into prison with him, no redemption. O, money-

causes were pure good ones; a parson would spend more money, by delay, than the benefice is worth. We could not endure alimony; many of them were *in formâ pauperis*.

Scrape-all. A pox on them! I had rather the judge would have given sentence against my client, than bestowed a pauper on me; I am sure the creature, if he followed not his own business better than I, would have a cold bargain of it: for my part, I fitted him; but sometimes he would present a george[1] or the like to my man, and, if he looked after it, so; if not, *vale, pauper*. I got very well by a wench, that has been undone in a dark entry: Sir John would commute her penance into ten pounds, towards the repair of Paul's, and then we would share it. A shop-door could not be open on a holy-day, but the next Sunday the church was saluted with a *Coram nobis;* and, if he did not appear, (whether he heard of it or no,) *Dominus eum in scriptis excommunicavit*. Let him appear, when he would, he must render down his contumacy-fees, or he remains and is accounted *pro excommunicato;* and, when he is restored *Christi fidelium*, he must pay the officers fees: Faith, such businesses were pretty toys.

Busy-body. And I have gained well by a poor will, when the estate has not amounted to above forty pounds; I would persuade the executor for confirmation to prove it *per testes*, but first it must be proved in *communi formâ*, and by that time some twenty marks or such a sum would redound to me out of the forty: I never cared much for an administration.

Scrape-all. But I did, for I would get more by it; the inventory (which my man should ingross, as if one word were afraid of another), the account and the *quietus est*, and the gratuity (which I never failed of) than you could by an ordinary will. All Bloomsbury, Covent-Garden, Long-Acre, and Beech-Lane, were as fearful of me as of a constable, or Justice Long; many a time have I stepped in with them for my fees, and have had all content possible. I should have thought it an ill day in the vacation, if I had not got a piece.

Busy-body. Oh, brother! you would not believe how I delighted in a commission, which I would go into the country withal, and expedite; and, if they would not give me ten pounds for it (which if a country proctor had done, he would not have required above a piece) I would not make many delays for the matter, but have got it taxed by any surrogate (whom I could persuade) to twelve or fourteen pounds; a motion flies down, and an excommunication after it, and so I lived in as much state as Augustus Cæsar; over your country, commissions would afford good profit.

Scrape-all. Faith, brother, and I have cheated many of my brethren in the country, who used to send me up businesses ready roasted; I would pretend *caveats* were entered, and detain the business in my hands a week longer than the time; and then make them pay me, as fully for them, as if my man had ingrossed them himself.

Busy-body. O, but I was as good at an appeal as could be; for, when the cause was ready for sentence, if I thought the adverse party would not appeal, if sentence went against him, I would persuade the judge to give sentence against my client; and then I would be sure to appeal; and, when I had appealed, my bill would exceed a taylor's; there would be *pro solicitatione, pro sportulagio, pro privato sigillo,* and *pro* twenty things more, that were never done. A notable merry fellow had a poor cause appealed thrice; and then the adverse party got a commission of review, my client still having sentence: which when he told, how his enemy had appealed so often, and was yet gone further; says he, "I have a proctor that will follow to the Devil, if I whip him with a silver lash." And, on my conscience, I should have looked as scurvily upon a poor client as a beggar does upon a beadle, or a whipping-post. For God's sake, brother, how long is it since these blessings failed?

Scrape-all. Faith, ever since the Parliament began, for rather before. At the visitation at St. Magnus's church, when Doctor Duck was hunted dry-foot into the water; where,

[1] [The *George*-noble was a gold coin of the reign of Henry VIII. valued at six shillings and eight-pence.]

had he not dived, the spaniels would have tore him in pieces, they catched hold of his legs, and made them swell extremely; ever since that time, we have been held in most special contempt: your whores, that would have hanged themselves before to please us, now call us 'civil villains[2];' our law, the bawdy courts, and they, that have preserved our bills, now shew them us, and expect restoration; nay, the *ultimum refugium* fails us now: that is, to bring a boy with fifty or threescore pounds, and, within a year or two, turn him away, but keep his money: this is a black tune for us; ten groats given in a licence now make me as jocund as a gratuity of ten pounds would before. Cannot you devise what course is to be taken?

Busy-body. Now, if I could draw a prohibition, I would leave my sheepskin hood, and convert it into a buckram bag; a Westminster attorney lives a king's life now; however, I am (if the oath, &c. shot out of our new cannons, does not strike us quite dead) to get acquaintance with parish clerks, and keep a horse that can smell out a testament: if my brother Copper-nose would die once, I would be made free of the girdlers, and beg the probation of citizens and aldermen's wills: if all fail me, I will fly after Dr. Roan into France, and then we will eat capons, and revive our living.

[2] By way of ridicule, instead of *civilians*.

A late Voyage to Holland, with brief Relations of the Transactions at the Hague; also Remarks on the Manners and Customs, Nature, and Comical Humours of the People; their Religion, Government, Habitations, Way of Living, and Manner of treating Strangers, especially the English. Written by an English Gentleman, attending the Court of the King of Great-Britain.

Printed in 1691.

[Duodecimo, containing Forty Pages.]

The Contents, or Table of General Matters.

The accidents that fell out in our Voyage, with a more particular respect to his Majesty; also of his treatment and reception at the Hague, &c. Sect. II. Containing a description of the Hague, and the King's palaces; with the nature, humours, and treatment of the inhabitants. Sect. III. Some further relations on the affairs and transactions at the Hague, with respect to his Majesty, and the several Princes. Sect. IV. Containing particular observations on the manners, customs, nature, and comical humours of the Dutch boors, or peasants; the nature of their habitations, way of living, and manner of treating strangers, especially the English. Sect. V. Of the nature of the country in general, its situation, the way of travelling, expences, &c. Sect. VI. Of the people of Holland in general, their several ranks and degrees, with their manners, humours, and dispositions. Sect. VII. Of their religion, the different and incredible number of sects among the people, particularly in Amsterdam. Sect. VIII. Of their way of trade, intrigues in over-reaching, and manner of increase in wealth, &c. Sect. IX. Of their military forces by sea and land, with their state revenues, &c.

SECT. I.

The Accidents that fell out in our Voyage, &c.

WE departed from London, Thursday, January the sixteenth, 1690, about nine in the morning, and came that night to Sittingbourn; the next day, about noon, we came to Margaret[1], in the Isle of Thanet; and, the same evening, we went on-board the frigate that carried his Majesty's musick, which lay then in the road, with the rest of the fleet, commanded by Admiral Rooke. Early the next morning, being Saturday the seventeenth, the King arrived from Gravesend, attended by the Dukes of Norfolk and Ormond, the Earls of Devonshire, Dorset, and Portland, and other grandees of the court. About noon, the signal being given from the admiral, the whole fleet (consisting of twelve men of war, seven yatchs, and many tenders,) set sail, with a fair gale. On Tuesday the twentieth, we came in sight of the coast of Holland, near the island of Goree; but the weather being darkened with fogs, and the shore choaked up with heaps of ice, piled up one upon another, it was not for us to come near. However, the King put himself into a shallop to get to the land, notwithstanding the danger that threatened him; and, when all the rest were terrified with the perils, wherein his Majesty ventured his person, and the seamen themselves were not in a little terror, it was observed, that he himself was the only person nothing at all dismayed. In the mean time, the fogs grew thicker and thicker; insomuch that we, who were in the man of war, soon lost sight of the shallop where the King was; and, night coming on, his Majesty was for ten hours exposed to all the injuries of the air, and the waves of the seas, which sometimes came into the shallop; so that the lords, who were with him, had their clothes all covered with ice. However, the next morning his Majesty landed in the island of Goree, and went into a country-man's house, which had no more room to receive him, and all the lords of his train, than one miserable chamber and a kitchen; but it was a welcome retreat after so great a hazard. After the King had shifted his linen and his clothes, and had been complimented by the magistrate of the island, who offered him his house, which his Majesty refused; he took coach again, in the same coach that brought him to the country-man's house, and went a-board the shallop again, to land upon the firm continent: but then he met with new difficulties; for the small vessel could not get near the shore for the ice; so that two seamen were forced to take the King in their arms, and carry him to the shallop. At last, his Majesty, with our whole fleet of tenders, (the men of war returning for England) arrived at a place called Orangie Poldar: here his Majesty was complimented by the Prince of Nassau Sarbrach, camp-marshal, the Count of Berka, the Emperor's extraordinary envoy, Monsieur Catonna, the Spanish Ambassador, the Deputies of the States of Holland, the Prince of Friezeland, Count Horn, and several other persons of the highest quality, who attended him to Housleardike, where he reposed himself for some hours. It was thought his Majesty would have continued here for some days, till all things were ready for the magnificent entry, they were resolved to make for him. But he told them, 'he desired none of those honours;' well knowing, that the glory of a prince does not consist in appearing, but in acting. The King therefore went the same day to the Hague, and arrived there about six in the evening, accompanied with the lords already mentioned, and surrounded with the guards of the body. And, in regard the King's coming was in a manner a kind of surprise, his entrance was also without any ceremony: so that all that could be done, in testimony of the public joy, was only by some peals of cannon, and ringing the bells.

Nevertheless, the burgesses of the Hague had prepared, a long time before, for his Majesty's public entry, and had been at considerable charges to make a glorious appearance; and all the towns adjoining had prepared to be present at the solemnity. In a word, all the Hollanders were willing to see the King in public, and to assure themselves, with their

[1] [Or Meregate, now called Margate.]

own eyes, that a Prince, whom they love so infinitely, and of whom the common enemy had spread so many false reports, was still alive, and returned into their provinces; which obliged the States to intreat his Majesty to make a public entry; which he refused a long time, in that such ceremonies were but the loss of that time, which he had resolved to spend altogether in action. At length, all that they could obtain from the King was, that he would dine about a quarter of a league from the Hague, at a house of the Earl of Portland's, and return in his coach through the midst of the burgesses, ranged in files, from the court to the end of the city: which was done on Thursday, February the twenty-second, about four of the clock in the afternoon; to the inexpressible satisfaction of the people; all the inhabitants of the towns round about being got together; and perhaps there never was seen at the Hague such a vast concourse of people.

I shall not spend time in describing all the particulars of this entry, which had nothing of extraordinary magnificence, except the three triumphant arches, which surpassed, in beauty and magnificence, all that was ever made in France, under the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, upon the like occasions. There you might see represented the principal actions of the King, in honour of whom they were erected; accompanied with several inscriptions and devices, perfectly corresponding with the subjects to which they were applied, and which appeared to be done by the hand of a master. There you might particularly see Europe delivered from the gripes of her ravisher; the liberty of Holland defended and preserved; that of England restored; Ireland subdued; and the Protestant religion maintained. The whole ceremony ended in the evening; with fire-works in several places of the city, several peals of cannon, and volleys of small shot discharged, as well by the burgesses, as by the regiment of Trison which was in arms, with bonfires and fire-works, before the court. After all was over, they still continued giving several testimonies of their satisfaction to see once more a Prince so highly beloved by the Hollanders; and, in regard the whole proceeded from a sincere affection, there is a great probability that these rejoicings will long endure.

On the other side, the King manifested an extraordinary goodness and affability to all societies, and private persons, that came to kiss his hands. Admiral Trump was one of this number, and his Majesty honoured him with the command of the Holland fleet for this summer's expedition; which was no sooner spread about the country, but you might sensibly perceive an augmentation of joy among the Hollanders, for the King's coming. His coach was environed with crowds of people that followed him wherever he went; and by a thousand acclamations testified their satisfaction, that William the Conqueror would command their army by land; and Trump, who justly may be called a second Neptune, was to command their fleet by sea: and here, for the present, I shall break off my relations of the transactions at the Hague, and divert the reader with my observations on the place.

SECT. II.

Containing a Description of the Hague.

THIS curious village and most delightful place, (the residence of that august senate, which has been, as it were, the arbiter of peace and war to all Europe,) whose charms are so great, its buildings so stately and magnificent, and its streets so large, its shades so sweet, its inhabitants so civil, and so good-natured, that one may call it the delight of the world: it hath three very pretty and delightful meadows on the side of Delph, and mountains of sand on the other side, to cover it from the rage of the ocean, which is not above half a league distant from it: at the end of which is the small village called Scheveling, which is inhabited chiefly with fishermen, where is a curious hard sandy shore, admirably contrived by nature, for the divertisement of persons of quality; and here, in the summer-time, the States, foreign ambassadors, and their ladies, &c. in their coaches and six horses, ride on the sands for several leagues; the road from the Hague to this village is a late

made way, cut through vast deep mountains of sand, paved through with curious stone; a work fit for the ancient Romans.

That side, which looks to Leyden, hath a very pretty and large wood, with curious walks and groves, of oak, elm, and lime-trees, where there is a park stored with variety of deer. The inhabitants take the air there in the summer season, with a divertisement capable to render them envied even among the gods; moved by this, that the pretty ladies take their pleasure, without fear of the fabulous plunder, so much celebrated by the Greeks, whereby possibly they sometimes make them real and veritable.

The Counts of Holland frequently kept their courts in this palace, chiefly moved thereunto, by the pleasantness of the place, and its commodious situation for hunting; our King (when Prince of Orange) kept his court at this place, where he has a most stately palace, the back part of which, with the great hall, sufficiently testify its antiquity. There is on the side of it a great square, in which place, on the side of the Levant, are three magnificent lodgments, built a few years since; the Doeles make the corner, whereof his present Majesty, they say, laid the first stone. Over against the other corner, is another palace, built by Prince Maurice of Nassau; in which are to be seen the portraitures of all the Kings in Europe, with many curiosities brought from America. The Voorhant frontispiece, as well as the houses that face the court on the side of the Vivier, make by far the pleasantest quarter of the Hague; by reason of the largeness and spaciousness of the streets, and the number of trees that are planted there: you may see great numbers of persons of quality of both sexes resort thither in the evening, some in their coaches, and some on foot. The cloister of the Jacobines, which was built on the said Voorhant, at this day still retains the name of the Church of the Cloister.

There is another church, built much after the form of the theatre in Oxon, and is so admirable a piece of architecture without, that none within the Seven Provinces (or scarce in the world) is comparable to it; there are no pillars within, so that the minister may be seen, in every place of the church, by thousands of people, without any impediment. The Counts of Holland's chapel, which is in the court, is at this day a church for the French refugees; there are two pretty places like squares, the one before and the other behind the court, where all the houses resemble those of princes.

The States of Holland reside here, as well the counsellors of the Provincial Court, as of the Grand Council. The Cities of Holland have built here very magnificent houses for their deputies, of which in my opinion that of Leyden is one of the best situated, and next the court. The ambassadors of princes, the States' allies, have their residence here. The Groote Kirck, or Great Church, is very fine; in the midst of which is to be seen the arms of the famous Knights, the order of Toyson d'Ore, which plainly shews, that they there celebrated the feast of the said Toyson. The tower is very high, and its form is quadrangular, built with bricks, which may be seen at a vast distance. In fine, this place is, at all times, so well inhabited by gentry, and persons of the greatest quality; that if we consider its splendour, the magnificence of its buildings and streets, the affluence of the nobles, and the pleasure of converse, the Hague is one of the prettiest courts, and the most agreeable in the universe.

SECT. III.

Some further Relation on the Affairs and Transactions at the Hague.

AFTER the King came to the Hague, few days past without the arrival of some princes, or other considerable persons; as well to have the honour to wait upon his Majesty, as to confer with him about the present affairs. It is true that most of the princes came *incognito*, as well to avoid the disputes of precedency, as to confer more familiarly together, and without the pesterment of formalities. The Elector of Brandenburgh, who lay at Cleves for some time, in expectation of the King's coming, no sooner heard of his arrival,

by the couriers that were forthwith dispatched to give him notice thereof; but he hastened to the Hague, where he arrived *incognito*, the twenty-fourth of January. The Duke of Wirtenbergh (Prince-regent, during the minority of the heir,) and the Prince his brother, arrived the twenty-ninth; and were admitted to the King a little time after. The Count of Windisgrats, from the Emperor, arrived February the fourth; and was immediately admitted to the King. The Duke of Bavaria arrived the sixth, about ten of the clock at night, and went to wait upon the King the next day, about four o'clock in the afternoon, with whom he had a conference of two hours long. The Marquis of Castanaga, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, arrived the next day with a jolly train; of which, however, but one part appeared, because the Princes were *incognito*. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel arrived the eleventh, accompanied by the Count of Lippe, the Baron of Gars, and several other Lords. The Prince of Commerci, general of the imperial forces, arrived the fifteenth. The Duke, and one Prince of Courland, arrived the next day. The King regaled the greatest part of these Princes, and was also pleased to accept of entertainments at some of their houses. It would be too long to make a recital of all these feasts. I shall only therefore mention two, to shew what are the principal ceremonies observed upon such occasions.

His Majesty gave an entertainment to the Elector of Brandenburgh, the third of February, at his house in the wood; the King had an hour's conference with the Elector, which being ended, they entered into a spacious dining-room, where was a table and cloth laid, with one only single vermeil furniture (consisting of the gold plate, fine napkins, knife, fork, and spoon) and an elbow-chair, where the King sat down. After that, a chair was brought for the Elector, with a white sattin cushion, and a vermeil furniture laid him like the King's. Then the King commanded seats and furniture to be brought for all the rest of the Lords that were present, who were placed in this order: the Elector on the King's right-hand; next to whom sat the Duke of Ormond, the Earl of Scarborough, Monsieur Colbar, and Monsieur Dankelman: the Earl of Portland sat at the lower end of the table, just opposite to the King; the Duke of Norfolk on the King's left-hand; next to whom sat the Count of Denhoff; and then the General Spaen closed that side of the table, next to the Earl of Portland. The first health was begun by the King, who whispered it softly to the Elector, and the Elector to the rest, without naming. The King and the Elector were served each of them by a page, all people being put out of the room, with orders given to the guards to let no-body enter. The drums beat, and the trumpets sounded, when the King and the Elector drank; but not for any of the rest.

The fifth of the same month, the King dined with the Elector of Brandenburgh, who went out into the very street to receive him, and carried him into a spacious dining-room, where the table was covered with eleven furnitures; and, in a short time after, the meat was served up. The King sat in an elbow-chair; on the King's right-hand sat the Lord Chamberlain, and then the Earl of Portland; on the left-hand of the Elector sat the Duke of Ormond, and then the other Lords of the court, without any distinction of precedence; and Monsieur Colbar performed the office of esquire carver: the King's butler was also present to pour out the wine. The King was served by one of his pages, and two of his gentlemen stood behind his chair. When the King returned, the Elector accompanied him to the very boot of his coach. All these divertisements of entertainment and pleasure were intermixed with serious conferences; his Majesty being unwilling to lose a moment of consultation for the general good of the Confederate affairs; but all these conferences are kept so secret, that it is impossible to penetrate the knowledge of them: nor shall we understand the conclusions, but by the effects that will follow. The King has sat in the assembly of the States-general, in that of the States of Holland, and in the Council of State; to all which bodies he expressed himself in most affectionate terms; which makes it appear, that his new dignity has no way lessened the love and affection which he had for those provinces.

On the first of March, the Duke of Zell arrived at the Hague; and the Duke of Wolfenbuttel, his brother, the Tuesday following. The Elector of Bavaria went the same day

to Amsterdam. On the sixth, the King set out for Loo, the Duke of Zell going in the coach with him; and the Elector of Bavaria followed, the next day. The day before, the Elector of Brandenburgh and the Landgrave of Hesse went straight home, and the rest of the Princes parted with mutual satisfaction; and, my noble Lord returning for England, I attended on him.

SECT. IV.

Containing particular Observations on the Manners, Nature, and Humours of the Dutch Boors, or Peasants; the Nature of their Habitations, and Way of Living.

THEIR soil (where they inhabit) is all fat, though wanting the colour to shew it so; for, indeed, it is the buttock of the world, full of veins and blood, but no bones in it; it is a singular place to fat monkeys in. There are spiders almost as big as small shrimps; their gardens, being moist, abound with them, and, were they but venomous, to gather herbs were to hazard martyrdom.

You may travel among them, though you have not a guide, for you cannot baulk your road, without the hazard of drowning. There is not there any use of an harbinger. Wheresoever men go, the way is made before them, where, if your foreman be sober, you may travel in safety; otherwise you must have stronger faith than Peter had, else you sink immediately. A starting horse endangers you to two deaths at once; breaking of your neck, and drowning.

Some things the boors do here, that seem wonders. It is ordinary to see them fish for fire in water, which they catch in nets, and transport to land in their boots; where they spread it more smoothly, than a mercer doth his velvet, when he would hook in an heir, upon his coming to age. Thus, lying in a field, you would think you saw a cantle of green cheese, spread over with black butter.

Their ordinary pack-horses are all on wood, carrying their bridles in their tails, and their burdens in their bellies. When they travel, they touch no ground, and, when they stand still, they ride; and are never in danger, but when they drink up too much of their way.

The elements are here at variance, the subtile overswaying the grosser. The fire consumes the earth, and the air the water. They burn turfs, and drain their grounds with windmills; as if the cholic were a remedy for the stone, and they would prove, against philosophy, the world's conflagration to be natural; even shewing thereby, that the very element of earth is combustible.

The land that they have, they keep as neatly as a courtier does his beard; they have a method in mowing; it is so intervened with water and rivers, that it is impossible to make a common among them.

Though their country be part of a main land, yet every house almost, that is inhabited by the boors, stands in an island; and that, though the boor dwells in it, looks as smug, as a lady that hath newly locked up her colours, and laid by her irons. A gallant masquing suit fits not more complete than a coat of thatch, though of many years wearing.

If it stand dry, it is embraced by vines; but, if you find it lower seated, it is only a close arbour, in a plump of willows and alders, pleasant enough, while the dog-days last.

The bridge to this is a fir-plank, with a box of stones to poise it withal; which, with the least help, turns round, like the executioner, when he whips off a head. That, when the master is over, stands drawn, and then he is in his castle. It is sure his fear, that renders him suspicious; that he may, therefore, certainly see who enters, you shall ever find his window made over his door.

When you are entered the house, the first thing you encounter is a looking-glass; no question but a true emblem of politic hospitality: for, though it reflect yourself in your

own figure, yet it is no longer, than while you are there before it; when you are gone once, it flatters the next comer, without the least remembrance that you ever were there.

The next are the vessels of the house, marshalled about the room like watchmen, as neat as if you were in a citizen's wife's cabinet; for, unless it be themselves, they let none of God's creatures lose any thing of their native beauty. The lining of their houses is more rich than the outside; not in hangings, but pictures, which even the poorest of the boors are there furnished with: not a cobler but has his toys for ornament. Were the knacks of all their houses set together, there would not be such another Bartholomew-fair in Europe.

Their beds are no other than land-cabins, high enough to need a ladder, or stairs. Up once, you are walled in with wainscot, and that is good discretion to avoid the trouble of making your will every night; for once falling out, else, would break your neck perfectly. But, if you die in it; this comfort you shall leave your friends, that you died in clean linen.

You may sooner convert a Jew, than to make an ordinary Dutchman yield to arguments that cross him. An old bawd is easilier turned saint, than a waggoner persuaded not to bait thrice in nine miles; and, when he doth, his horses must not stir, but have their manger brought them into the way, where, in a top sweat, they eat their grass, and drink their water, and presently after hurry away; for they ever drive, as if they were all the sons of Nimshi, and were furiously either pursuing an enemy, or flying from him.

They are seldom deceived, for they trust no-body; so, by consequence, are better to hold a fort, than win it; yet they can do both. Trust them you must, if you travel; for to ask a bill of particulars is to put in a wasp's nest; you must pay what they ask, as sure as if it were the assessment of a subsidy.

Compliments is an idleness they were never trained up in; and it is their happiness, that court-vanities have not stole away their minds from business.

Sailors among them are as common, as beggars with us. They can drink, rail, swear, &c. but, examining their use, a mess of their knaves are worth a million of ours; for they, in a boisterous rudeness, can work, and live, and toil; whereas ours will rather laize themselves to poverty, and, like cabbages left out in winter, rot away in the loathsomeness of a nauseous sloth.

Most of them are seamen born, and, like frogs, can live both on land and water. Not a country-Uriester, but can handle an oar, steer a boat, raise a mast, and beat you out, in the roughest straits you come in. The ship she avouches much better for sleep, than a bed.

In their families they are all equals, and you have no way to know the master and mistress, but by taking them in bed together. It may be those are they; otherwise Malky can prate as much, laugh as loud, be as bold, and sit as well as her mistress.

Their women would have good faces, if they did not mar them with making. Their ear-wires have so nipped in their cheeks, that you would think some fairy, to do them a mischief, had pinched them behind with tongs. These they dress, as if they would shew you all their wit lay behind, and they needs would cover it; and, thus ordered, they have much more for head than face.

They love the English gentry well; and, when soldiers come over to be billeted among them, they are emulous in choosing of their guest; who fares much the better for being liked by his hostess.

The habit of the men is much after the Tarpaulian fashion; their breeches yawning at the knees, as if they were about to swallow his legs unmercifully.

The women are far from going naked; for, of a whole woman, you can see but half a face. As for her hand, *that* shews her a sore labourer; which you shall ever find (as it were in recompence) loaden with rings to the cracking of her fingers.

Where the woman lies in, the ringle[2] of the door does penance, and is lapped

[2] [or knocker.]

about with linen; either to shew you, that loud knocking may wake the child, or else that, for a month, the ring is not to be run at. But, if the child be dead, there is thrust out a nosegay, tied to a stick's end; perhaps for an emblem of the life of man, which may wither as soon as born; or else to let you know, that though these fade upon their gathering, yet from the same stock, the next year a new shoot may spring.

In short, they are a race of people diligent rather than laborious, dull and slow of understanding, and so not dealt with by hasty words, but managed easily by soft and fair; and yielding to plain reason, if you give them time to understand it. They know no other good, but the supply of what nature requires, and the common increase of wealth. They feed most upon herbs, roots, and milks; and, by that means, I suppose, neither their strength, nor vigour, seems answerable to the size, or bulk of their bodies.

SECT. V.

Of the Nature of the Country in General, its Situation, &c.

FOUR of these provinces, viz. those of Holland, Zealand, Friezeland, and Groninguen, are seated upon the sea, and make the strength and greatness of this state: the other three, with the conquered towns, in Brabant, Flanders, and Cleves, make only the outworks or frontiers, serving only for safety and defence of these.

The soil of the whole province of Holland is generally flat, like the sea in a calm; and looks as if, after a long contention between land and water, which it should belong to, it had at length been divided between them. For, to consider the great rivers, and the strange number of canals, that are found in this province, and do not only lead to every great town, but almost to every village, and the infinity of sails, that are seen every where, coursing up and down upon them, one would imagine the water to have shared with the land; and the people, that live in boats, to hold some proportion with those that live in houses. And this is one great advantage towards trade, which is natural to the situation, and not to be attained in any country, where there is not the same level and softness of soil, which makes the cutting of canals so easy work, as to be attempted almost by every private man; and one horse shall draw, in a boat, more than fifty can do by a cart; whereas carriage makes a great part of the price in all heavy commodities. And, by this easy way of travelling, an industrious man loses no time from his business; for he writes, or eats, or sleeps, while he goes; whereas the time of labouring or industrious men, is the greatest native commodity of any country.

There is, besides, one very great lake of fresh water still remaining in this province, by the name of Harlem Maer, which might, as they say, be easily drained; but the city of Leyden, having no other way of refreshing their town, or renewing the water of their canals, but from this Maer, will never consent to it.

Another advantage of their situation of trade, is made by those two great rivers of the Rhine and Maese, reaching up, and navigable, so mighty a length, into so rich and populous countries of the higher and lower Germany; which, as it brings down all the commodities from those parts to the magazines in Holland, that vent them by their shipping into all parts of the world, where the market calls for them; so, with something more labour and time, it returns all the merchandise of other parts into those countries, that are seated upon these streams.

The flatness of the land exposes it to the danger of the sea, and forces them to infinite charge, in the continual fences and repairs of their banks to oppose it; which employ yearly more men, than all the corn of the province of Holland could maintain. They have found the common sea-weed to be the best material for these digues, which fastens with a thin mixture of earth, yields a little to the force of the sea, and returns when the waves give back.

The extreme moisture of the air I take to be the occasion of the great neatness in their

towns; for, without the help of those customs, their country would not be habitable by such crowds of people; but the air would corrupt upon every hot season, and expose the inhabitants to general and infectious diseases, which they hardly escape three summers together, especially about Leyden, where the waters are not so easily renewed; and, for this reason, I suppose it is, that Leyden is found to be the neatest and cleanest kept of all their towns.

The same moisture of air makes all metals apt to rust, and wood to mould; which forces them, by continual pains of rubbing and scouring, to seek a prevention or cure. This makes the brightness and cleanness that seems affected in their houses, and is called natural to them, by people who think no further. So the deepness of their soil, and wetness of seasons, which would render it unpassable, forces them, not only to exactness of paving in their streets, but to the expence of so long causeways between many of their towns, and in their high-ways; as, indeed, most national customs are the effects of some unseen, or unobserved, natural causes or necessities.

The lowness and flatness of their land, make it, in a great measure, the richness of their soil, that is easily overflowed every winter; so as the whole country, at that season, seems to lie under water, which, in spring, is driven out again by mills.

SECT. VI.

Of the People of Holland, their Manners, Humours, and Dispositions, &c.

THE people of Holland may be divided into these several classes. The peasants, or boors, who cultivate the land. The mariners, or skippers, who supply their ships. The merchants, or traders, who fill their towns. The renteeners, or men that live in all their chief cities upon the rents, or interests of estates formerly acquired in their families: and the gentlemen and officers of their armies.

The first we have already treated of in a section by themselves, in regard of the giving a more particular character of their manners and humours.

The second, the mariners, are a plain people, but of a very rough hue; whether from the element they live in, or from their food, which is generally fish and corn, and heartier than that of the boors. They are surly and ill-mannered, which is mistaken for pride; but, I believe, is learnt, as all manners are, by the conversation we use. Now, theirs lying only among one another, or with winds and waves, which are not moved nor wrought upon by any language, or observance, or to be dealt with but by pains, and by patience; these are all the qualities their mariners have learnt: their language is little more, than what is of necessary use to their business; their valour is of a size extraordinary, even beyond comparison, except with that of the English Tarpaulin.

The merchants and tradesmen, both the greater and mechanick, living in towns that are of great resort, both by strangers and passengers of their own, are more mercurial; wit being sharpened by commerce and conversation of cities, though they are not very inventive, which is the gift of warmer heads; yet are they great in imitation, and so far, many times, as goes beyond the originals: of mighty industry, and constant application to the ends they propose and pursue. They make use of their skill, and their wit, to take advantage of other men's ignorance and folly they deal with: are great exactors, where the law is in their own hands. In other points, where they deal with men that understand like themselves, and are under the reach of justice and laws, they are the plainest and best dealers in the world; which seems not to grow so much from a principle of conscience or morality, as from a custom or habit introduced by the necessity of trade among them, which depends as much upon common honesty, as war does upon discipline; and without which, all would break; merchants would turn pedlars, and soldiers thieves.

Those families which live upon their patrimonial estates in all the great cities, are a people differently bred and mannered from the traders; though like them in the modesty of garb and habit, and the parsimony of living. Their youth are generally bred up at schools, and at the universities of Leyden or Utrecht, in the common studies of human learning, but chiefly of the civil law, which is that of their country.

Where these families are rich, their youths, after a course of their studies at home, travel for some years as the sons of our gentry use to do; but their journeys are chiefly into England and France, not much into Italy, seldomer into Spain, nor often into the more Northern countries, unless in company or train of their public ministers. The chief end of their breeding is, to make them fit for the service of their country in the magistracy of their towns, their provinces, and their state. And of these kind of men are the civil officers of this government generally composed; being descended of families, who have many times been constantly in the magistracy of their native towns for many years, and some for several ages; and not men of mean or mechanic trades, as it is commonly received among foreigners, and makes the subject of comical jests upon their government. This does not exclude many merchants or traders in gross, from being seen in the offices of their cities, and sometimes deputed to their estates; nor several of their states from their turning their stocks in the management of some very beneficial trade by servants, and houses maintained to that purpose.

The next rank among them, is that of their gentlemen or nobles, who, in this province of Holland, are very few; most of the families having been extinguished in the long wars with Spain. But those that remain, are in a manner all employed in the military or civil charges of the province or state. These are, in their customs and manners, much different from the rest of the people; and, having been bred much abroad, rather affect the garb of their neighbour courts, than the popular air of their own country. They strive to imitate the French in their mien, their clothes, their way of talk, of eating, of gallantry or debauchery. They are otherwise an honest, well-natured, friendly, and gentlemanly sort of men; and acquit themselves generally with honour and merit, where their country employs them.

The officers of their armies live after the customs and fashions of the gentlemen.

These are some customs, or dispositions, that seem to run generally through all degrees of men among them; as, great frugality, and order, in their expences. Their common riches lie in every man's spending less than he has coming in, be that what it will. Nor does it enter into men's heads among them, that the common part or course of expence should equal the revenue; and, when this happens, they think they have lived that year to no purpose; and the train of it discredits a man among them, as much as any vicious or prodigal extravagance does in other countries. This enables every man to bear their extreme taxes, and makes them less sensible than they would be in other places, especially in England. For he that lives upon two parts in five of what he has coming in, if he pays two more to the State, he does but part with what he should have laid up, and had no present use for; whereas, he that spends yearly what he receives, if he pays but the fiftieth part to the publick, it goes from him like that which was necessary to buy bread, or clothes, for himself or his family.

This makes the beauty and strength of their towns, the commodiousness of travelling in their country by their canals, bridges, and causeways; the pleasantness of their walks; and their grafts in and near all their cities; and, in short, the beauty, convenience, and sometimes magnificence of their public works; to which every man pays as willingly, and takes as much pleasure and vanity in them, as those of other countries do in the same circumstances among the possessions of their families, or private inheritance.

To conclude this section; Holland is a country, where the earth is better than the air, and profit more in request than honour; where there is more sense than wit; more good-nature than good-humour; and more wealth than pleasure; and where a man would choose rather to travel, than to live; shall find more things to observe than desire; and more persons to esteem than to love. But the same qualities and dispositions do not

value a private man and a state, nor make a conversation agreeable, and a government great: nor is it unlikely, that some very great king might make but a very ordinary private gentleman; and some very extraordinary gentleman might be capable of making but a very mean prince.

SECT VII.

Of their Religion, the Number of Sects among the People, particularly in Amsterdam.

THE great care of this State has ever been, to favour no particular or curious inquisition into the faith or religious principles of any peaceable man, who came to live under the protection of their laws; and to suffer no violence or oppression upon any man's conscience, whose opinions broke not out in expressions, or actions, of ill consequence to the State. A free form of government either making way for more freedom in religion; or else, having contended so far themselves for liberty in this point, they thought it the more unreasonable for them to oppress others.

The Roman-Catholic religion was alone excepted from the common protection of their laws, making men (as the law-makers believed) worse subjects than the rest, by the acknowledgment of a foreign and superior jurisdiction. Yet such has been the care of this State, to give all men ease in this point, who ask no more than to serve God, and save their own souls, in their own way and forms; that what was not provided for, by the constitutions of their government, was so, in a very great degree, by the connivance of their officers; who, upon certain constant payments from every family, suffer the exercise of the Roman-Catholic religion in their several jurisdictions, as free and easy, though not so cheap and so avowed, as the rest. This, I suppose, has been the reason, that though those of this profession are very numerous in the country among the peasants, and considerable in the cities; and not admitted to any public charges; yet they seem to be a sound piece of the State, and fast jointed in with the rest; and have neither given any disturbance to the government, nor expressed any inclination to a change, or to any foreign power.

Of all other religions, every man enjoys the free exercise in his own chamber, or his own house, unquestioned, and unspied. And if the followers of any sect grow so numerous in any place, that they affect a public congregation, and are content to purchase a place or assembly, to bear the charge of a pastor, or teacher, and to pay for this liberty to the publick; they go and propose their desire to the magistrates of the place where they reside, who inform themselves of their opinions, and manners of worship; and, if they find nothing in either, destructive to civil society, or prejudicial to the constitutions of their State, and content themselves with the price that is offered for the purchase of this liberty, they easily allow it; but with the condition, that one or more commissioners shall be appointed, who shall have free admission at all their meetings, shall be both the observers, and witnesses of all that is acted or preached among them, and whose testimony shall be received concerning any thing that passes there, to the prejudice of the State; in which case, the laws and executions are as severe, as against any civil crimes.

Thus the Jews have their allowed synagogues in Amsterdam and Rotterdam; and, in the first, I think, all sects, that are known among Christians, have their public meeting-places; and some, whose names are almost worn out, in other parts, as the Brownists, Familists, and others. The Arminians, though they make a great name among them, (by being rather the distinction of a party in the State, than a sect in the church;) yet are, in comparison of others, but few in number, though considerable by the persons; who are of the better quality, the more learned and intelligent men; and many of them in the government. The Anabaptists are just the contrary; very numerous, but in the lower ranks of people, mechanicks, and seamen, and abound chiefly in North Holland.

The Calvinists make the body of the people, and are possessed of all the public churches in the dominions of the State, as well as the only ministers or pastors, who are maintained by the publick.

It is hardly to be imagined, how all the violence and sharpness, which accompanies the differences of religion in other countries, seems to be appeased or softened here; by the general freedom, which all men enjoy, either by allowance or connivance. I believe the force of commerce, alliances, and acquaintance, spreading so far as they do in small circuits, such as the province of Holland, may contribute much to make conversation, and all the offices of common life, so easy, among so different opinions, of which so many several persons are often in every man's eye; and no man checks or takes offence at faces, or customs, or ceremonies, he sees every day, as at those he hears of in places far distant, and perhaps by partial relations, and comes to see late in his life; and after he has long been possessed by passion or prejudice against them. However it is, religion may possibly do more good in other places, but it does less hurt here; and wherever the invisible effects of it are greatest and most advantageous, I am sure, the visible are so in this country; by the continual and undisturbed civil peace of their government, for so long a course of years, and by so mighty an increase of their people; wherein will appear to consist chiefly the vast growth of their trade and riches, and consequently the strength and greatness of their State.

SECT. VIII.

Of their Way of Trade, and Manner of Increase in Wealth.

IT is evident to those, who have read the most, and travelled farthest, that no country can be found either in this present age, or upon record of any story, where so vast a trade has been managed, as in the narrow compass of the four maritime provinces of this common-wealth. Nay, it is generally esteemed, that they have more shipping belongs to them, than there does to the far greater part of Europe besides. Yet they have no native commodities towards the building, or rigging of the smallest vessel; their flax, hemp, pitch, wood, and iron, coming all from abroad; as wool does, for clothing their men, and corn for feeding them. Nor do I know any thing properly of their own growth, that is considerable, either for their own necessary use, or for traffick with their neighbours; besides butter, cheese, and earthen wares. For havens, they have not any good upon their whole coast. The best are Helvoetsluys, which has no trade at all; and Flushingue, which has little, in comparison of other towns in Holland: but Amsterdam, that triumphs in the spoils of Lisbon and Antwerp (which before engrossed the greatest trade of Europe and the Indies), seems to be the most incommodious haven they have; being seated upon so shallow waters, that ordinary ships cannot come up to it, without the advantage of tides; nor great ones, without unlading. The entrance of the Tessel, and passages over the Zudder Sea, is now more dangerous, than a voyage from thence to Spain, lying all in blind and narrow channels; so that it easily appears, that it is not a haven that draws trade, but trade that fills an haven, and brings it in vogue. Nor has Holland grown rich by any native commodities, but by force of industry; by improvement and manufacture of all foreign growths; by being the general magazine of Europe, and furnishing all parts with whatever the market wants or invites; and by their seamen; being, as they have properly been called, the common carriers of the world.

It appears to every man's eye, who hath travelled Holland, and observed the number and vicinity of their great and populous towns and villages, with the prodigious improvement of almost every spot of ground in the country, and the great multitudes constantly employed in their shipping abroad, and their boats at home; that no other known country in the world, of the same extent, holds any proportion with this in the numbers of

people; and, if that be the great foundation of trade, the best account, that can be given of theirs, will be, by considering the causes and accidents that have served to force and invite so vast a confluence of people into their country; the civil wars, calamities, persecutions, oppressions, or discontents, that have been fatal to most of their neighbours for some time before, as well as since their State began.

SECT. IX.

Of their Military Forces by Sea and Land, with their State Revenues.

THE force of these provinces is to be measured, not by the number or dispositions of their subjects, but by the strength of their shipping, and standing troops, which they constantly maintain, even in time of peace; and by the numbers of both, which they have been able to draw into the field, and to sea, for support of a war: by their constant revenue to maintain the first; and by the temporary charge, they have been able to furnish for supply of the other.

The ordinary revenue of this State consists, either in what is levied in the conquered towns, and country of Brabant, Flanders, or the Rhine; which is wholly administered by the Council of State: or else, the ordinary funds, which the Seven Provinces provide every year, according to their several proportions, upon the petition of the Council of State, and the computation of the charge of the ensuing year, given in by them to the States-general. And this revenue, in times of peace, commonly amounts to about one and twenty millions of gilders a year.

Their standing land-forces, in time of peace, consist of thirty-thousand horse and foot.

Their admiralties, in time of peace, maintain between thirty and forty men of war, employed in the several convoys of their merchants' fleets, in a squadron of eight or ten ships, to attend the Algerines, and other Corsairs in the Mediterranean; and some always lying ready in their havens, for any sudden accidents or occasions of the State.

The Dutch Remonstrance, concerning the Proceedings and Practices of John de Witt, Pensionary; and Ruwaert Van Putten, his Brother; with others of that Faction. Drawn up by a Person of Eminency there, and printed at the Hague: and Translated out of Dutch, August the 30th, 1672.

London, printed by S. and B. G. and are to be sold by R. C. over against the Globe, in Little-Britain.

[Quarto, containing Thirty-five Pages.]

This Remonstrance contains such facts of treachery in the guardians of a State, that of all others boasts the most of its freedom and liberty; and was attended with such fatal consequences, even a popular and tumultuous seizing and execution of those traitors, who had received French money to deceive and corrupt the deputies of the people; and to disable their nation from making any resistance to their powerful enemy, the French King: that, methinks, the very remembrance thereof should not only deter every minister of that State from thenceforward from practices of the like nature, but call upon the whole States of the United Provinces to exert their liberty, by bringing such miscreants to condign punishment; and to be ever in readies s to repel their natural enemy the French; and to embrace

every opportunity of approving their good fidelity, by duly executing those treaties, which the wisdom of their forefathers have obtained for the said purpose. And the seasonableness of reprinting this Remonstrance cannot be questioned, if we consider the following passages in a late memorial presented on the 17th of August, N. S. 1744, by Mr. Trevor[1]*, his Britannic Majesty's minister-plenipotentiary to their High Mightinesses the States-General, at a time that the said republick is attacked in its barrier by the said enemy of France, who has, with little or no resistance, taken several of their strong-holds; has threatened and attempted to invade that power, which not only made them a free people, but has at all times protected them in their greatest distresses; in which that great statesman not only remonstrates the hazard of the present circumstances, to which the States are reduced, but with a pen no ways inferior to the eloquence of Cicero himself, displays the real advantage and necessity for their preservation, to act vigorously, conformable to their treaties, with their faithful allies against their common enemy. For, says he,*

High and Mighty Lords,

IT is with great regret, that, in pursuance of the pressing commands of the king, my master, I find myself obliged to put your High Mightinesses in mind, that the term prescribed so positively and clearly, by the treaty of 1678, for 'employing your good offices' with the power, who was the aggressor in the present war against his Majesty, expired some time since; without their having in any manner procured the re-establishment of the public tranquillity, and without his Majesty's having had the full benefit of the said treaty.

His Majesty is very far from intending to importune your High Mightinesses with complaints or reproaches. But what he owes to himself and to the public security, does not permit him to keep silence any longer upon the inexecution of a treaty, the most important, and the most essential of all those which unite his crown with your State. The King might naturally have promised himself a more expeditious determination, as well from the known good faith of your High Mightinesses, which was doubly engaged by the war declared at the same time against the Queen of Hungary, as from the events with which his Majesty's requisition has been followed.

If good faith did not permit your High Mightinesses to see your allies attacked, without breaking with the aggressor, your own dignity allowed you still less to see yourself attacked in so sensible a part as your barrier, without resenting it, like sovereigns jealous of their honour, and attentive to the preservation of their rights.

Where is the state which, in such circumstances, would not with eagerness and of itself have solicited an alliance so powerful, as that to which the King, my master, and the Queen of Hungary do not cease inviting your High Mightinesses?

The King hath set forth, with so much strength, in his letter of the $\frac{13}{24}$th of last April, (which was delivered to your High Mightinesses upon the 29th of the same month,) the justice of his demand; your High Mightinesses have yourselves, as well by your provisional answer, as by the succours which you have furnished to his Majesty, acknowledged in so direct a manner the force of your engagements; that nothing remains for me to do, but to press the entire accomplishment of them.

Give me leave, high and mighty Lords, to appeal to your own conviction, whether the good of the common cause, whether the particular interest of the republick, have been sufficiently promoted by this indecision, by this cautious conduct, which an excess of prudence has dictated to your High Mightinesses from the beginning of the troubles with which it has pleased Providence to visit Europe, to this day, to encourage your High Mightinesses to persist in the same method of proceeding.

[1] [Robert Trevor, esq. afterwards Lord Trevor and Viscount Hampden, was envoy and plenipotentiary in Holland, from 1741 to 1746; and is said to have managed the untractable spirit of the Dutch ministers with much address and judgment. See Coxe's Memoirs of Lord Walpole.]

To what a degree has not this indecision frustrated the effects of your most wise resolutions? To what a degree has it not rendered useless your best-placed expences, and increased the necessity of them? What jealousies, what umbrage has it not given, and does it not still give to the allies of a good cause? what discouragement to the powers who might increase the number of them? With what presumption does it not inspire our aggressor, and his adherents? What facility has it not given them of extending their views, and bringing their pernicious designs to perfection?

Your High Mightinesses know how very unsuccessful your pains and efforts have been towards finishing the salutary work of peace, the name of which is so often prostituted: you know to what a degree the ways of moderation have been exhausted, and how far they have been despised.

It is time that the long forbearance of your High Mightinesses should be justified; by manifesting your true principles in the eyes of your subjects, of your allies, and of all Europe.

Your High Mightinesses see your most intimate and most powerful friends, and your own barrier, attacked at once by the same power: that very power which drove the Queen of Hungary from Vienna, and which made an attempt upon the throne of the King my master, has now the command at Menin, at Ypres, at Furnes, after having driven out the troops of your High Mightinesses with fire and sword. Will you still hesitate whether to consider and treat this power as our common enemy?

Will your High Mightinesses see capital revolutions happen daily in the most flourishing kingdoms, and in the states the least exposed, without being alarmed at them, and without providing remedies proportionable to the evil? Let us not trust solely to the justice of our cause: the age in which we live, pays respect to nothing but force.

Ambition and greediness have already drawn together but too many powers. Let virtue, let honour, let the principles of self-preservation at last reunite the rest. And if our engagements, if our interests are not sufficient to that end, let the common danger induce us to take this salutary resolution: let that move us to look for our security, where only it is to be found, in our union and in our vigour.

* *

The readiness, with which your High Mightinesses have already executed the treaty above-mentioned in all its provisional points, is a sure pledge to his Majesty for the execution of the whole.

More than one cordial friend, unjustly attacked, requires it of a faithful ally. The tottering system of Europe, with which the independence of your High Mightinesses is so closely connected, demands it. A Protestant and free nation[2], the surest bulwark of your State against the attacks of powers[3] that acknowledge no other tie towards their neighbours, than the submission to their wills, or their own inability to extort it, promises it to herself from a Protestant republick, jealous of that liberty which she has purchased so dearly, and who has often been the protectress of that of the republick.

Let not our actions falsify these glorious titles; but may our united efforts once more set bounds to ambition, raise a new barrier in defence of the public liberties, and bring back peace, justice, and good order into Europe!

Done at the Hague, this 17th of August, 1774.

Signed, ROBERT TREVOR.

EVERY one, not without reason, stands amazed, not being able to apprehend how it is possible, that in less than forty days, the King of France should subdue above forty cities and eminent fortresses, formerly belonging to this State.

[2] Great Britain. [3] France.

A disgrace to our nation, and a blot so great, that it is never to be washed off from the not sufficiently famous Batavians.

Yet, if the reader pleases seriously to consider the following relation, I doubt not but he will in some measure be satisfied.

My opinion then is, that the King of France did not make so great a progress purely by force of arms, but by the concurrence and assistance of some governors of this country; (oh that they had never been so!) who being bought thereto, instead of fathers, became traitors of our native country; which to demonstrate clearly, we are to consider,

That the King of France did no way surprize us, but gave us sufficient warning beforehand; as well with words to our ambassadors, as in deeds with his great preparations made by him, beyond any example, through his whole dominions; also by his Majesty's erecting several unheard-of magazines, as well in his own realm, as without, nay, on our frontiers at Nuys. The preparations whereof were so great, that an experienced officer, who hath borne great commands in the German wars; as also under the King of Sweden, Denmark, and other Princes, (coming to compliment the Lord of Amerongen, who at that time was on the behalf of this State at Cologne,) taking an opportunity to view the forementioned magazine, declared to me at his return, that he had never seen nor heard of the like; believing it to be sufficient to contain provision and ammunition enough for two, nay three hundred thousand men.

That he could not see this State was concerned thereat; asking, moreover, 'If they did not intend to defend their country, because they made such small preparations for the defence thereof? that the ashes ought to be stirred, and the fire extinguished, before the flame grew too big.'

I confess, that, at that time, I little regarded this saying, because (according to my duty) I censured favourably, and expected nothing but good and faithfulness from our governors; but I have, by the sorrowful event, found that I might not, without a good argument, have condescended to the forementioned officer's opinion.

For who knows not that the first care of a governor, for the defence of his country, ought to consist,

In erecting sufficient magazines, fortifying of towns and castles?

Furnishing the same towns, and fortresses, with valiant and faithful governors and commanders, sufficient garrisons, trenches, and ammunition for war; and especially, to deprive the enemy of as much ammunition, and men, as possible. But let us examine whether any of all these things were done with vigour; and we shall, to our sorrow, and irreparable loss and disgrace, rather find the contrary to have been acted, by the wicked and strange directions of those corrupt governors. For notwithstanding it was well known, that at the beginning of the King of France's preparations for war, there scarce was any salt-petre in Europe, but what was in the hands of the Netherland East-India Company; and, notwithstanding it was proffered the State by the said Company, yet they refused the same, and rather desired that it should be sent to France, and so serve as a knife to cut the throat of the Netherlands at once; which was not sufficient: for, besides that (instead of publishing edicts to prevent the transporting of ammunition to the enemy, which ought to have been their chief care) they encouraged and maintained the sending of all necessaries for war to the enemy. Of the truth whereof every one may be assured, since it may be heard from the mouth of the Lord Jucchen, Governor of Wesel, yet living in the Hague, that his Excellency, about four or five months ago, being advised (in a letter by a loyal subject) that four ships, laden with powder and shot, and other ammunition for war, were coming up the Rhine, to pass by Wesel; adding, moreover, the merchants' names, that had sold and bought it; where it was laden; what powder-mill the powder came from; and from whom the other stores, &c.; and that the master of the ship had a pass-port from Cologne: nay, that it was to be carried to Nuys, into the French magazine; advising him also, that by virtue of a certain order (sent to his Excellency some years ago, that if the Bishop of

Munster should make any invasion) he would please to stop the said ships; whereupon, going himself to the Rhine, he asked, 'Whether any persons had seen such ships pass by, as were mentioned in his letter of advice?' (Because this is a very remarkable business, I think, it will not seem amiss to give an account of the circumstances thereof.) When one of the standers-by, answering, said, 'That two such-like ships were past by, and gone up higher; that they were laden with powder, shot, and other ammunition, which instead of being unladen at Cologne, according to the pass-port, were carried, and put into the French Magazine at Nuys: that he had this account from one of the masters of the vessels that were returned from thence, very much discontented that he had been forced to unlade contrary to his pass-port.'

The Governor, hereupon, sending for the forementioned master of the vessel, and having understood the truth, according to the forementioned relation from his own mouth; moreover, that there was a third vessel laden with the same sort of goods yet below Wesel, and coming up the Rhine. Whereupon, staying till the evening, and not seeing the said ship, the Governor, fearing that she might pass by in the night, sent some musqueteers thither, strictly commanding them to enter and stay in the vessel till it should come up to the city, and be searched by his Excellency; who, on the following day, examining the said ship, found the same to be laden as before; when, taking the pass-port from the master, he immediately caused it to be exactly copied; and, keeping the original, sent the copy with the post, who went away that day, or else an express had been sent to the State, or Council of State, whom he informed, in a letter, all what had happened; and therefore desired speedy orders how he should govern himself in this affair.

There was, at that time, but little powder and shot in Wesel; so that the Governor was not a little rejoiced, hoping, that by this opportunity, the city would be well provided at a small charge to the country.

But, instead that the said ship should unlade there, the Governor received an order, signed by the secretary, that he should not only free the vessel which he had stopped, but also permit all ships, that had such pass-ports, to pass freely, and unmolested, on their way; which his Excellency immediately condescended to.

Two days after passed by another ship, that had twice as much ammunition a-board her as one of the former; and from time to time several others of the same nature, steering the same course.

Whilst the Governor, from that time forward, solicited the Council, that the city Wesel, being so considerable a town, and of such great consequence to the State, ought to have six-thousand men in garrison, and sufficient trenches and ammunition; all which the Governor oftentimes requested in his letters to the Council of State; who, at last, gave order for the making of trenches about the said city, and furnishing the same with all manner of necessaries.

But, instead of putting a garrison of six-thousand men into the same, they drew immediately thirteen troops of horse, and twelve companies of foot, all stout and able men, out of it; and put a few companies, consisting the greatest part of unexperienced youths, in their stead; of which the Governor hath often complained: and, to secure this considerable city the more to the enemy, they (under pretence that the Governor Jucchen should come and give their High Mightinesses an account in person at the Hague) put in another governor; and, how honourably he hath carried himself in the defence of that city, appears by the event; *exitus acta probant.* The like pretence they had to turn other governors, as appears chiefly by Colonel D'Ossery, an Irishman, and a Roman Catholick, (whose villainies, and traitorous actions, have been manifested formerly in his services under other princes,) and one, whose correspondence with the enemy, and notorious treasons concerning the business of Rynberk, are at large related, in a certain paper delivered by the Captains Vytenbogaert and Clark, to his Highness the Prince of Orange, and the Council of the State; and also in a certain apology of the Governor of Bassem, and a comment on the letter from Tondlemonde, all extant in print, to which I refer you: wherein

also you have an account, how that the garrisons of the city of Rynberk (notwithstanding it was so considerable a fortress to this State) were not sufficient to defend half the counterscarps; and therefore might easily (by the treachery of D'Ossery, and the falseness of the Governor Bassem) be conquered by the enemies. And indeed, this D'Ossery following, forsooth, the examples of the honourable lords and overseers of this forementioned work, in their counterfeit fatherly care; behaved himself, no doubt, so honourably in the defence of this city, that he well deserved a triumphant gallows of a considerable height; not only for his own falseness, but because so many loyal officers, which undoubtedly were in garrison there, were deluded, by his base designs and treacheries, to their utter ruin.

And, for the better carrying on of these traitorous courses, three regiments more were sent to Maestricht, after it was sufficiently provided; so that, in all probability, the enemy (finding that place so fortified) should pass by there, and come first to Rynberk and Wesel. At the same time when the news came to an assembly of a province, now in the enemy's possession, that there were three regiments more put into Maestricht; it was said, that his Highness, the Prince of Orange, had writ in a letter, that he did much wonder, that such an extraordinary care was taken for that city only, whenas it would be more necessary to look after other towns, which were of as great consequence to the State. This I was informed by a person, whose fortune it was to be present at that assembly.

I also heard, at that time, that a certain governor, being exceedingly troubled, said, 'What doth all this tend to? I do not like the carriage of affairs, for we are like to lose our country for want of men, having twenty-five thousand short of what is absolutely necessary.'

And what was the reason?

They made a great show of raising men; but they acted all things contrary.

For notwithstanding the first levies were made with great trouble out of the country, and we were assured, that by the many men that were likewise raised there by others, the governors of those places had taken an occasion strictly to forbid the same; insomuch that we knew, there was not one place, nay not one foot of land out of our own dominions left, where we were permitted to levy any forces. Yet, nevertheless, under a pretence for the good of the country, it was strictly forbid by an edict, not to raise any man within our dominions, but in such places where, we knew before, there was not a man to be had.

Nay, these officers, (which, for the most part, were Roman-Catholicks) knowing the unwillingness of men to stay with them, were forced to raise two or three times the men that otherwise would have served; to the great exhausting of the public treasures, and their own estates. And yet, they could not keep so many of them together, as to make half a company at their place of rendezvous. Whereupon the captains making a complaint to the governors, that it was a common practice of the soldiers, to take their money, and afterwards to desert their colours; and desiring that these things might be remedied; they shrunk up their shoulders, saying, 'it was not in their power to help it.' These disorders, thereupon, of beating of drums within the country was left off; and the discourse amongst the officers being, that Holland had money enough, and consequently might have men at all times.

The other great levies and treaties with the foreign Princes, (viz. Brandenburgh, Lunenburgh, and others,) were appointed to be, against that time, when they hoped and judged that all things would be lost. Notwithstanding, it might have been sooner accomplished, and more effectually, the Princes themselves having proffered their assistance.

The ratification of the treaty, being also kept close till the last hour, deprived our ambassadors from making a conclusion.

We may be informed from the ambassadors that were sent to Brandenburgh, and now residing in the Hague, that they received the ratification at Hamborough, not before the beginning of July, New Stile.

The same lords-ambassadors declare to the whole world, that the States themselves may

justly be blamed for the so late coming down of the auxiliary troops. That at first his Highness the Duke of Brandenburgh was treated withal, as if they would have bought a dish of fish of him. That afterwards his Highness, instead of being pressed on, advised our ambassador to stir up his lords and masters, about the furthering of affairs; saying, moreover, 'My lord, you have traitors in your country, matters are very ill managed there.' I am also assured, and it may likewise be heard, from the forementioned ambassadors, that the treaty with the Princes of Lunenburgh and Brunswick was broke off, only upon a difference of five-thousand rix-dollars.

But note, they would rather want the favour of those Princes, and the eight-thousand and seven men, which they would have sent this State.

What do you think, (said one of the same ambassadors to me, not long since,) if all the auxiliary troops had come down in May, would the Frenchmen have gotten into our country with so much ease as they have done? But, what shall we say! it was designed so; ambassadors were sent to all princes and potentates, when we were assured that the army, by the unhandsome proceedings of some, which shall be nameless, were all blocked up; and, how our ambassadors managed their affairs in England, I shall omit to mention. De Groot would also have made no better end of his ambassy in France, had he not been seconded by his brother-in-law, that honest patriot, Momba. One man was not sufficient; therefore, we must have a second. In short, affairs were well ordered, our magazines exhausted, and the enemy's filled.

Levies were ordered to be raised in such places, where we knew it was forbidden and impossible to be performed; and where auxiliaries were proffered, and might be had with ease, those were slighted, and put off till such time, as we supposed, they would be needless and too late.

Most of the garrisons, and eminent places, were either very badly, or not at all fortified. Others (which shame forced them to strengthen) wanted one thing or other, to make them insufficient for defence; for those that had men enough were unprovided of trenches and ammunition; and those, which were stored with powder, shot, and other necessaries, wanted men. And those places, which we knew the enemy would not meddle withal, were crouded with more men than were needful. What shall we judge of the eracination of the strong city and fortress De Graffe, and the contrivance, that the whole garrison marching thither, according to order, were surprized by the enemy (who undoubtedly had notice thereof), and twenty-six of their colours taken from them? Nay, we may justly stand amazed, to imagine, how it is possible, that whole provinces (as Overyssel and Utrecht) should be delivered up in one day. And whereon depends that riddle, that the old experienced soldiers, which were kept prisoners in the churches of the conquered towns, should not be taken notice of, and yet beat the drums daily for new men; seeming rather willing to give twenty, nay, thirty gilders for new and unexperienced men, than for the old ten or twelve, for which they might be ransomed.

Who thought ever to have lived to see these times in our provinces, that we must go begging from door to door for the horsemen, and permit them to go away for want of money, as hath happened in this conjuncture in Groningen; from whence I had advice thereof from a person, who was an eye-witness thereto. When God intends to punish a country, he deprives loyal governors of their wisdom, and permits the wicked to use the same to the destruction thereof.

A certain member of the States of Holland, not long before the march of the enemy, discoursing to one of his fraternity, about the condition wherein the magazines were, said, 'That the magazine of Holland was so well furnished, that though the wars continued two years, it was sufficient of itself, without any more supplies; and now, when too late, great complaints were made, that there was no place provided, every one calling for powder, shot, and other ammunition for war; and they were directed to magazines, which from time to time were emptied, and consequently had nothing left. The said lord was asked by his associate, 'Where that great and well-furnished magazine was, of which his Excellency had boasted of so much not long before?' Whereupon, shrinking up his shoulders,

he said, 'that his meaning was, it would serve to furnish Holland only, but none of the other provinces:' which this lord, who, a few days ago, gave me an account thereof, resented very strangely.

Nay, that which is more, our whole army, being before Yssel, was, two days before Whitsuntide, so ill provided of powder and shot, that, in case of an attack, they would not have been able to defend themselves above twenty-four hours.

Some of the deputies upon the report, which was on Whitsun-Monday, that the French had taken Burick, (coming from Nimeguen to solicit the Lords-deputies that were in the field, for powder and shot,) received for answer, 'That they could not spare them any:' which was also told me at the same time by a governor of Nimeguen.

But Kirk-Patrick, Governor of Hertogenbosch, took better care for his government; sending the last week a list, to the Council of State, of all things which he wanted.

And to shew that his Highness, the Prince of Orange, used more than ordinary care and endeavours, he sent the governor, (whilst the city committed to his care, was blocked up or besieged,) to fetch powder, shot, and cannon; which the said governor obtained. But then he could not find a vessel, that either would or could undertake to carry the same thither; of which the governor hath made great complaints here to several persons. Now whether this governor was blinded by the orders of his masters, that he could not see the forementioned defects before; or whether the overseers of our country's welfare judged, that it was of small consequence to this State, to preserve this fortress: the magistrates formerly were not of that opinion; but the times change,

Tempora mutantur, & nos mutamur in illis.

The King of France needed not to use any force upon the works, which, with so much care and labour, were made along the Yssel; for a far easier way was shewn him, to come through the river Rhine, and so to fall into the heart of our country.

To which the treacherous Momba was no small instrument, having so well ordered that affair beforehand in France, which his honest brother De Groot, that (by what means I know not) he was made chief commander of that part of our militia, which were appointed for the defence of that station. When this traitor, instead of charging his regiment to be careful in defending their post, and encouraging them to oppose their enemies, gave orders to march up within a mile from Nimeguen, and so to leave that station.

Which when told to his Highness the Prince of Orange, who extremely wondered thereat; an express order was immediately sent, that they should instantly draw down to the fore-mentioned station again, and endeavour by all means possible to defend the same.

But, before they could approach the same, the enemy was above half over the Rhine; so that our forces, which were to keep that station, were as if brought to their slaughter, and those of Alva, his regiment most of them slain; as a lieutenant, under the lieutenant-colonel of this regiment informed me, as he was coming along with twenty-eight men which he had picked up from several companies, after the passage through the Rhine was opened to the enemy:

Et hinc nobis hodiernæ illæ lacrymæ.

Now, whether that great favourite of the enemy's can, by means of his correspondence, free his brother-in-law Momba, from the punishment due to him; for the horrid slaughter occasioned by his means, and for betraying of our native country; the time will learn us. But we hope, that his conscience will checkhim for his own villainies, that he will not thing of acting any more; if it be possible for a magpie to leave off hopping.

One of the Lords-deputies of the field (as I was told by an eminent member of their Excellencies, the high and mighty States of Holland) being asked, 'How affairs were ordered, that such small endeavours were used to oppose the enemy?' He answered, 'That he could give no other reason, but that they had no secret correspondence, to give them any account of the enemy's designs, of which they were altogether ignorant.'

But this brother, and his accomplices, had too much knowledge of the enemy's designs; and were too much concerned therewith.

For, as I am informed, Momba would endeavour to clear himself by the letters from the forementioned Lord; and undoubtedly that was the reason, that when his Highness the Prince of Orange was of opinion that the enemy ought to be opposed sometimes in one, and then in another place (to which there then presented good opportunities); and desiring hereon the advice or order of the Lords-deputies; he never could get any thing else from them, but shrunk-up shoulders, and many expressions of difficulties, never consenting, nor absolutely disapproving of his Highness's proposals; but all things in suspense tied up as it were his Highness's hands, that he could not do any thing in the defence of our native country.

Every one may justly stand amazed, to consider how it is possible, that all things should be thus strangely carried, when there were and are still so many loyal governors at the helm. For my part, I can satisfy myself, when I think on the wonderful carriage of officers, and strange government which hath been of late; to consider the power and sway, which that great, and, I must confess, most wise pensionary (I could wish to God that his wisdom had been employed for the good of the country) John de Witt bore, during the time of his being pensionary.

Hath not he, under a pretence of freedom, brought us into the greatest slavery of the world? Were his intentions, from the beginning to the last, aught else? And did his malicious governing tend to any other end, than to root out and diminish the lustre of that illustrious House of Orange and Nassau?

Is there any one person that can be said to be ignorant thereof? Can there be a greater institution of slavery thought on in the world, than to force the whole State, as it were, against their consciences, to suppress the Prince of Orange? Whose predecessors, of blessed memory, may, next to God, only be said to have brought us to this our freedom, with great effusion of blood, and vast expence of money: nay, to oblige themselves thereto by oath. We become slaves, when we are deprived of our liberty, but slaves of slaves, nay slaves of sin, when we are prevented from doing of good, and forced by an oath to do evil. No governors were admitted to the regency, but with taking this oath; and so, in the beginning of their office, were forced to make themselves guilty of so abominable, and, before God and the world, horrid sin of ingratitude; a sin, which not only carries so many unheard-of oaths along with it, but is also the occasion of so great effusion of blood in our native country: a sin, which can, and may be said to have given Almighty God sufficient reason utterly to deprive us again of our so dear bought fredom, and bring us to a greater slavery than ever we were in before. What man (how prudent soever he be) can apprehend how it is possible, that one man should infect and poison a whole State; wherein there are so many wise, honourable, and loyal regents and lords; to oblige themselves, and their successors, as much as in them lay, by an oath, to such a ruinous and ever-crying sin of ingratitude? And yet, nevertheless, it was done; for, not above eight or ten days before the strange revolution, the Pensionary of Harlem was forced, at the court, to swear to the forementioned perpetual edict. Thus, to renew and increase the crying and blood-guilty sin of our country! I tremble, when I remember, that some years ago, I accidentally lighted on a book, wherein, instead of mentioning the virtues of the praise-worthy and never-sufficiently famous Princes of Orange, stood written with an accursed and devilish pen; that there were no virtues of the Princes to boast of, but their vices, as, whoring, adultery, drunkenness, and the like, were at large described, and attributed to every Prince. Who doth not stand amazed at the hearing hereof; and the more, when they know, that this was not only sold publicly, but was also licensed, and printed, with authority from the State? The Counsellor-pensionary had sufficiently examined the same, and supplied all the defects; and esteemed the writer hereof as a loyal subject, calling him ' the defender of the country's freedom.' But, if any thing in that nature had been done to the prejudice of that long John, or aught had been writ of any of his relations; would not the writer thereof have been prosecuted with fire and

sword, and the printed paper, or book, immediately taken and burnt? What hath not this grand designer, with the help of his accomplices, and hired slaves, (which he rewarded, by giving them several offices,) done to execute his treacherous and wicked designs? See farther. No sooner were the keys of our native country (always so highly esteemed, and preserved, with great care and circumspection) villainously given into the hands of the enemy, but we began to help him to open the gates also. Who could ever dream of such actions? No books afford the like example. Peter de Groot, that perjured and dishonourable wretch, is to make peace.

To which purpose, he had a blank commission from the whole State (without any instructions according to which he might govern himself) to treat with the enemy; and, to speak plain, to make an absolute agreement for our dear-bought freedom, religion, and native country.

It would sooner have seemed to me, and all the world, a fable than a truth; had it not appeared plainly out of the printed letter sent from the Lords, the States of Zealand, who manifested their fidelity and great fatherly care, and also declared, 'that, not without great reason they could not consent to such an unlimited power as De Groot had given him; that it was an unheard-of thing in the government of this country *(ipsissima verba epistolæ)* to give full power to a deputed person, to treat with a potentate; but much less with a public enemy.' Moreover, saying plainly, 'that they *(Nota bene)* justly suspected this contrary way of acting; and that it gave them an apprehension that the enemy would thereby be encouraged to propose such conditions to such a deputy, which never can nor must be treated of, *viz.* their religion, freedom,and the lawful government of these countries.'

And, how the forementioned three points would have been maintained by such a deputy, who is a notorious atheist, a slave to the enemy, bought to the destruction of our whole government; every one may easily judge. Just at the time when this commission was finished, and De Groot yet in the Hague ready on his departure, I had the honour to speak with one of my very good friends, and a member of the high and mighty States of Holland, who on my curious question of, 'What news?' Changing his countenance (as if things did not go according to his mind) was pleased to say: 'We shall in short have a peace, but I fear a sorrowful one.'

De Groot goeth to the King of France, and hath *plein pouvour.*

When asking amazedly, 'How will it be then?' His Excellency replied, 'there is a blank charter to be laid before the King, and his Majesty is to write.'

On which I answered, 'Then De Groot is a great prophet; for this morning a certain Lord informed me (as indeed it was true) that the forementioned De Groot, about three months before, discoursing with him the said Lord, saying that our native country was threatened with a great and terrible war: De Groot answering, said, 'Pish! pish! I do not see any such great difficulty therein; I do believe that the King of France will at the first take some of our cities, which we cannot hinder him from; but *(Nota)* I, I De Groot (striking on his breast) will make peace with the King of France in the field about three months hence.'

And observe the time, wherein he received his forementioned commission, was about so long after.

The Lord, hereupon discoursing liberally with me, said, 'that he believed the same; because De Groot was a person exceedingly self-opinionated; and that not long ago (not naming the time, which I guessed at by his words) he had told his Excellency himself, that he should certainly conclude a peace;' adding moreover, 'that though we should lose, and add a pearl to his crown by this peace; yet, if we examined the prerogatives and benefits which Holland should reap from it, we should not account our loss so great.'

Though this Lord would not favour me with an explanation of the aforesaid prerogatives; yet I suppose, in all likelihood, that his chiefest aim was, that Holland should

then be separated from the other United Provinces, and freed as it were from that heavy burthen, as they are pleased to call it.

And besides, that then they would be freed from all fears, that his Highness the Prince of Orange at any time should be made Stadtholder of that province.

One would think it strange how it is possible, that any men should be transported to such imaginations: but,

—— Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
Auri sacra fames? ——

He was always more for the French, than the Prince's interest.

This was the reason why the Council-pensionary, in the time of the war with Munster, durst propose in a full assembly, to make the Duke of Turenne Captain-general over our militia.

Ambitious is our enemy; and full of ambition are also those subjects; rather desiring to be governed by a King, than a Prince. But see how miraculous is the Providence of the Almighty!

Just when our State was in greatest danger, and tottering ready to fall down, the appearance of our deliverance was nearest at hand: for it pleased God, just at that time, to throw down that great and subtle designer (which had thus long usurped more authority, than ever was aimed at by any of our Princes) and immediately caused the Prince of Orange unanimously by all the inhabitants of those countries, to be proclaimed Stadtholder of Holland, Zealand, and West-Friesland; and to restore to him all those dignities which his predecessors of glorious memory ever enjoyed.

That great God grant also, that as, by means of his predecessors, with the expence of their estates and effusion of blood, the body of the ancient United Provinces was framed, and, as long as they reigned, kept in a good order; the disjoined members may by his valour and conduct (wherein we beseech God to assist him, and to free him from evil counsel, and bless him more and more daily) be united again.

I do certainly believe, that many of our inhabitants, and also all good patriots, will judge it convenient to find out all those governors which are guilty of betraying our native country; and by some severe punishment, inflicted on them and their instruments; as, Momba, D'Ossery, and other governors, commanders, captains, and other officers, and make them an example to others.

But, as to the latter part, I do not altogether approve of their opinion; nevertheless, with submission to better judgments, my sentiment only is, that it would be convenient to make a strict enquiry into the camp-proceeding of the governors, and such as bore the chiefest commands, and had the charge of defending cities and fortresses, as, Momba, Van Zanten, Bassem, D'Ossery, and the like: as also those persons, whether officers, or others, that have been assisting to the governors, in executing of their treacheries, and had daily correspondence with the enemy.

And by punishing all such persons severely, according to their merits, make them examples to others.

But there ought not so particular a regard to be taken of other captains, and meaner officers, who cannot be said to have had the least knowledge of their unfaithful governors' designs; and would have undoubtedly behaved themselves most loyally, had they been encouraged thereto by their governors, and not been deluded to act those things which they were made believe would be for the benefit of the country, but proved prejudicial; for which, if any should be punished, most of all the captains and other officers, in what garrison soever, would be liable thereto. And those captains, which should be punished more than others, would be unjustly dealt withal; or the State constrained to an execution of so many honest people, which heretofore have behaved themselves like loyal soldiers, for the defence of their country; and now only brought thereto by the treacherous, though seeming fair pretences, and delusions, of their base governors.

We have also oftentimes seen, that military persons and other inferior officers, being accused of some committed abuses, and freed from their punishments out of a particular favour; have taken an occasion in all future opportunities to use more than ordinary endeavours for the good and benefit of the State. Of which there are many examples, whereof one is manifested at this time in Captain Buket.

I should judge, that some means might be found, who amongst the regents is guilty of high-treason, and consequently deserving of punishment.

Especially if we consider those maxims that are used, and also necessary in our government; that is, that only a few are to be admitted into the council for private concerns, either one out of every province, or else more or less, according as the business requires. Besides which persons, none may have the least knowledge of things of greatest consequence; especially in times of war, when the welfare of the State doth not a little depend, that the Regent's designs against the enemy may be kept secret, and divulged and brought to the ears of the enemy. Which private consultations were well observed by the Council-pensionary, who permitted his creatures to be of the Privy-Council, and excluded several good patriots, whom his Excellency judged would oppose him in the carrying on of his wicked designs; and those, which he could not exclude, he wrought so upon, that he made them to vote such things as his wisdom thought fit.

And therefore those loyal regents, which sat at the helm, might now easily, (being under the conduct of his Highness the Prince of Orange,) find out with what malice their wicked brother counsellors have ordered all things, to the ruin of our country, and the furthering of the enemy's designs.

Whether in their ill care for the fortresses, badly storing the magazines, granting of unlawful pass-ports for the transporting ammunition to the enemy, bad management, and preventing the raising of levies, detaining of our ambassadors, ratifications of the treaties, and the ill performance of them; moreover, in the strange conduct of their appointed governors, commanders, and others; and the like base carrying on of affairs.

For, if once the thread be found, the bottom will soon be unwound.

Yet, notwithstanding all which, my judgment is, that the public inquisitions and the punishments ought to be referred, since undoubtedly it will be of a dangerous consequence; partly because, that by the manifold difficulties, which in all appearance would accrue, the loyal regents, fathers of our native country, would be prevented from using other means, which, in this conjuncture of time, are more necessary to oppose the enemy; and partly that, when the treason is found out, the punishment must necessarily follow.

Which my fore-mentioned opinion I leave to every one's serious consideration: how it is possible, that the executing of the punishments, which undoubtedly would be inflicted on several of the supremest governors, which have so long managed the helm of our government, could be effected; without fear of great inconvenience to this state, which in this conjuncture must by all means possible be prevented.

Those, that please to read the history of Barnevelt, will find, that it is not to be done without great difficulties; which necessarily ought to be diverted and referred to some other and more convenient time; when either all things may be buried in oblivion, or else the traitors condemned to lose their heads, for betraying our native country, as the lords magistrates shall think fit.

And therefore, is it not abominable that private persons dare daily presume to do justice, nay, to inflict sufficient punishments on all and every one, whom they but in the least suspect to have been concerned in the ill management of affairs? Which doth no way beseem them. But we will hope that the prudence of the Lord Stadtholder will prevent the same for the future.

I am very sensible, that many patriots, by this delay of punishing the traitors, fear that if the treacheries go unpunished, the State will be left in a great labyrinth, and in danger of being wholly delivered up into the enemies' hands; because, when those wicked traitors are accused of their villainies, and see, as it were, their punishments before their eyes,

they will use all means possible to make more and more confusion in the finances, of which there is yet a great complaint, and increase all other disorders; whereby the enemy may get footing also in the remaining provinces, in hopes that, by that means, they shall escape their deserved punishment. Which fears of the loyal patriots are not without some reason; since an eminent person was yesterday pleased to tell me, 'that in case the confusion in the finances, and the bad payment of monies, which by the wicked directions of the compt governors, hath been so long in practice, be not suddenly remedied; it would prove very prejudicial to the State.' On which I answered his Excellency, (wherewith also, according to my judgment, all patriots may be satisfied,) 'That his Highness was not made a Stadtholder to catch flies; and, though he did not as yet proceed on an inquisition and sudden punishment of the traitors; yet we might well think, that his Highness the Prince of Orange would, with the help of many loyal regents, endeavour, by all means possible, to gain an exact knowledge of that malicious governing, which hath reduced our State to so deplorable and sad a condition; and that also he will take such care, that all those compt governors shall be bereaved of all public employment, but especially for ever excluded out of the privy-council, so to prevent all future miscarriages of affairs, and settle all things in such order, as shall be most beneficial to the State.'

Let us now think on some means, whereby our native country may be brought to enjoy its former freedom, and to know the light of the Gospel; which, in many of the torn-off members of this State, is already sufficiently extinguished.

We have heretofore, by establishing that cursed edict, not only refused to acknowledge our real governor and chief magistrate of our country; to which nature and the formerly received benefits obliged, and sufficiently might have forced us to; but also despised and excluded him with many oaths. Oh, horrid action!

Do we not see and read, that, when we despise and disown our just and loyal magistrates, God sends wicked and tyrannical regents in their places?

'I gave thee a King in mine anger, and took him away in my wrath.' Hos. xiii. 11.

Did there ever any greater destruction happen amongst any people, than amongst those which had shewn themselves ungrateful to their princes; and deposed those, to whom they owed their preservation?

If any where, then, it may well be said to be here; that God, being justly incensed, hath, in his wrath, given a great part of our Netherlands to a King.

God grant, that as that sin of ungratefulness, practised by our magistrates, which hath chiefly occasioned a curse upon our country, is removed by a miraculous providence; *viz.* our magistrates suddenly revoking that wicked and perpetual edict, shewing a sincere sorrow for that base act, to which they were deluded by the wicked directions of the forementioned compt governors; he will also be pleased to remove all other troubles from us! And grant likewise, that our subjects may repent of those horrid and crying sins, of which they are guilty, and thereby have incurred God's just displeasure.

The Copie of a Pistel or Letter sent to Gilbard Potter, in the Tyme when he was in Prison, for speakinge on our most true Quenes Part, the Lady Mary, before he had his Eares cut of. The xiij. of Julye.

Si Deus nobiscum, quis contra nos?

Anno M.D.Liij. the Firste of August.

[Duodecimo, containing Sixteen Pages.]

Poor Pratte, unto his Frend Gilbard Potter, the most faythful and trew Lover of Quene Mary, doth him salute with many Salutations. S. P. D.

WHEREAS thou haste of late showed thy selfe (most faithful Gilbard) to be a true subjecte to Mary, Quene of England, not only by wordes but by deedes, and for the farther triall of thy true heart towardes her, did offer thy bodye to be slayne in her quarell, and offered up thy selfe into the hands of the ragged beare most rancke, with whom is nether mercy, pitie, nor compassion, but his indignation present death. Thy promis (Gilbard) is faythfull, thy heart is true, thy love is fervente towardes her Grace; and, wheras you did promis me faythfullye (when I last visited thee in prison) 'To be torne with wild horses, thou wouldest not denye Marye our Quene,' and to that whiche thou tofore dyd saye. No denial shalbe found in thee; so styll do thou continue in the same mynde, have a respect of thy conscience. Feare not to saye the truth; if thou dye, thou shalt dye in the ryght; *Pugna pro patriâ*, 'Fighte for thy countrey' (sayeth the philosopher.) For, as it shallbe to thi great honour and prayse in this world, and in heaven, to dye in her Grace's quarell, and in the defence of thy countrey; so wold it be to the utter destruction, both of thy body and soule, to do the contrarye. But (O thou true Gilbard) stand stiflye in her cause, and do thou according to thy last promis made me (as I do not doubt but thou wilt) then wil God kepe thee and preserve thee. If thou shuld dye, thou shalt dye innocent; so shal you be assured to possesse the everlastyng kyngdom of heaven. If you fortune to lyve, then shal it be also accompted praise to thee; and fully perswade with thy selfe, that her Grace wil consider thy faythful and true heart, as she hath juste occasion. For, who could have bene more faythfuller, then thou haste bene? What man coulde have showed him selfe bolder in her Grace's cause, then thou hast showed? Or who dyd so valiantlye in the proclamation tyme, when Jane was published Quene (unworthy as she was) and more to blame, I may say to thee, are some of the consenters therunto. Ther were thousandes more then thy selfe, yet durst they not (suche is the fragility and weakenes of the flesh) once move their lippes to speake that whiche thou did speake. Thou offeredst thy selfe amongst the multitude of people to fight agaynste them all in her quarell, and for her honour dyd not fear to runne upon the poynt of the swordes. O faythful subject! O true hearte to Mary our Quene! I can not but wryte of the condign prayse that thou deservest for thys thy boldnes. I may compare thee to Sidrack, Misack, and Abdenago, whych, rather then they wold forsake their Mayster, were contented to suffer the tormentes in the hoate burnyng oven. And as young Daniel, when he was brought before such a ruler (as that false Duke of Northumberland) rather then to denye his Lord, would suffer the paynes of imprysonment, and to be cast in the denne of lions: even so (faythful Gilbard) rather then thou wouldest consente to their false and trayterouse proclamation for Jane; when thou dyd hear it, havyng a clear conscience, wold not consent to the same most trayterous fact. And, so little regarded thy life, boldly

stode in thy mistres cause, and offered thy bodye to be imprisoned, and to suffer death, then to denye our vertuouse Mary to be Quene. And therfore trust to it, my faythfull Gilbard, as the God of Sidrack, Misack, and Abdenago, saved them from al hurt in the hoat burnyng oven, that not so muche as one heare of their heade was perished; so shall the same God save thee out of the handes of the cruell beare, and give hym no power of thy lyfe. Agayne, as God preserved Daniel when he was cast in the denne amongest the lions, at the commaundement of the King Nabuchodonosor: and, when he was in the middeste of them, the lions played with him, (which was admirable:) so do thou trust to, albeit thou art now in the denne amongest devourers (I meane under the power of the beare and ragged staf) yet the God of Daniel shall safely delyver thee out of all their handes; and the rather, if thou dost stil continue stedfast, and hold on Mary our Quene, and forsake thy mayster no more then Daniel and the brethren did their God and mayster. Dispayre not, but lyve in hope to se a good day, and the soner will it come, if we continue in praier. For my part (faithful Gilbard) I wyl never sease day nor nyght from praying for our good Mary, that her Grace might once obteyne the crowne, and that it wold please Him of his omnipotent power to strengthen and helpe her Grace, Mary, thy Quene and mine; so say I to the death, and to conquere that beare. So here I shall desire thee also to offer up to the Almighty Lord godly contemplations, that she maye overcome hir enemies.

For, as the inhabitants of the great city of Ninive continued in praier, and clothed them selves in sackecloth, caste duste upon their heades, repented, and bewailed their manifold sinnes and offences, at what tyme as the prophete Jonas had preached to them the destruction of their citye; knew that it was time to do al the same, els destruction wold folow: so shulde we now not sease praying to God to send us quietnes, and that the Lady Mary might enjoye the kingdom.

For we have had manye prophetes and true preachers, whiche did declare unto us, that oure Kinge shal be taken awaye from us, and a tyrant shal reygne; the Gospel shall be plucked awaye, the right heyre shalbe dispossessed, and al for our unthanckfulnes. And thinkest thou not (Gilbard) the world is now come? Yea, truely. And what shal folow, yf we repent not in tymes. The same God wil take from us the vertuouse Lady Mary, oure lawfull Quene, and send such a cruel Pharao, as the ragged beare, to rule us; which shal pul and pol us, spoyle us, and utterly destroy us, and bring us in great calamities and miseries. And this God wil send us; and al for our iniquities. For, yf unto oure Quene Mary any evell shuld happen, let us fully perswade with our selves, that it not for her small sinnes only, but for our evel livinges. And this litle troubles (whiche be grevous to hir Grace) doth chaunse to her for thy sinnes and myne, let us so thinke. For truely (faythful Gilbard) God is displeased with us many wayes: and here, I dar be bold to say, that her Grace is more sorowful for the death of King Edwarde her brother, then she is glad that she is Quene. For her part (good vertuouse lady) she would have bene as glad of her brother's life, as the ragged beare is glad of his death. Agamemnon, the Heathen king, was never more unquieted with his highe estate; when he lamented for that he was king over so manye people; as her Grace is nowe troubled, to rule and governe so manye evell persons. Plato was never gladder, when he was exiled from the Kinge's courte, because his mind was more addict therby, and geven to the study of philosophie; as she wold be, if she might once be exiled from the company of such traitours, wherby she might be more quieter, and possesse this hir kingdome peasablye. Even so, I dare advouche, that her Grace was farre quieter, and better contented with her olde estate, then now she is Quene, (yf it had pleased God.) But now, praised be Almighti God, because he hath so provided us a right and lawful ayre, and so vertuous a princesse, to possess this imperial crown of England; and so are we all bounde highlye to thanke him therfore. Trustyng that the same God wil shortlye exalt her Grace, and set her in her perfect dignitie, and plucke downe that Jane; I can not nominate hir Quene, for that I know no other quenes, but the good Lady Mary, hir Grace, whome God prosper! I heare say (faythfull Gilbard) that the true subject, Sir Edmond Peckhame, is gone, with al his power and treasure, to assist her Grace, *Ex fructu scimus quid sit arbor;* 'by the frute, we may knowe what the tree

is:' So, by his frutes, that is, by all his doinges, we may knowe, what he is; howe true and faythful hath he shewed him selfe to be at al times to Henry theight, of famous memory. What man deserved more commendation then he? He never robbed his Grace, when he had al the rule of his treasure; he used not to bye silver for fowre shillinges an once, and make the Kinge paye five shillinges fowre pence (as other false traitours did); but loke, what he payd, the Kinge payde no more. He was ever true and faythfull by reporte, aswel of al other, as of hys owne servauntes. And now for the ful triall of his true hearte, howe hath he showed him selfe to her Grace? Left house, lands, and al, and gone to help her. Truly, we have to few such faythfull men. I heare also, that ther is come more to helpe her Grace, the Erle of Darbey, the Erle of Oxford, the Erle of Bath, and diverse other nobles, whiche I can not rehearse nominarly. The God of Hostes, the God of Abraham, prosper them, kepe them, and geve them power to withstand al their enemies; and the moost mighty Lord take part with them (as I do not mistrust) for the right sake! I hear no other newes, but that here is continually great preparation, and many cartes appoynted to carry harnes and artilery, God send them evell to spede! The good Erle of Arundel and the Erle of Shrosburye be here still; but, as I am informed, the Erle of Arundel will not consent to none of their doynges. O God, I most hertelye desire thee, heare my praier; kepe and preserve the good Erle of Arundel from the tiranny of that devouryng beare. For, as thou hast from the beginning endued him with al truth; so doth he stil continue stedfaste in the same, like a worthy noble. Preserve hym, I beseche thee (O my God), and geve hym grace still to stande stedfaste. The Earl of Shrosburye beareth hymselfe equal; God kepe hym! and send al those, that wold the Ladye Mary to be quene, long life and pleasure; and they which wold not, I wyshe them the paynes of Satan in hell. I have (faythfull Gilbard) scattered abroad thre of the bokes more, and two also have I sent into the ragged beares campe. Kepe that close which thou hast: the world is daungerous. The great devell, Dudley, ruleth; (Duke, I shuld have sayd:) wel, let that passe, seing it is oute, but I truste he shal not longe. I have proved, if I could get a M. of them imprinted in some straunge letter, and so a nomber of them to be disparsed abroade. Forasmuch (Gilbard) as I perceave that thou art strayghtly kept, and not suffred to have liberty, I shal brievely visite the with my letters from time to time. And here, Gilbard, I exhort the to continue in praier; and to take in good parte this yoke, layd upon thy shoulders, and beare this crosse patiently. For adversity is a good thinge, and shall make thee to know God the better. For I trust in the Lord, to live to se the day her Grace to mary such one, as knoweth what adversity meaneth; so shal we have both a merciful quene and king to their subjects. And wold to God that I might live (if it so pleased her Grace) to have an other vertuouse Edward! And God make her Grace fruteful, and send hir frute to inherite the kingdom after her. I promised you to salute your frend Robert in your name: accordingly, I have done, desired hym to pray with you for our Quene Mary, that it wold please the Lord to give hir the crowne, which she oughte to have of right. And thus, to breviate my long processe, I end; desiryng thee (my constant Gilbard) not to beholde the gorgiousnes of my letters, which be void of al; but to weygh in an equal payre of ballans the good wil of the writer; who beareth thee no worse wil, then to his owne soule: prayinge God to strengthen thee, and give thee grace to abide faythfull towardes oure most excellent true and only Quene Mary. So shalt thou be assured to have God thy faythfull frend againe; and, at the last, thou shalt inherit his kingdom: To the which kingdome, bringe both you and me, and us all. Amen.

Fayre you well.

Finis. Quod poore Pratte.

Imprynted at London, in Temstrete, over agaynste the Stiliardes, at the signe of the Dobbel Hood, by Hewghe Singelton[1].

[1] At the time when Lady Jane Grey was proclaimed Queen of England; who continued in that royal state only nine days, in the beginning of July, 1553. [See Vol. I. p. 405.]

Verses spoke to the Lady Henrietta-Cavendish Holles Harley, in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge. November the 9th, Ann. 1719. By Mr. Prior.

Madam,
SINCE Anna visited our Muses' seat,
(Around her tomb let weeping Angels wait)
Hail Thou, the brightest of thy sex, and best,
Most gracious neighbour, and most welcome guest.
Not Harley's self to Cam and Isis dear,
In virtues and in arts great Oxford's heir:
Not he such present honours shall receive,
As to his Consort we aspire to give.

Writings of men our thought to-day neglects,
To pay due homage to the softer sex:
Plato and Tully we forbear to read,
And their great followers, whom this house has bred;
To study lessons from thy morals given,
And shining characters, impress'd by Heaven.
Science in books no longer we pursue,
Minerva's self in Harriet's face we view;
For, when with beauty we can virtue join,
We paint the semblance of a form divine.

Their pious incense let our neighbours bring,
To the kind mem'ry of some bounteous king;
With grateful hand, due altars let them raise
To some good knight's, or holy prelate's praise;
We tune our voices to a nobler theme,
Your eyes we bless, your praises we proclaim,
St. John's was founded in a woman's name:
Enjoin'd by statute, to the fair we bow;
In spite of time, we keep our ancient vow;
What Margaret Tudor was, is Harriet Harley now.

THE END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

HARDING and WRIGHT, Printers, St. John's Square, London.